

# **Pietas – Confessio – Meditatio**

**Studies in the Theology of  
Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand (1585-1652)**

*Supervisor: Anna Vind*

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of Copenhagen, Karen Blixens Plads 16, 2300 København S.*

# **Pietas – Confessio – Meditatio**

**Studies in the Theology of  
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Jonas Kjøller-Offersgaard

PhD Thesis

Section for Church History

Faculty of Theology

University of Copenhagen

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## Introduction

### Intro

HERRE / Jeg er indkommen i dette dit hellige Huusz / ad høre huad du / Gud Fader / min Skabere / du HERRE JEsu / min Frelsere / du verdige Hellig Aand / i Liff oc Død min Trøstermand / vil tale til mig. HERre oplad saaledis ved dend Hellig Aand / for JEsu Christi skyld / mit Hierte / at jeg kand aff Prædicken lære at sørge for mine Synder / oc at tro udi Liff oc Død paa JEsu / oc huer Dag udi et helligt Liff oc Leffnet mig forbedre. Det høre oc bønføre Gud ved JEsu Christum / Amen.

HERRE / Jeg tacker dig af gantske Hierte / at du nu haffuer lert mig / huad du vilt jeg skal giøre, Hielp nu mig min Gud ved din Hellige Aand for JEsu skyld / at jeg maa bevare dit Ord udi it reent Hierte / oc deraff i Troen styrckis / oc i et hellig Leffnet forbedris / oc mig ved det udi Liff oc Død trøste / Amen.<sup>1</sup>

These two prayers will likely seem familiar to anyone who have regularly attended church service in the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Denmark. In a more modernised form they constitute the first and the last prayer of the liturgy and have been since 1685. While there are many alternative prayers to choose from these days, the prayers above still constitute part of the official liturgy and are currently actively used. What fewer probably realize, is that these prayers were originally written in 1644 by Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand (1585–1652) in an admonition to the pastors of the bishopric of Zealand with an encouragement to use them to teach the young people how to pray. It is a small, but significant indication of the subtle, but lasting influence of a person and an era on church life in Denmark. Brochmand's significance within the context of 17th century Danish Lutheranism is uncontested.<sup>2</sup> Scholars have at times referenced him as a “giant among the Scandinavian theologians during the period of Lutheran orthodoxy, the only Scandinavian to exert any real impact outside his own northern confines,”<sup>3</sup> or “the champion of Orthodoxy,”<sup>4</sup> and more recently it has been suggested that

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<sup>1</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Formaning til Geistligheden vdi Sielands Stict* (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1644), A ii v - A iii v.

<sup>2</sup> Jens Glebe-Møller, “Teologi og universitet i Danmark 1560–1700,” in *Reformationen i dansk kirke og kultur. Bind 1 1517–1700*, Niels Henrik Gregersen and Carsten Bach-Nielsen (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2017), 257.

<sup>3</sup> Robert D. Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism. Volume 1* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1970), 54.

<sup>4</sup> Eric Lund, “Nordic and Baltic Lutheranism,” in *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675*, ed. Robert Kolb

Brochmand “could arguably be the most influential theologian in Danish history.”<sup>5</sup> In spite of these scattered high praises, mostly in general surveys, there is a definite lack of focused studies on his theology and impact, which recent studies have also pointed out.<sup>6</sup>

The aim of my thesis is to remedy this fact through a focused contribution. Brochmand’s writings are extensive and cover a personal development over the course of a lifetime. It is far outside the scope of this thesis to present a comprehensive study of Brochmand, but rather to analyse select topics that are central to Brochmand as a theologian. For this purpose, I have focused my inquiry on the 1630s, which saw the publication of two of Brochmand’s most influential writings: *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* (1633) and *Sabbati Sanctificatio* (1635–38). By extension, the study of these important works will also contribute to a deeper understanding of early modern Lutheranism in Denmark-Norway. Before I outline my research questions, I will provide a review of relevant scholarship. This falls in two parts, where the first part concerns scholarship on Brochmand specifically with a particular attention to the portrayal of the dogmatics and the postil. The second part concerns itself with matters of context and approaches, specifically the concepts of ‘Lutheran Orthodoxy’ and ‘meditation’. Each play a significant role in their own right, but belong more properly in the context of method. Therefore, the initial review of scholarship will focus specifically on Brochmand.

## Review of Scholarship

It is a testament to the lack of focused studies on Brochmand that the only survey and reasonably thorough analysis of his corpus and theology is the article by E.F. Koch published in *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* in 1864–1866.<sup>7</sup> It is a lengthy article in two parts, where the first part gives an overview of the majority of Brochmand’s writings some detail and the second part is a presentation of what Koch considers Brochmand’s “theological and ascetical standpoints.”<sup>8</sup> The overview in the first part is a highly useful resource as it covers a breadth

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(Leiden: Brill, 2008), 427.

<sup>5</sup> Jason D. Lane, “Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand (1585–1652): The Protector of Danish Lutheranism,” in *Lives and Writings of the Great Fathers of the Lutheran Church*, ed. Timothy Schmeling (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2016), 149.

<sup>6</sup> Lane, “Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand (1585–1652),” 155; Anna Vind, “Lutherreception i 1500- og 1600-tallets Danmark,” in *Reformationen : 1500-tallets kulturrevolution*, vol. 2, ed. Ole Høiris and Per Ingesman (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2017), 132.

<sup>7</sup> E.F. Koch, “En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent,” *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* Anden Række, no. 3 (1864–66): 667–788.

of writings that are not always given proper attention, including Brochmand's church historical and earlier polemical and devotional contributions. The second part is also a useful introduction to Brochmand's theology and Koch is balanced and thorough in his presentation. It is, however, heavily influenced by the fact that Koch considers systematic thinking to be that which is particular for Brochmand as a theologian, in which he follows closely the biographer Jens Møller who places the reputation of Brochmand as a systematician at the forefront.<sup>9</sup> *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* becomes elevated to that which stands at the center of all Brochmand's theological activity:

The dogmatics therefore becomes his main subject and "Systema universæ theologiæ" (a work, that Pontoppidan in "Annales" also calls "fast unvergleichlich") becomes his grand work, his talent's most excellent product, a storehouse wherein everything that his other works contain is essentially present, a source from which all the others, ideally speaking, have their origin. He is great in these only in so far as he needs them in the system, the least successful are those that lie furthest from this centre in his activity as an author.<sup>10</sup>

It is for this reason that the introduction to Brochmand's theology in most areas follow the structure and content of *Universæ theologiæ Systema* and only occasionally deviates with an outlook to auxilliary writings. While there is nothing inherently unreasonable about such an approach, it does result in a skewed perspective, where the devotional works are not considered as essentially theological writings, but rather as practical applications of what already exists in the dogmatics. This insight is also partially connected with the observation that both the dogmatics and the postil follow a similar method in being derived as an exposition of scripture for erudition and edification. And although Koch recognises that the postil does not consist in treatises on doctrinal topics,<sup>11</sup> nonetheless his conclusion is that the sermon for Brochmand is a practical, vernacular exposition of the Lutheran dogmatics:<sup>12</sup> "It

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<sup>8</sup> E.F. Koch, "En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent," 731.

<sup>9</sup> Jens Møller, "Biskop Jesper Brochmands Levnet," *Historisk Calender* III (1817): 251; E.F. Koch, "En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent," 668.

<sup>10</sup> "Dogmatiken bliver derfor hans Hovedfag og "Systema universæ theologiæ" (et Skrift, Pontoppidan i "Annales" ogsaa kalder "fast unvergleichlich") bliver hans Hovedværk, hans Talents mest udmærkede Produkt, et Skatkammer, hvori alt, hvad hans andre Værker indeholde, væsenlig er tilstede, en Kilde, hvoraf alle de andre, ideelt taget, have deres Udspring. Stor er han i disse, kun forsaavidt han i dem har Brug for Systemet, mindst lykkede ere de, der ligge dette centrale i hans Forfattervirksomhed fjernest." E.F. Koch, "En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent," 668–69.

<sup>11</sup> E.F. Koch, "En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent," 709.

was clear for Brochmand what the main task of the evangelical sermon was: a presentation of the content of faith given in scripture and interpreted by the church and a fruitful practical application of this content in life.”<sup>13</sup> In evaluating the postil as a counterpart to the dogmatics, Koch notes that the hallmark of the dogmatics, its system, in the postil has dissipated. Even as the intimately close relationship with scripture is highlighted as the particular of the postil, it is also its greatest weakness since it fails to achieve the synthesis that Koch expects in the explication of faith:

As Brochmand in the dogmatics took his starting point in scripture, merely explicated its content from different sides in its consequences and lead it back to scripture as a touchstone, thus is his sermon also merely an explication of the content of scripture for the erudition and edification of the congregation. For the dogmatics he has a system, not for the sermon. The read or written text is unfolded verse for verse, expression for expression. His concern for saying something, or rather everything, that can be said by him on every point in the text often prevents him from arriving as a fuller explication of the concepts of faith, that are contained within the words he perpetually repeats. His sermon therefore never becomes synthetic, often it even becomes a row of aphorisms without any real necessary connection. Instead of an explication of the main point of the text with some consideration of the secondary points, each in their place, the secondary points are treated in parallel and about as detailed as the main point, – whatever in the exposition of the former is too much, is too little of the latter.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> E.F. Koch, “En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent,” 710.

<sup>13</sup> “Det var altsaa Brochmand klart, hvad der var den evangeliske Prædikens Hovedopgave: en Fremstilling af det i Skriften givne, af Kirken fortolkede trosindhold, og en Frugtbargjørelse af dette Indhold i Anvendelsen paa Livet.” E.F. Koch, “En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent,” 711.

<sup>14</sup> “Som Brochmand i Dogmatiken gik ud fra Skriften, kun udviklede dens Indhold fra forskellige Sider i dets Konsekventser og førte det tilbage til Skriften som Prøvesten, saaledes er hans Prædiken kun en Udvikling af Skriftens Indhold til Lærdom og Opbyggelse for Menigheden. For Dogmatiken har han System, for Prædikenen ikke. Den oplæste eller overskrevne Text udvikles Vers for Vers, Udtryk for Udtryk. Hans Omhu for at faa noget sagt eller rettere alt sagt, hvad der af ham kan siges om hvert Punkt i Texten hindrer ham ofte i at komme til fyldig Udvikling af Trosbegreberne, der ligge i de Ord, han idelig gjentager. Hans Prædiken bliver derfor aldrig syntetisk, den bliver ofte endog en Række Aforismer uden egentlig nødvendig Sammenknytning. Istedendfor en Udvikling af Textens Hovedpunkt med et vist Hensyn til Bitingene, hver paa sit Sted, behandles Bitingene parallelt og omtrent ligesaa vidtløftig som Hovedsagen, — hvad der i Behandlingen af hine er for meget, bliver i denne for lidet.” E.F. Koch, “En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent,” 703.



This is not to detract from Koch's observation that the practical application, the fruits of faith, and justification by faith are constant themes throughout the postil and that Brochmand shows unusual restraint in matters of polemics.<sup>15</sup> However, Koch's conclusion remains that the main fault of Brochmand's postil lies in its almost mechanical form with a lack of reflection in manner in which the passages of scripture are drawn out and presented:

The main flaw in this regard must be sought in the lack of a middle link between the ideal, the objective word of scripture and the practical application. It is presented immediated, undergoes no reflection. It is therefore somewhat outwardly added, somewhat mechanically formed, not something that with necessity is unfolded as a part of an organism.<sup>16</sup>

Beyond the focused study by Koch, scholarship on Brochmand is to a large extent characterized by the fact that is not scholarship *on* Brochmand. A significant part of relevant research is drawn from important studies on *personae* in whose vicinity Brochmand circulated. This includes foremost the two monographs on Holger Rosenkrantz (1574–1642), whose complicated relationship with Brochmand has been the subject of much debate,<sup>17</sup> as well as the studies on Hans Poulsen Resen (1561–1638), who preceded Brochmand as both professor of theology and bishop of Zealand,<sup>18</sup> and finally Brochmand's colleague at the university, Caspar Bartholin (1585–1629).<sup>19</sup> In spite of the groundbreaking research

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<sup>15</sup> E.F. Koch, "En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent," 709–10.

<sup>16</sup> "Hovedfejlen i denne Henseende maa søges i, at der mangler et udfyldende Mellemed mellem det ideale, det objektive Skriftord og den praktiske Anvendelse. Den kommer umiddelbar, gennemgaar ingen Reflexion. Derfor bliver den noget udvortes tilsat, noget mekanisk tildannet, ikke noget, der med Nødvendighed udfolder sig som Led i en Organisme." E.F. Koch, "En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent," 712.

<sup>17</sup> J. Oskar Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde: En biografisk skildring med bidrag til belysning af den danske kirke- og studieforhold i det syttende aarhundredes første halvdel* (Copenhagen: August Bangs Boghandels Forlag, 1896); Jens Glebe-Møller, *Doctrina secundum pietatem: Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærdes teologi* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1966).

<sup>18</sup> Bjørn Kornerup, *Biskop Hans Poulsen Resen: studier over kirke- og skolehistorie i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede* (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1928); Bjørn Kornerup, Vello Helk, ed., *Biskop Hans Poulsen Resen: Studier over Kirke- og Skolehistorie i det 16. og 17. Aarhundrede II*, Kirkehistoriske studier, Rk. 2, vol. 28 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1968).

<sup>19</sup> Morten Fink-Jensen, *Fornuften under troens lydighed: Naturfilosofi, medicin og teologi i Danmark 1536–1636* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2004).

represented by each study, in our context they suffer from the simple flaw that Brochmand is only interesting in so far as he is useful for the study's *scopus*. This is especially true for the theological controversies of his time, where the polemical and systematic involvement of Brochmand has received greater attention.<sup>20</sup> Beyond the manner in which this places (understandable) limitations on the insights into the life and theology of Brochmand, it also runs the risk of painting Brochmand as a mirror of their object of study. One finds this exemplified in the opposition between the innovative Rosenkrantz and the unoriginal Brochmand,<sup>21</sup> which is furthermore indicative of a tendency among earlier scholarship, in particular, to frame the time and tradition that Brochmand was a representative of in a negative light that is rather reductionistic. Thus we find in Kornerup the theological shifts in Rosenkrantz and Brochmand evaluated in the following manner:

Concerning Rosenkrantz, this changed standpoint caused a renewed immersion in the Bible and many years of persistent theological work, whereby he succeeded in reaching a consistent, comprehensive view which excelled in not little originality, but due to its idiosyncrasies, especially the so-called doctrine of double justification, for a time discredited him as a false teacher. [...] The most significant contribution of Rosenkrantz to put his mark on the character of his time, must undoubtedly be sought in the close personal relationships that he had with the best people of his time. Both among the younger nobility and among the church and school men, he could point to an abundant crowd of disciples and friends. Most significant among these was perhaps *Jesper Brochmand*, who at least from 1620 for some years was almost spellbound by Rosenkrantz and in his activity as professor of theology time and time again expressed himself in Rosenkrantzian ways. Perpetually Brochmand considered the learned nobleman his most eminent spiritual councillor, which countless, somewhat highly strung letters testify, until around 1631 where, during the development of his grand "Systema", an abrupt shift took place in him, and his conservative anxiety for keeping a correct doctrine made him make a sharp front against his former, much admired teacher and his particular opinions. Besides, Brochmand contributed strongly with his extensive, but not very original activity as a dogmatician to anchor a Luther-oriented

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<sup>20</sup> This is especially the case for the controversy with Rosenkrantz, Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 297–387; Glebe-Møller, *Doctrina secundum pietatem*, 141–51, and the 'crypto-Calvinist' engagements, Kornerup, *Biskop Hans Poulsen Resen: studier over kirke--og skolehistorie i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede*, 470–90; Kornerup and Helk, *Biskop Hans Poulsen Resen II*, 126–45.

<sup>21</sup> Compare for example Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 302 and Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 307, where the works of Brochmand are positively evaluated in so far as they exhibit more strongly the influence of Rosenkrantz and Brochmand himself is characterized as a man of "little originality".

scholastically influenced orthodoxy in Denmark, and through his efforts in practical areas – especially through his famous “House Postil” – he managed to imprint on the devotional life a stern, gloomy influence, that was far removed from the boldness and bright view of the natural human life found in the Reformation.<sup>22</sup>

Even Glebe-Møller, who criticises Andersen for an outdated view of the Lutheran Orthodoxy, nonetheless presents a reductionistic view of the view of scripture found in Brochmand, which is characterized as intellectualistic and fundamentalistic.<sup>23</sup> The point here is of course not to diminish the unique theological contributions of Rosenkrantz and it is important to recognize that Andersen’s later study on the devotional life in Denmark-Norway acknowledges the zealous piety even in Brochmand’s postil, whereby Andersen reckons Brochmand among the representatives of penitential piety together with Rosenkrantz and

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<sup>22</sup> “For Rosenkrantz’ eget vedkommende medførte dette ændrede Standpunkt en fornyet Fordybelse i Bibelen og mange Aars ihærdige teologiske Arbejde, hvorved det lykkedes ham at naa frem til en sammenhængende Helhedsanskuelse, der udmærker sig ved ikke ringe Originalitet, men som ved sine Særegenheder, navnlig Læren om den saakaldte dobbelte Retfærdiggørelse, for en Tid bragte ham i Vanry som Vranglærer. [...] Rosenkrantz’ væsentligste Bidrag til at give Tidens Udvikling dens Præg maa uden Tvivl søges i det nære personlige Forhold, hvori han stod til saa mange af Tidens bedste Kræfter. Baade blandt de yngre Adelige og blandt Kirke- og Skolemænd kunde han pege paa en talrig Skare af Disciple og Venner. Betydeligst mellem disse var maaske *Jesper Brochmand*, der i hvert Tilfælde fra ca. 1620 i en Aarrække var næsten som bjergtaget af Rosenkrantz og i sin Virksomhed som teologisk Professor Gang paa Gang gav Udtryk for Rosenkrantz’ske Synsmaader. Bestandig betragtede Brochmand den lærde Adelsmand som sin fornemste aandelige Vejleder, hvad talrige, let overspændte Breve fra ham vidner om, indtil der ca. 1631 under Udarbejdelsen af hans store “Systema” indtraadte et brat Omslag hos ham, og hans konservative Ængstelighed for at bevare en korrekt Læreform fik ham til at gøre skarp Front over for sin tidligere saa beundrede Læremester og hans Særmeninger. Brochmand virkede i øvrigt ved sin omfattende, om end ikke meget original, Virksomhed som Dogmatiker i høj Grad til at fæstne en Lutherorienteret, skolastisk præget Ortodoksi i Danmark, og ved sin Indsats paa praktiske Omraader – særlig gennem sin berømte “Huspostil” – kom han til at paatrykke Fromhedslivet et strengt, mørkfarvet Præg, der var fjernt fra Reformationstidens Frimodighed og lyse Syn paa det naturlige Menneskeliv.” Kornerup and Helk, *Biskop Hans Poulsen Resen II*, 23–24.

<sup>23</sup> Glebe-Møller, *Doctrina secundum pietatem*, 23, 31 and 37–38. Glebe-Møller reflects a common misconception regarding early modern Lutherans views on scripture, see for example Johann Anselm Steiger, “The Development of the Reformation Legacy: Hermeneutics and Interpretation of the Sacred Scripture in the Age of Orthodoxy,” in *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 705–6.

under the influence of Johann Arndt (1555–1621) and Johann Gerhardt (1582–1637).<sup>24</sup> However, the previous characterizations have likely influenced the continued perception of Brochmand as the conservative dogmatician,<sup>25</sup> which has resulted in a de-emphasis of his practical-devotional activity:

The theology of Jesper Brochmand developed in a more conservative direction during the 1630s, even compared to the height of Resen's influence after 1615, and he would enter into the line of controversy theologians and system builders which the Lutheran Orthodoxy had established since the creation of the Book of Concord. It is also symptomatic that Brochmand's theology is in accordance with the Book of Concord, even though it had so far been the policy to keep the church of Denmark isolated from it. It therefore seems that Brochmand came to signal a distance from what had in the years past been heard in the Danish church regarding doctrine *and* life. Now it was to a much higher extent doctrine alone that counted.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> J. Oskar Andersen, *Dansk Syn paa Fromhed og "Gudfrygtigheds Øvelse" i ældre Luthersk Tid: En kirkehistorisk Indledning til Kingo's "Siunge Koor"* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard Forlag, 1931), XXXVI-XLIII. See also the summary in Jens Chr. V. Johansen, "Preacher and Audience: Scandinavia," in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor, A New History of the Sermon Series, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 318–20.

<sup>25</sup> "It would appear that Jesper Brochmand lost his taste for innovation during the 1620s, gradually becoming more and more focused on defending what he considered to be true Lutheranism. His increasing focus on the right teaching and understanding of Scripture meant that Brochmand primarily made an impact on the church, less so on the University, and not at all outside theology. [...] Furthermore, where both Hans Poulsen Resen and Caspar Bartholin considered the Reformation an unfinished business which had to be taken further and result in a reformation of life, Jesper Brochmand saw the Reformation as a finished process which was only in need of control and occasional adjustment of teaching and doctrine. Resen and Bartholin had wanted to complete what Luther had begun in terms of teaching, with a reformation of the whole of society. Jesper Brochmand's theology focused on metaphysical and moral questions, true belief, and the systematisation of right and wrong in religion, but did not go beyond that. For Brochmand, natural philosophy and enquiries into Nature fell outside his interests as long as they did not undermine the religious uniformity he promoted." Rasmus H. C. Dreyer, "The Changing Face of Lutheranism in Post- Reformation Denmark," in *Medicine, Natural Philosophy, and Religion in Post-Reformation Scandinavia*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (London: Routledge, 2017), 56–57. doi:10.4324/9781315594712.

<sup>26</sup> "Jesper Brochmands teologi udviklede sig i 1630'erne, selv set i forhold til Resen's storhedstid i tiden efter 1615, i en konservativ retning, og han trådte nu ind i den række af stridsteologer og systembyggere som den lutherske ortodoksi havde skabt siden konkordiebogens tilblivelse. Det er da også symptomatisk at Brochmand's teologi er i overensstemmelse med konkordiebogen, selv om det hidtil havde været politikken at holde Danmarks

Indeed, when Glebe-Møller accounts for the publication of the postil, the primary cause seems to be an underlying strategy to supplant Niels Hemmingsen's status at the university in Denmark, not for any inherent concern for devotional life: "In many ways, Brochmand was the orthodox counterpiece to the Philippist Niels Hemmingsen from the previous century and treated many of the same topics in his authorship that Hemmingsen had done in his. Hemmingsen had published a postil in 1561, thus Brochmand also had to do it."<sup>27</sup> Similarly, while Lyby and Grell recognizes the contributions to devotional life by Brochmand, their conception of Brochmand as the systematic theologian makes it hard to reconcile with his popularity and capacity as a devotional writer:

Thus in 1633 Brochmand published a huge book, *Universa Systema Theologiae*, which became a classic in the orthodox literature. An abridged version was published in 1649 which became the standard manual for the Danish clergy during the next century. It is an Aristotelian work which reiterated the theology of the Formula of Concord. The Bible was the centre of Brochmand's theology and he forcefully advocated the tenet of verbal inspiration. Given his scholarly inclinations, Brochmand's considerable ability and popularity as a writer of devotional literature is somewhat surprising. In 1635 he published a collection of sermons, *Huspostil*, which remained popular with pious Danish households for more than two centuries. In this work Brochmand was not influenced by mainstream Lutheran orthodoxy, but by the pastoral theology of the German pre-Pietist, Johannes Arndt.<sup>28</sup>

Looking through previous scholarship it becomes clear that greater attention needs to be placed on the relationship between the academic-dogmatic and pastoral-devotional writings in the corpus of Brochmand as well as greater effort to examine key aspects of his theology, that are not necessarily bound to contemporary controversies. Furthermore, there is a need for

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kirke isoleret fra den. Det kan derfor se ud til at Brochmand kom til at signalere en distance til hvad der i årene forinden i den danske kirke havde lydt om læren og livet. Nu var det i højere grad læren alene, det gjaldt." Fink-Jensen, *Fornuften under troens lydigheid*, 229.

<sup>27</sup> "På mange måder var Jesper Brochmand ortodokse modstykke til den filippistiske Niels Hemmingsen i det forrige århundrede og behandlede i sit forfatterskab mange af de samme emner, som Hemmingsen havde gjort i sit. Nu havde Hemmingsen i 1561 udgivet en postille, altså måtte Brochmand også gøre det." Glebe-Møller, "Teologi og universitet i Danmark 1560–1700," 258–59.

<sup>28</sup> Thorkild Lyby and Ole Peter Grell, "The Consolidation of Lutheranism in Denmark and Norway," in *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform*, ed. Ole Peter Grell, reprint, 1994 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 140. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511758690.007.

updated perspectives on the context within which Brochmand existed and a fresh look at Brochmand himself based on newer developments in our understanding of early modern Lutheranism.

## **Structure and Method of the Thesis**

This thesis will aim to rectify the previously established research *desiderata* through a study of key theological topics in Brochmand as expressed by his two main writings, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* (1633) and *Sabbati Sanctificatio* (1635–38), and will thus focus primarily on the 1630s. However, where it is deemed relevant to the discussion, I will expand to include earlier and later writings. And although this thesis is not a comparative study, parallels to contemporary discussions and writers will be drawn when fruitful for the discussion itself.

The thesis will fall in two parts. The first part will be an examination of three topics in Brochmand's theology, each presented by their own chapter. The first chapter concerns Brochmand *prolegomena*, the nature of theology. It examines not only the presuppositions and methodology of Brochmand, which is a fruitful backdrop for subsequent chapters, but it also exemplifies the importance of considering the postil in parallel to the dogmatics. The highly exegetical nature of the expositions in the postil serves as helpful insights into the scripturally based argumentation of the dogmatics. The following chapters pursue the same strategy of considering the scriptural expositions when parsing the arguments of the dogmatics, but they also reflect a different aspect of the interplay between the different works when the postil is read within the framework of the dogmatics. In the second chapter I will examine Brochmand's concept of faith, particularly as it pertains to the object of faith. This touches upon questions of the intellectual and the affective, cognition and application. The third chapter is framed in terms of activity and passivity. This entails an analysis of Brochmand's anthropology, particular his understanding of the freedom of the will as well as questions concerning work; the work of God in the Christian and the work expected of the Christian. While the latter could invite inquiries concerning ethics and morals, I focus rather on the role of the confession in the praxis of piety.

Concluding the first part with questions concerning praxis of piety is an appropriate transition to the second part. With its singular chapter, I concentrate on the postil as an instrument for practical devotion. This concerns firstly a gradual unfolding of the form and function of the postil with a view to homiletics and 'meditation literature' and secondly a rhetorical analysis based on the identification of elements of a meditative nature, such as using visual language, appealing to affective qualities and dialogical characteristics.

The approach in the thesis as outlined in the chapter summaries is deeply tied to a reading of the main sources, particularly in the way either reflects upon the other as an aid for understanding. I am of course aware that one might object against the possible assumption of coherency that lies behind such a parallel reading, especially considering the scholarly debates regarding the controversy with Rosenkrantz that took place around the same time that Brochmand publishes these two of his main writings. However, it is my conviction that the examinations and arguments presented in this thesis will demonstrate the fruitfulness and legitimacy of such an approach. Furthermore, as described below I will supplement the close reading with quantitative considerations in select places in order to provide a broader perspective on the nature of the postil. Since the thesis is so deeply connected to the sources, an introduction to the two main sources will follow below, but first there are two preliminary considerations that also fall under deliberations on method. The first concerns the contextual framework for understanding Brochmand. As already shown, Brochmand is seen as the foremost representative of Lutheran Orthodoxy in Danish history. The very concept of ‘Lutheran Orthodoxy’ has been extensively debated, and even disputed, partly because its historiography shows that it comes with its own set of assumptions. Therefore, clarification is needed regarding the context for the theological tradition within which Brochmand is frequently placed. The second consideration concerns the conceptual approach to the postil from the perspective of the ‘meditation’. Since Brochmand’s postil is not traditionally considered meditation literature, it befalls to clarify what is meant more precisely by ‘meditation’ before proceeding with the analysis.

### *Lutheran Orthodoxy*

The review of scholarship has already given ample evidence of the manner in which Brochmand is conceived of as a Lutheran Orthodox theologian and the biographical introduction will further expand on particular elements related to his historical context. To the extent that the Book of Concord as the consolidation of Lutheran theology marks the beginning of Lutheran Orthodoxy, Brochmand’s adherence to its theology in *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* can be seen as the introduction of a new direction of the dominant theology in Denmark-Norway in a trajectory comparative with developments in Germany.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> The delineations of the beginning and end of the period of Lutheran Orthodoxy is debated, but the Book of Concord (1580) is not infrequently seen as a starting point, whence the intra-confessional controversies settled somewhat and solidified the ‘Lutheran Confession’. Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism. Volume 1*, 27; Robert Kolb, “Early Modern Lutheranism as (Still) a Research Frontier,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (Spring 2024): 10.

When scholarship on Brochmand often focuses on his dogmatics it also reflects a broader trend. Scholarship on Lutheran Orthodoxy was for a long time dominated by the study of academic theology and theological controversies – driven by an observed desire of Lutheran Orthodox theologians to establish and defend pure doctrine.<sup>30</sup> However, as with Brochmand, this has for a long time led to a neglect of aspects of Lutheran theology that fell outside of the university.<sup>31</sup> Of course, during the 20th century one can point to studies of piety and the life of faith in the 17th century, but even as scholars wrestled with their conception of ‘Orthodoxy’, it seems that for a long time the older conception proved resistant to change.<sup>32</sup> I refer once more to the framing of the relationship between the academic-dogmatic and pastoral-devotional writings of Brochmand, where it is put forth that the dogmatics is influenced by Lutheran Orthodox theology, while the postil is *not* influenced by Lutheran Orthodoxy, but *instead* by the theology of Johann Arndt.<sup>33</sup> It is reflective of what Kolb labels “the antagonism between ‘Orthodoxy’ and ‘Pietism’” found in older literature,<sup>34</sup> which already in 2006 had been recognized to be an oversimplification due to an uncritical reception

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<sup>30</sup> “The usual presentations of “Lutheran Orthodoxy” until recently concentrated on the public teaching as found in the doctrinal textbooks authored by university professors—the dogmatics textbook of parish pastor David Hollaz (1648–1713) was an exception. These studies did not, for the most part, place the content of these works in the larger context of public expressions of the faith in exegesis, preaching, catechesis, or devotional literature. Thus, their focus on official or semi-official expressions of doctrine also tends to ignore the much larger setting in which the formal dogmatic teachings of this time function as one—to be sure most significant—part of the entire life of the church.” Kolb, “Early Modern Lutheranism as (Still) a Research Frontier,” 2–3.

<sup>31</sup> “Beyond these aspects of early modern Lutheran public teaching, which did have a substantial foundation of agreement on key doctrines, the focus only on public theological expressions also obscures other aspects of a larger, vital phenomenon of faith and practice that embraced those in Lutheran churches during this time. In the early modern period, ecclesiastical life in lands with churches labeled “Lutheran” or “of the Augsburg Confession” took form in art, music, literature, in legal forms and social arrangements, in public teaching and private piety, in preaching, pastoral care, catechesis, liturgies, festivals, and personal faith that guided believers through life.” Kolb, “Early Modern Lutheranism as (Still) a Research Frontier,” 4.

<sup>32</sup> Amongst others, Hans Leube is often highlighted as a voice against the current, Hans Leube, *Die Reformideen in der deutschen lutherischen Kirche zur Zeit der Orthodoxie* (Leipzig: Dörffling & Francke, 1924). See also the reviews in Johann Anselm Steiger, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637): Studien zu Theologie und Frömmigkeit des Kirchenvaters der lutherischen Orthodoxie*, *Doctrina et Pietas*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1997), 22–23, Steiger, “The Development of the Reformation Legacy,” 698–700 and Robert Kolb, “Lutheran Theology in Seventeenth-Century Germany,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (2006): 434–47.

<sup>33</sup> See Lyby and Grell above.

<sup>34</sup> Kolb, “Lutheran Theology in Seventeenth-Century Germany,” 438.



of a Pietist critique of Orthodoxy into research on 17th century Lutheranism. Among scholars of Johann Gerhard, this has been recognized for a while, but in recent years the historiography of the concept of ‘Lutheran Orthodoxy’ has also been documented in quite some detail by Christian Witt.<sup>35</sup> That Lyby and Grell reference Johann Arndt in this context is no coincidence. When they ascribe to him the attribute of ‘pre-Pietism’, they follow a strand of research that see Arndt, not Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705), as the Father of Pietism and a forerunner of this new form of piety. However, as Johann Anselm Steiger suggests, a cause for this association is likely due to the fact that Pietism has received more scholarly attention than Lutheran Orthodoxy.<sup>36</sup> This is followed by a call for new publications of critical editions of primary sources and new studies which has manifested in the series “Doctrina et Pietas. Zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung”.<sup>37</sup> Thus, with the growing body of scholarship on both Arndt and 17th century Lutheran piety and devotion, this association is frequently called

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<sup>35</sup> Christian Volkmar Witt, *Lutherische “Orthodoxie” als historisches Problem: Leitidee, Konstruktion und Gegenbegriff von Gottfried Arnold bis Ernst Troeltsch*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, vol. 264 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021). See also Steiger’s assessment of the impact of Gottfried Arnold’s polemics in Gerhard-scholarship: “Die Gerhard-Forschung ist letztendlich nicht ganz unschuldig daran, daß es bisher zu keiner grundsätzlichen Revision des weit verbreiteten Schreckenbildes von der “toten” und “erstarrten” Orthodoxie gekommen ist. Gottfried Arnolds pietistisch-polemischer Rundumschlag gegen die Orthodoxie, dessen tendenziöse Ausrichtung bereits Ernst Salomo Cyprian als Zeitgenosse hervorgehoben hat, hat das Bild von der toten, kontroverstheologisch und doktrinaristisch-scholastizistisch verbohrt und in Sachen Frömmigkeit erblindenden Orthodoxie geprägt, August Tholuck hat es auf Hochglanz poliert, Albrecht und Otto Ritschl es gründlich konserviert und Winfried Zeller es mit seiner These von der Frömmigkeitskrise der Orthodoxie zementiert.” Steiger, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637)*, 23–26.

<sup>36</sup> “Gerade an Gerhard kann man lernen, daß man die orthodoxe Dogmatik und Frömmigkeit nicht so leicht ausspielen kann. Wenn man das lebendige Miteinander von beidem zu beobachten beginnt, wird man es sich auch nicht mehr so leicht machen dürfen mit der inzwischen in Mode gekommenen Bezeichnung Johann Arndts, Christian Scriver’s u.a. als Frühpietisten. Sonst müßte man auch Gerhard, der lutherischen Orthodoxen par excellence, einen Frühpietisten nennen, was doch niemand wirklich ernsthaft tun wird. Es ist doch eher der allgemein verbreiteten Unbekanntheit mit der orthodoxen Theologie, Seelsorge und Erbauungsliteratur anzulasten, daß man viele Dinge als typisch pietistisch klassifiziert, die jedoch in der lebendigen Frömmigkeit der Orthodoxie längst vorhanden sind. Aus nächstliegenden Gründen ist der Pietismus eben besser erforscht als die Orthodoxie.” Steiger, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637)*, 62–63.

<sup>37</sup> Steiger, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637)*, 11–12.

into question as the understanding of Lutheran Orthodoxy is increasingly nuanced.<sup>38</sup>

In a parallel development to new research on primary sources deepening our understanding of this particular period in history, one also finds a continuous discussion on how to identify and categorize the period itself. While some argue that the present scholarly need is for further studies in order to dispel misconceptions about and continuously adjust our understanding of Lutheran Orthodoxy, others argue that the misconceptions adjoined to the term itself present a set of obstacles for new research, such that new terminological approaches are necessary. Several different approaches to the characterization of the time between Reformation and Enlightenment have emerged, among which the concept ‘confessional culture’ as set forth by Thomas Kaufmann has had a big impact in the past decades.<sup>39</sup> Developed as an alternative to the confessionalization thesis of Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard, who saw a parallel development in social and institutional structures that was common to the Lutheran, Reformed and Roman Catholic confessions, ‘confessional culture’ focuses instead on the distinguishing characteristics of the culture that developed within a particular confession,

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<sup>38</sup> “The flood of prayer books that began in the second half of the 16th century, among which that of J. Habermann was the most popular for centuries, was followed around 1600 by a wave of great works of edification and devotion. Among them J. Arndt’s *Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christentum* (1605-1610) occupies a special place; it had a triumphal literary career and was translated into many European languages. By combining Lutheran faith in justification with mystical and spiritualist traditions, Arndt, who always professed Lutheran orthodoxy, arrived at a doctrine of sanctification and intimate union with God focused on a spiritualized and individualized yet actively involved Christianity that profoundly influenced the piety of modern Protestantism.” Notger Slenczka, et al., “Orthodoxy,” in *Religion Past and Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), II. Christianity. 2. History. a. Lutheran orthodoxy. iii. Piety and cultural life. doi:10.1163/1877-5888\_rpp\_COM\_024211. “Die Auffassung, in Arndt einen vorzeitigen Vertreter des Pietismus zu sehen, ist angesichts der Forschungslage zur Frömmigkeitsgeschichte der lutherischen Orthodoxie nicht überzeugend.” Thomas Illg, “Pietismus und Johann Arndt (1555–1621),” in *Pietismus Handbuch*, ed. Wolfgang Breul (Göttingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021), 63. See also the anthology Hans Otte and Hans Schneider, eds., *Frömmigkeit oder Theologie: Johann Arndt und die “Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum,”* Studien zur Kirchengeschichte Niedersachsens, vol. 40 (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2007). Concerning Arndt as the ‘Father of Pietism’, see also Johannes Wallmann, “Johann Arndt (1555–1621),” in *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 35 and Markus Matthias, “Pietismus und Lutherische Orthodoxie,” in *Pietismus Handbuch*, ed. Wolfgang Breul (Göttingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021), 84–85.

<sup>39</sup> Kolb, “Early Modern Lutheranism as (Still) a Research Frontier,” 2–9.

exemplified by Kaufmann's study of 'Lutheran confessional culture'.<sup>40</sup> The concept of 'confessional culture' holds much potential, not only because of its explicit aim to incorporate the pluralities of Lutheranism, thus pushing back against its conceptualization as uniform or monolithic, but also because of its attention to particular cultural expressions as they relate to doctrinal formations in a complex and dynamic field.<sup>41</sup> However, the model of confessional culture also has its limitations. In order to properly establish the idiosyncrasies of a confessional culture, one relies on a comparative approach (which, according to Matthias Pohlig, is often too rare),<sup>42</sup> not only between individual confessions, but also diachronically and regionally. The latter is highlighted by Mattias Sommer Bostrup, who points out that a key element of Lutheran confessional culture – a culture of arguing, *Streitkultur* – hardly played any role in early modern Danish Lutheranism.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, it is an open question to what extent the concept of confessional culture is helpful within the context of understanding Brochmand as a Lutheran Orthodox theologian. While Pohlig sees this *Streitkultur* as a more helpful approach to the extra- and intra-Lutheran theological debates than previous generations' conception of a Lutheran Orthodox 'lust for controversies', the result is nonetheless that Pohlig subsumes Lutheran Orthodoxy as a partial aspect of Lutheran confessional culture: "Das heißt auch: Luthertum und lutherische Theologie sind offenbar nicht identisch. Kritik am Luthertum war Teil des Luthertums. Theologisch ist das Luthertum nicht einfach identisch mit der lutherischen Orthodoxie. Und lutherische Konfessionskultur geht nicht in Theologie auf."<sup>44</sup> In terms of periodization, Kaufmann does suggest a move away from the 'Age of Orthodoxy' and instead designates the period itself as 'early modern', *frühen Neuzeit*, within which the various confessional cultures unfold.<sup>45</sup> Subsequently, as an

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<sup>40</sup> Initially formulated in his habilitation Thomas Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg und Westfälischer Friede: Kirchengeschichtliche Studien zur lutherischen Konfessionskultur*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, vol. 104 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), but further developed and refined over the years, see for example the review in Thomas Kaufmann, "What is Lutheran Confessional Culture?" in *Religion as an Agent of Change: Crusades – Reformation – Pietism*, ed. Per Ingesman, Brill's Series in Church History and Religious Culture Series, vol. 72 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 127–48.

<sup>41</sup> Kaufmann, "What is Lutheran Confessional Culture?" 129–32. For specific examples of cultural expressions, I refer to Kaufmann's article as well as Matthias Pohlig, "Harter Kern und *longue duree*: Überlegungen zum Begriff der (lutherischen) Konfessionskultur," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 109, no. 1 (2018): 389–401. doi:10.14315/arg-2018–1090116.

<sup>42</sup> Pohlig, "Harter Kern und *longue duree*," 399–400.

<sup>43</sup> Mattias Skat Sommer, *Envisioning the Christian Society: Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600) and the Ordering of Sixteenth-Century Denmark*, Studies in the Late Middle Ages, Humanism, and the Reformation, vol. 116 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 196–97. Cf. Kaufmann, "What is Lutheran Confessional Culture?" 132–34.

<sup>44</sup> Pohlig, "Harter Kern und *longue duree*," 391.

aspect of a Lutheran confessional culture, he considers Lutheran Orthodoxy to be a strand of theology that developed in an academic context, influenced by an increasing interest in Aristotelian philosophy and questions of a doctrinal nature. Although Kaufmann recognizes both the fondness of genres of ‘not-academic’ theology and the willingness of Lutheran Orthodox theologians to attempt to integrate doctrine and life, he does see Lutheran Orthodoxy as characterized by an increased separation from such genres.<sup>46</sup> Thus, despite seeing the attention that Lutheran Orthodox theologians paid to the life of faith, within the context of confessional cultures the study of Lutheran Orthodoxy remains centered on doctrine and controversies, which does very little to alleviate the observed dissociation between the academic-dogmatic and pastoral-devotional writings of Brochmand.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> See for example Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg und Westfälischer Friede*, 150.

<sup>46</sup> “Ich schlage deshalb vor, den Begriff ‘Orthodoxie’ als Epochenbegriff aufzuheben und ihn schon für das 17. Jahrhundert als Richtungsbegriff zu verwenden, d.h. zur Bezeichnung der wissenschaftlichen Universitätstheologie, die einerseits durch die sie prägende Orientierung an der aristotelischen Philosophie und die Kultivierung bestimmter akademischer Literaturgattungen, andererseits durch innere Differenzierungen in spezifischen Lehrfragen und durch einen im 17. Jahrhundert zunehmenden Abstand von ‘nicht-wissenschaftlicher’ Theologie und ihren Gattungen geprägt war, unbeschadet dessen, daß es dieselben Theologen sein mochten – und auch faktisch in großer Zahl waren –, die zugleich auf die Lehre und das Leben literarisch einzuwirken oder Leben und Lehre zu integrieren oder zu reintegrieren versuchten.” Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg und Westfälischer Friede*, 149, n. 375. See also Appold’s description of Lutheran Orthodoxy as “a movement of primarily academic theology produced in Germany, the Nordic countries, and Eastern Europe during the post-Reformation period. [...] Lutheran Orthodox theology has a number of distinctive features, blending prominent commitments to the Lutheran confessions with biblical exegesis, an overt use of Aristotelian logic and metaphysics, and wide engagement with contemporaneous and historical authors. It strove to achieve an identifiable Lutheran consensus in teaching and to distinguish itself from doctrines and interpretations it deemed problematic or false.” Kenneth Appold, “Lutheran Orthodoxy,” in *Dictionary of Luther and the Lutheran Traditions*, ed. Timothy J. Wengert (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2017), 454, and Markus Friedrich’s characterization of the self-construction of Lutheran Orthodoxy during the Hoffmann-controversy around 1600, Markus Friedrich, *Die Grenzen der Vernunft: Theologie, Philosophie und gelehrte Konflikte am Beispiel des Helmstedter Hofmannstreits und seiner Wirkungen auf das Luthertum um 1600*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 69 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 378–96.

<sup>47</sup> See the critique by Christian V. Witt: “Protestantische Kirchengeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit ohne ‘Orthodoxie’? Kategoriale Beobachtungen zur Erkundung eines Forschungsproblems,” *Kerygma und Dogma* 65, no. 1 (Januar/März 2019): 58–60.

Recently, a more radical approach has been suggested from the research network “Lutherische Orthodoxie revisited”. Aiming for a “heuristically more open concept” they suggest moving towards a designation of ‘early modern Lutheranism’ in order encompass its plurality and idiosyncrasies. At first glance this doesn’t seem like a new suggestion, since already Kaufmann suggested a different approach to the periodization of the time between Reformation and Enlightenment. However, the suggestion goes further in also recommending ceasing to employ ‘Lutheran Orthodoxy’ as a concept as such.<sup>48</sup> Rather than seeing the Book of Concord at the beginning of a ‘consolidated Lutheranism’, they take their starting point in *Confessio Augustana* as a foundational identity marker that allowed for a variety of expressions in social, cultural, political and religious praxes to arise. Although recognizing the intra-confessional demarcations and disputes, they locate them primarily within a scholarly discourse, and as they question to what extent polemics and apologetics really had identity constructing functions, they present a call for new studies to develop conceptual approaches for understanding competitive claims to truth.<sup>49</sup> However, it ought to be pointed

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<sup>48</sup> „Eine konsequente Lösung wäre es, den Begriff der lutherischen Orthodoxie ganz aufzugeben, wie es jüngst Christian Witt empfohlen hat. Was er dort noch fragend formulierte – warum nicht probeweise von „frühneuzeitlichem Luthertum“ sprechen“, um zu sehen, ob sich hier eine weite Perspektive mit neuen Semantiken ergebe –, das ist in diesem Sammelband – zumindest programmatisch – vorab als Ziel vorgegeben worden. Diese Entscheidung für die begriffliche Neufassung markiert das (vorläufige) Ende langer und intensiver Debatten innerhalb des Netzwerks „Lutherische Orthodoxie revisited“, dessen Beiträge nachfolgend präsentiert werden. Der heuristisch offene Begriff des frühneuzeitlichen Luthertums scheint den Mitgliedern des Netzwerks nunmehr am besten geeignet zu sein, diese Konfession in ihrer Pluralität, aber auch in ihren Eigentümlichkeiten – wie sie sich in der Dogmatik und in der Praxis als *Propria* oder Konfessions-Marker zeigen – sowie in den mit anderen Konfessionen geteilten Grundansichten und Praktiken darzustellen. Dieser Offenheit des Begriffs entsprechend nähern sich die interdisziplinären Beiträge des Sammelbandes dem Luthertum aus unterschiedlichen Richtungen.“ Sascha Salatowsky, “Frühneuzeitliches Luthertum: Anmerkungen zum Wandel einer Konfessionsbeschreibung,” in *Frühneuzeitliches Luthertum: Interdisziplinäre Studien*, ed. Joar Haga and Sascha Salatowsky, in collaboration with Jan-Luca Albrecht, Gothaer Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit, vol. 20 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2022), 26–27.

<sup>49</sup> “So wird sein integrativer Charakter sichtbar, der bei klar definierten Grund- und Eckpfeilern auf Basis der ‚Identitätsmarke‘ *Confessio Augustana* verschiedene Positionen inkorporieren und gewisse Varianzen in der sozialen, kulturellen, politischen und sogar religiösen Praxis zulassen konnte. Binnenkonfessionelle Abgrenzungen und Auseinandersetzungen präsentierten sich dabei weitgehend im Rahmen des gelehrten Diskurses, in dem es um die Konstruktion gemeinsamer Grundlagen ging. Inwiefern und gegebenenfalls inwieweit Polemik und Apologetik wirklich identitätsbildend wirkten, bleibt weiterer Forschung ebenso vorbehalten wie die Frage nach dem Konkurrenzbegriff, der als nützliche Kategorie für die Analyse dogmatischer und praktischer Phänomene im Sinne von konfessionellen Distinktionen, Konstruktionen und

out that the way they frame the research program, it seems that they run the risk of de-emphasizing the dogmatics, thereby missing the mark concerning the manner in which dogmatics relate to culture, piety and applications of faith, and vice versa.<sup>50</sup>

It is my contention that one contributing factor in the misconceptions about Lutheran Orthodoxy has been the conflation of periodization and categorization: that the term itself labels both a specific period of time and also a strand of theology within that time frame.<sup>51</sup> For that reason, I am sympathetic towards a separation of the two, and in my thesis, I present Brochmand first and foremost as one expression of early modern Lutheranism. However, it remains questionable whether such an approach would render the concept of Lutheran Orthodoxy redundant in categorization. It concerns questions of belonging, not only in individual commitment to proclamations of faith (whether by invoking confessional documents or in other ways), but also through the establishment of boundaries through theological controversies, and the reception into a tradition by subsequent generations. Perhaps such questions are better answered in the course of continued studies contributing to

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Austauschprozessen dienen könnte. Das frühneuzeitliche Luthertum, soviel ist sicher, bedarf weiterer begrifflicher und sachlicher Untersuchungen, damit auch die aktuelle Forschung einen angemessenen Zugriff auf diese historische Formation der Frühen Neuzeit findet.” Salatowsky, “Frühneuzeitliches Luthertum,” 30.

<sup>50</sup> “[Die Beiträge] stehen dabei nicht unvermittelt nebeneinander, sondern fragen danach, wie das frühneuzeitliche Luthertum zu verstehen ist, welche Eigentümlichkeiten es aufweist in der Kultur, Frömmigkeit oder praktischen Handhabung des Glaubens. Die Dogmatik steht hier daher weniger im Mittelpunkt des Interesses.” Salatowsky, “Frühneuzeitliches Luthertum,” 27. For comparison, see Steiger’s point on the connection between dogmatics and pastoral care: “Dieses Bild konnte aber nur entstehen, weil man sich zwar einerseits recht intensiv mit den Loci Gerhards und seinen anderen dogmatisch-theologischen Werken auseinandergesetzt hat, dabei aber sein restliches Werk so gut wie aus dem Blick verloren hat. Man hat über den Gerhard der Dogmatik den Seelsorger Gerhard vergessen und den Dogmatiker gegen den Verfasser von Trost- und Erbauungsbüchern ausgespielt. Man konnte sich daher bislang nicht recht die Frage stellen, wie Gerhards dogmatisches Naturell und seine seelsorgerliche Natur miteinander zusammenhängen, ja einander in reformatorischer Weise bedingen und verstärken.” Steiger, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637)*, 28–29, and “Not enough effort has yet been expended to make it possible to describe the seventeenth century as a marriage between learning (eruditio) and a reconciled co-operation of erudition and education on the one hand and a culture of faith on the other.” Steiger, “The Development of the Reformation Legacy,” 703.

<sup>51</sup> See for example: “In addition, the term “Lutheran Orthodoxy” as it is most frequently used in scholarship carries with it baggage that not only misrepresents but also often discredits the period. [...] This [its historic usage among scholars since the eighteenth century, ed.] predominant usage presumes that “Lutheran Orthodoxy” embraces a consistent body of teaching and practice that remains unchanged over an entire period of more than a century.” Kolb, “Early Modern Lutheranism as (Still) a Research Frontier,” 3.

a better understanding of the pluralities and idiosyncrasies of early modern Lutheranism in Denmark-Norway and abroad, but for now one ought as well keep in mind the words of Brochmand in 1630 as he begins the systematization of “the orthodox religion, that is, the Lutheran.”<sup>52</sup>

### *Meditation*

Specifically for Chapter 4, the concept of the meditation has been chosen as a central analytical tool for understanding the postil from a practical perspective. However, what is meant by ‘meditation’ is not always obvious, since the concept has been approached in a variety of different ways. This provides a challenge when giving a proper definition, which Klára Erdei also recognises in her monograph on 16th century meditation literature:

Eine Definition zu geben, ist nicht einfach, besonders wenn sie zugleich für jede Periode, die unsere Gattung durchläuft, allgemeine Gültigkeit besitzen soll. Die Meditation erweist sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte als außerordentlich flexibel und wandlungsfähig. Gerade diese permanente Mutation gewährleistet ihre große Konstanz, die Verbreitung und Popularität der Gattung. Bereits vor dem 15. Jahrhundert bemerkten wir, wie unterschiedlich der definitorische Ansatz aussehen konnte. In den späteren Jahrhunderten wird dieses Spektrum nur reicher.<sup>53</sup>

The flexibility and mutability of the concept of meditation thus demands a further determination to identify the constant elements that could constitute a definition. Erdei provides these in a twofold manner. Placing her monograph within both history of literature and history of mentalities, she establishes the meditation as both a genre – subjected to a thorough transconfessional, transnational source study – and the expression of a disposition that demarcates the particular function of the genre.<sup>54</sup> The latter is an important characteristic

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<sup>52</sup> “Orthodoxam religionem, hoc est, Lutheranam.” Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Religionis Christianae Articuli*, I. De admiranda Dei circa Bona & Mala Providentia. II. De Gratiae Divinae Natura, amplitudine, efficacia atque operandi modo. III. De Prædestinatione seu Æterna Hominum ad vitam æternam Electione & huic opposita reprobatione (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartor, 1630), 2–3.

<sup>53</sup> Klára Erdei, *Auf dem Wege zu sich selbst: Die Meditation im 16. Jahrhundert. Eine funktionsanalytische Gattungsbeschreibung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990), 45.

<sup>54</sup> “Dieser einsame Dialog mit oder vor Gott ist zugleich eine Haltung, eine Attitüde und ein literarisches Genre; sowohl eine Methode der Vermittlung eines Inhalts als auch die Schaffung dieses Inhalts. Die Meditation ist Gestaltung und Form, “forma formans”: ein Modell der Mentalität und der Literatur am Ende der Renaissance.” Erdei, *Auf dem Wege zu sich selbst*, 3.

of all encountered definitions. The idea of ‘Meditationsliteratur’ is a recurring concept (often associated with the production, translation, and dissemination of particular sets of classical and medieval texts),<sup>55</sup> but is never seen apart from its *Sitz-im-Leben*, the ways in which it enters into and forms the basis of a particular praxis. For Erdei, the second determinant is history of mentalities; more specifically, the mystical tradition, whereby the main goal of the meditation is to overcome the difference between God and the human being by lifting the soul up to God and experiencing God in the soul.<sup>56</sup> This praxis is cognitively founded, however it is not limited to involving the intellect, but also the will and the affects. The form itself can vary. Structurally it flows between contemplation, disputation, and catechisms in particular, but due to the ambivalent involvement of reason and affects, it can approach a breadth of other genres, such as commentaries and treatises. At a fundamental level the form is shaped as prose that guides the reader through meditation on scripture.<sup>57</sup>

The scriptural aspect has a particular significance in the scholarly re-centering of the role of meditation in Luther’s theology and subsequently also in the Lutheran tradition. Meditation is here first and foremost conceived of as a praxis of piety and with a particular attention to the role of the word of God in the Christian experience. Meditation is in this sense given a certain attribution as ‘scriptural meditation’.<sup>58</sup> Luther was in this regard indebted to the early and

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<sup>55</sup> See for example Udo Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform in der lutherischen Kirche des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Beiträge Zur Historischen Theologie, vol. 91 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995), 2–6, who in his review of scholarship illustrates the focus on broader source studies, Paul Althaus, *Forschungen zur evangelischen Gebetsliteratur* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966) and Erdei, *Auf dem Wege zu sich selbst*, as well as monographs on particularly influential authors, such as Martin Moller, Johann Arndt, Johann Gottfried Olearius, and (pseud-)Augustine.

<sup>56</sup> ”Jede Meditation setzt als Ziel voraus, die Seele zu Gott zu erheben und Gott in der Seele durch die Selbsterkenntnis zu erfahren.” Erdei, *Auf dem Wege zu sich selbst*, 46. “Der Meditierende versucht den Abgrund zwischen Gott und dem Menschen zu überwinden und die Ureinheit von Subjekt-Objekt im Zentrum der Seele wiederherzustellen.” Erdei, *Auf dem Wege zu sich selbst*, 48. The association between meditation and mysticism is characteristic of earlier scholarship on Protestantism, which see the impact of meditation literature as a foreign element, Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform*, 3. This perspective has shifted in recent years as illustrated by the anthology Ronald K. Rittgers and Vincent Evener, eds., *Protestants and Mysticism in Reformation Europe*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

<sup>57</sup> Erdei, *Auf dem Wege zu sich selbst*, 46–47.

<sup>58</sup> Martin Nicol, *Meditation bei Luther* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 182; Gerhard Ruhbach, “Meditation als Meditation der Heiligen Schrift. Ein Gang durch die Kirchengeschichte,” *Theologische Beiträge* 9 (1978): 97–109. However, it should not be overlooked that Luther also recommends daily meditation on the catechism, including the decalogue, the creed, and paternoster, Nicol, *Meditation bei Luther*, 150–67. In



medieval Christian tradition for meditation, *lectio divina*, which was a central element of monastic piety, not least the Augustinian order, through which the younger Luther had been shaped.<sup>59</sup> The daily, repeated, ruminative nature of the praxis is anchored in this tradition, but due to some of the particular reformatory innovations it also forms the basis for the non-final character of Luther's meditation. In a shift away from the gradual ascent in the mystical tradition, Luther's conception of meditation is not focused on the way towards perfection (of virtues), but rather the tension of the human experience between despair and comfort (*tentatio* and *consolatio*). There is a personal element to it, whereby it is an always unfinished task that must be taken up on a daily basis.<sup>60</sup> The transformation shows itself in Luther's transformation of a central tenet of medieval meditation, which followed the structure of *lectio – meditatio – oratio – contemplatio*. As an alternative, Luther establishes the influential trias of *oratio – meditatio – tentatio*, which came to stand as the core designation of Luther's understanding of not only theology and what characterizes a theologian, but also establishes a relation between the activities of prayer and meditation as well as the trials of a doubting heart.<sup>61</sup>

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the Lutheran tradition, such attentiveness is also exemplified by Johann Gerhard: “‘Meditatio’ ist nach Gerhard anhaltende und ständig zu wiederholende Betrachtung des göttlichen Wortes – ganz im Sinne von Ps 1,1f: “Wohl dem, der nicht wandelt im Rat der Gottlosen noch tritt auf den Weg der Sünder noch sitzt, da die Spötter saßen, sondern hat Lust zum Gesetz des Herrn Tag und Nacht und redet von seinem Gesetz Tag und Nacht”. “Reden vom Gesetz des Herrn Tag und Nacht” – in der lateinischen Bibel ist hier vom Meditieren die Rede und in der hebräischen vom meditierenden Murmeln. Meditation also hat einen Gegenstand, nämlich die Heilige Schrift.” Johann Anselm Steiger, “Meditation und Frömmigkeit: Lutherische Erbauungsliteratur der Barockzeit: Johann Arndt und Johann Gerhard,” *Jahrbuch des Altländer Archivs* (2005): 90.

<sup>59</sup> Nicol, *Meditation bei Luther*, 31–43; Tanja Täubner, *Zum Andern Soltu Meditirn: Die Meditationspraktiken in Der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes*, Hallesche Forschungen (Halle: Harrassowitz, 2014), 42. Nicol's preliminary starting point for the medieval meditation tradition considers it primarily as a method (hence a praxis of piety) involving both intellect, affect, and experience: “Mittelalterliche Meditation ist eine methodische, Intellekt und Affekt des Menschen erfassende und in Gesamtzusammenhang einer geistlichen Lebensführung stehende Übung, welche auf erfahrungsmäßige Begegnung mit Gott zielt.” Nicol, *Meditation bei Luther*, 9.

<sup>60</sup> Täubner, *Zum Andern Soltu Meditirn*, 43; Nicol, *Meditation bei Luther*, 182; Günter Butzer, *Soliloquium: Theorie und Geschichte des Selbstgesprächs in der europäischen Literatur* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 2008), 176–77.

<sup>61</sup> Nicol, *Meditation bei Luther*, 64ff; Oswald Bayer, “Oratio, Meditatio, Tentatio. Eine Besinnung auf Luthers Theologieverständnis,” *Lutherjahrbuch* 55 (1988): 7–59. “Meditation hat es zunächst mit der Lektüre und der immer neuen Relektüre der biblischen Texte zu tun. Reformatorischer Ausgangspunkt für Gerhards Interesse an der Meditation ist dasjenige, was Luther über die Trias Gebet, Meditation und Anfechtung gesagt hat. Gebet und Lektüre der Heiligen Schrift, also die intensive Beschäftigung mit dem Wort Gottes, – so Luther – überwinden

The understanding of meditation as praxis (or method) has reverberated through the study of the Lutheran tradition, in particular Udo Sträter's influential monograph. Situated within the discipline of church history, Sträter approaches the meditation not primarily as a literary genre, but as an expression of a praxis of piety through the instrumentalization of meditation literature for the purpose of Lutheran church reform in the 17th century. The weight is on the methodically regulated intellectual occupation with the object, whether text, image, or topic, with the intention of unlocking its affective dimension.<sup>62</sup> The study of the meditation becomes part of the history of piety as a nexus for the intellective and the affective. While the rigidity of this praxis of piety can vary, it concerns a common element in relating the meditative praxis to a process of self-reform, for example in the shape of application of faith or sanctification.<sup>63</sup> Sträter employs a more expansive understanding of the object of the meditation, which can go beyond the biblical text to also include images or concepts, which allows for a variety of different sources to be included in the study of the meditation, including sermons on the catechism.<sup>64</sup> The practical aspect is unfolded by Sträter as the

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die Anfechtung. Umgekehrt gilt aber auch: Erst der, der glaubt und sich mit den Texten der Bibel beschäftigt, gerät überhaupt erst in wahre Anfechtung. Weil dem so ist, ist die Heilige Schrift kein Buch, das man einmal liest und dann welegt. Vielmehr soll ein Christenmensch, weil er stets erneut schwach im Glauben wird, immer neu die Heilige Schrift zur Hand nehmen und sich meditierend in den in ihr zu findenden Trost einlesen." Steiger, "Meditation und Frömmigkeit," 90.

<sup>62</sup> "Meditation ist im 17. Jahrhundert der methodisch geprägte intellektuelle Umgang mit einem Text, einem Bild oder einem Sachverhalt mit dem Ziel, die affektive Dimension dieses Gegenstandes zu erschließen." Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform*, 7 n. 34.

<sup>63</sup> "Meditation/ meditatio may best be described as a selfimposed disciplinary regime, consisting of mental and physical exercises that allowed the practitioner to engender and evaluate his self-image, and thence to emend and refashion it. In practice, meditation often consisted of internal exercises that mobilized the sensitive faculties of motion, emotion, and sense (both external and internal ) and the intellective faculties of reason, memory, and will, with a view to reforming the soul." Karl Enenkel and Walter Melion, "Introduction: Types and Functions of Meditation in the Transition from Late Medieval to Early Modern Culture," in *Meditatio – Refashioning the Self: Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual Culture*, vol. 17, ed. Karl Enenkel and Walter Melion, *Intersections. Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture*, vol. 17 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1. "Die religiöse Praxis der Meditation soll einüben in die vergegenwärtigende Erinnerung an das Heilsgeschehen und sie zu einer Lebensform verfestigen." Gerhard Kurz, "Vorwort," in *Meditation und Erinnerung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Gerhard Kurz, *Formen der Erinnerung*, vol. 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 7.

<sup>64</sup> Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform*, 127. See also the exemplification of exegetical, emblematic, and heuristic approaches to meditations in Enenkel and Melion, "Introduction," 5ff.

instrumentalization of the meditation as part of cross-confessional reform efforts during the late 16th and early 17th century, which concerned the connection between the cognitive and the affective; the transformation of preached truth into lived holy lives.<sup>65</sup>

While Sträter still situates the meditation as private praxis of piety,<sup>66</sup> the more expansive understanding of its object is also indicative of a strand of research which sees the meditation as one element of a longer tradition with roots in the psychagogical practices of antiquity. For the analysis of Brochmand's postil, I have found the psychagogical approach to meditation to be helpful in identifying meditative aspects in a broader range of writings that go beyond the narrower genre of 'meditation literature'. Günter Butzer's monograph has been helpful in this regard, even if it is not a study of the meditation as such, but the meditation is rather considered as one among several permutations of the soliloquy. A central point is that soliloquies (and thereby also meditations) can take place in many contexts and forms and can therefore not be reduced to any particular literary genre.<sup>67</sup> Butzer identifies a particular rhetorical structure that characterizes the soliloquy and is identifiable in three distinct forms from antiquity to modern times in a variety of literary forms and intellectual and religious traditions.<sup>68</sup>

The common element in the diachronic study is psychagogy as a systematized praxis in a field overlapped by ethics, medicine, and rhetoric.<sup>69</sup> The goal of psychagogy is moral self-formation, the teaching and nurturing of virtues either through the aid of a mentor (e.g., the letters of Seneca to Lucilius) or self-guided (e.g., the soliloquies of Marcus Aurelius). However, even in the context of a mentorship, the *self-formative* aspect must still be emphasized, for it is here that the praxis results in a series of meditative exercises. Seneca declares that the letters themselves, with their instruction in ethical doctrines, are only the

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<sup>65</sup> Udo Sträter, "'Wie bringen wir den Kopff in das Hertz?'" Meditation in der Lutherischen Kirche des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Meditation und Erinnerung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Gerhard Kurz, Formen der Erinnerung, vol. 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 11–23; Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform*, 9–33.

<sup>66</sup> Sträter, "'Wie bringen wir den Kopff in das Hertz?'" 19–22.

<sup>67</sup> Butzer, *Soliloquium*, 40. See also Butzer's critique of attempts at identifying the meditation as a particular genre, Butzer, *Soliloquium*, 29.

<sup>68</sup> Butzer, *Soliloquium*, 16–22.

<sup>69</sup> "Die Psychagogik als methodische Praxis moralischer Fremd- und Selbstformung hat ihren Ursprung in der griechischen und römischen Antike. Dort ist sie in einem disziplinären Feld situiert, das neben der Ethik auch die Medizin und die Rhetorik umfaßt." Günter Butzer, "Psychagogik in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Diskurse der Gelehrtenkultur in der Frühen Neuzeit: Ein Handbuch*, ed. Herbert Jaumann (Göttingen: De Gruyter, 2011), 715.

first step towards the building up of virtues. It is necessary that they be followed up with precepts for actions and that the reader actively engages in exercises for building up and displaying virtues.<sup>70</sup> This leads to a classical model of psychagogy containing three steps. The first step is the imparting of knowledge, the second step is the appropriation of that knowledge through the meditation, and finally the third step is the fulfillment of the proper action.<sup>71</sup> Butzer applies this model of psychagogy in an analysis of the soliloquy (both dialogical and monological), not as a singular literary form or genre, but in a plurality of forms and genres by paying attention to innovations, (dis)continuities, transformations, and parallels.<sup>72</sup> In the context of Lutheran meditation, one important transformation is the rejection of the idea that the perfection of virtues is attainable in the present life, but rather that piety consists in a perpetual process. Furthermore, there is an attention to the paradoxical relationship between the work of God and the activity of the human being in the meditation.<sup>73</sup> This fundamentally alters the conditions for psychagogy as modelled by Seneca, but as Butzer shows, this does not entail a rejection of psychagogy as a useful model for understanding early modern Lutheran devotional writings.<sup>74</sup> Following these deliberations on the concept of meditation, I argue in Chapter 4 that also Brochmand's postil is better understood once we take into account the psychagogical approach to meditation.

## Sources

### *Universæ Theologiæ Systema*

The dogmatic *magnum opus* of Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema*, was first published in 1633 in two volumes consisting of approximately 1200 and 1700 pages,

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<sup>70</sup> Butzer, *Soliloquium*, 47.

<sup>71</sup> Butzer, *Soliloquium*, 48.

<sup>72</sup> Butzer, *Soliloquium*, 40.

<sup>73</sup> “Die Meditation is für Gerhard ein durch den Heiligen Geist allein aus Gnade mit Hilfe des Mediums der Heiligen Schrift angezündetes Flämmlein im Herzen des Glaubenden. Es liegt also nicht am Willen oder an der Tätigkeit des Menschen, vermittels bestimmter Praktiken die Meditation in Gang zu setzen. Es ist dem Menschen nach Gerhard auch anders als etwa der Ansicht Taulers zufolge, kein Seelenfünklein gegeben, das eine naturhaft in ihm liegende geistliche Potenz herstellen könnte. Gleichwohl aber ist es Aufgabe des Glaubenden, das durch das göttliche Wort entzündete Flämmlein der Meditation durch vertiefendes Betrachten des Wortes Gottes weiter zu entfachen und zu nähren. Die Meditation also ist kein Werk des Menschen, sondern ein Tun des Menschen, das sich dem göttlichen Werk nicht verschließt, sondern öffnet.” Steiger, “Meditation und Frömmigkeit,” 91.

<sup>74</sup> Butzer, “Psychagogik in der Frühen Neuzeit,” 732–33.

respectively.<sup>75</sup> It was written as a textbook for theological studies at the University of Copenhagen, which is not only implied by the title of *Systema*,<sup>76</sup> but also indicated by a series of published disputations a few years before, which suggests that the content was development alongside Brochmand's teaching and disputation activity at the university.<sup>77</sup> An

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<sup>75</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ SYSTEMA in quo Omnes ac singuli Religionis Christianæ articuli ita pertractantur; ut Primo; vera sententia afferatur & asseratur. Secundo; Controversiæ priscae et recentes expédiantur. Tertio; Præcipui Conscientiæ CASUS e verbo divino decidantur*, vol. I-II (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1633). The size of the volumes has frequently been incorrectly recorded. Dreyer notes 4000 pages and Lausten 9000 pages, Dreyer, "The Changing Face of Lutheranism in Post-Reformation Denmark," 55; Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Luther og Danmark i 500 år* (Copenhagen: Gads Forlag, 2017), 85. A reason for this confusion is a curiosity in the page numbers of the second volume. The first 1000 pages are regularly numbered, but the numbers shift subsequently so that 1099 becomes 2000 instead of 1100. The result is that the final page of the second volume, before the *errata*, is listed pages as 7076, but after the digitization of the sources, it is possible to identify the page numbers more accurately. However, irrespective of these inaccuracies, the 2900 pages are still representative of the significant erudition lying behind it.

<sup>76</sup> "As a rule, 'systema' referred to little more than an orderly exposition, mainly used for pedagogical purposes." Wiep van Bunge, "Early Modern Philosophical Systems," in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*, ed. Philip Ford, Jan Bloemendal, and Charles Fantazzi (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 653.

<sup>77</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand and Hans Poulsen Winding, *Disputatio Theologica de Libero Hominis Arbitrio, Circa bona naturalia, civilia, moralia, spiritualia; in statu tum corruptionis per peccatum; tum restitutionis per gratiam; tum consummationis per resurrectionem & gloriam, De cujus thesibus Divino annuente Numine, Sub Præsidio Reverendi Admodum Clarissimi et Excellentissimi Viri, Dn. D. Caspari Brochmanni, S.S. Theologiæ in Regia Havniensi Academia Professoris primarij, Ad diem 7. Julii, anni M DC XXX. pro obtinendo stipendio Theologico publice respondebit Joannes Pauli f. Windingius* (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartor, 1630); Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand and Jakob Knudsen, *Disputatio Theologica de Divina pariter & Humana Filii Dei Natura; Quam, Propitio Numine, Sub Præsidio ac moderamine Reverendi Admodum ac Clarissimi Viri Dn. Caspari Erasmi Brochmanni, SS. Theologiæ Doctoris et Facultatis ejusdem in Academia Hafniensi Professoris solertissimi, publice ad cælestis veritatis libellam expendendam, Pro Regio stipendio impetrando ad diem 30. Junij pro viribus tueri conabitur Jacobus Canuti Hafniensis respondens* (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartor, 1630); Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *De fide justificante disputatio opposita Pontificiis, Socinianis, Calvinianis. Arminianis, Anabaptistis, Svenckfeldianis, Veigelianis quam.. præside Casparo Erasmo Brochmand.. tueri ad diem 20. Julii adlaborabit pro stipendio regio impetrando, Johannes Svaningius* (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartor, 1631); Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand and Erik Olufsen Torm, *Articuli Religionis Christianæ, de gloriosa Christi in coelos adscensione ac in dextera Dei sessione, brevicula ἐχρήσις: Quam, Juvante & benedicente Jesu Christo, Salvatore unico, Defendet ad [...] Maij Casp. Erasmi Brochmand, SS. Theol. D. & Professor Ordinarius, respondente Erico Olai Tormio* (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartor, 1632). In addition to the smaller disputations, several articles were also published in more complete form in 1630: Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand,

abbreviated version, *Systematis Theologici Epitome*, was published in 1649 and was due to its smaller size more likely used as a practical textbook for teaching in order to help the students fulfil the requirements of theological examination.<sup>78</sup> While *Systematis Theologici Epitome* was gradually replaced by other textbooks, these did not differ significantly in content until the end of the 18th century and were mostly paedagogic rearrangements of Brochmand's groundwork.<sup>79</sup> Even in 1777, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* was still considered the basis for disputation exercises at the university.<sup>80</sup> The full impact of *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* is still in need of research, but a few impacts ought to be mentioned. Johann Frimel (1606–1660) wrote a polemical work against Julius Caesar Coturius (1597–1651), where he quoted Brochmand several times and in a letter to Brochmand, Frimel equated him with Johann Gerhard in providing weapons for fighting for the faith.<sup>81</sup> Francis Turretin

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*Religionis Christianæ Articuli, I. De admiranda Dei circa Bona & Mala Providentia. II. De Gratiae Divinæ Natura, amplitudine, efficacia atque operandi modo. III. De Prædestinatione seu Æterna Hominum ad vitam æternam Electione & huic opposita reprobatione* (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartor, 1630).

<sup>78</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Systematis Theologici Epitome: Qua De Singulis Christianæ Religionis articulis vera sententia affertur, explicatur, et e litteris sacris adstruitur* (Copenhagen: Georg Lamprecht, 1649); Jens Glebe-Møller, “Det teologiske Fakultet 1579–1732,” in *Det Teologiske Fakultet*, vol. V, *Københavns Universitet 1479–1979*, ed. Leif Grane (Copenhagen: G.E.C Gads Forlag, 1980), 152–54. It also had an impact abroad, which is seen in an examination protocol from the University of Uppsala in 1680, where a student had been reading Brochmand in preparation for the examination, Steffie Schmidt, *Professoren im Norden: Lutherische Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel der theologischen Fakultäten in Kopenhagen und Uppsala*, *Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte*, vol. 116 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 207–8.

<sup>79</sup> See for example Glebe-Møller, “Det teologiske Fakultet 1579–1732,” 179 and Glebe-Møller, “Det teologiske Fakultet 1579–1732,” 193–94 on the textbooks of Jens Bircherod (1658–1708), Hans Wandal (1656–1710), and Hans Bartholin (1665–1738). The first textbook that was not directly based on Brochmand was *Theses Theologicae* from 1776 by Nicolai Edinger Balle (1744–1816), but even that was still in agreement with the main doctrines of confessional Lutheranism, Glebe-Møller, “Det teologiske Fakultet 1579–1732,” 261–62.

<sup>80</sup> Knud Banning, “Det teologiske Fakultet 1732–1830,” in *Det Teologiske Fakultet*, vol. V, *Københavns Universitet 1479–1979*, ed. Leif Grane (Copenhagen: G.E.C Gads Forlag, 1980), 240. Into the 19th century it would lose its status and would eventually be considered part of the “Old Lutherans” dogmatics, such as provost L. Koch describes in his autobiography. During his studies (1856–1861) he was acquainted with Brochmand's dogmatics and was surprised by the value he found in it, compared to the ordinary lectures at the university, L. Koch, *En gammel præsts erindringer* (Copenhagen: Det Schønbergske Forlag, 1912), 29–30.

<sup>81</sup> Schmidt, *Professoren im Norden*, 274–75; Johann Frimel, *Specimen Anti-Coturii. Hoc est: Demonstrationis Catholicae dictae De Verbo Dei Scripto Examen: Ex Sacra Scriptura & Orthodoxa Antiquitate* (Wittenberg: Johann Röhner, 1644).

(1623–1687) cites Brochmand as one of the main opponents of his theology, in his discussion of question of God’s role as author of sin.<sup>82</sup> Recently, Tero Tulenheimo has demonstrated a direct influence of Brochmand’s *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* on the Swedish theologian Johannes Rudbeckius, in particular the *loci* on the nature of theology and the church.<sup>83</sup> Finally, the initial reprintings in Leipzig (1638), Ulm (1638,1658) and Frankfurt (1658) testify in and of themselves to a reception abroad, in particular in Germany, but as we can see, also beyond, both positive and critical.

The two volumes are comprised of 50 articles in total presented in the *loci*-format.<sup>84</sup> Most commentators reference 49 articles (1-17 in volume one and 18-49 in volume two), but they miss that the numbers 22 and 32 are used twice, while the number 45 is skipped in the enumeration of the articles.<sup>85</sup> The first volume is endowed with a hefty table of contents of 113 pages listing every *sectio*, *quæstio* and *casus conscientiæ* of every article in both volumes and an index of scriptural quotations of 35 pages, also covering both volumes. The work as a whole is dedicated to King Christian IV, but there various supplementary dedications interspersed throughout the work. There is also an introduction to the reader, wherein Brochmand describes his efforts to treat every single article of the Christian faith in a full, but brief manner, striving to achieve a middle road between excessive brevity or fullness.<sup>86</sup> This introduction also provides an interesting glimpse into the self-conception of Brochmand as he states his aim both to have presented everything with clarity and to have followed the “most excellent theologians of our confession” (*præstantissimos nostræ confessionis theologos*),

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<sup>82</sup> Nicholas A. Cumming, “Luther vs. the Lutherans (and Catholics): The Reception and Authority of Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon in Francis Turretin’s (1623–1687) *Institutio Theologiæ Elencticae*,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 103 (2023): 67.

<sup>83</sup> Tero Tulenheimo, *Johannes Rudbeckius och logik: Gestaltning av en luthersk skolastik* (Skellefteå: Artos, 2024).

<sup>84</sup> Comparisons have previously been drawn to both Leonhard Hutter (1563-1616) and Johann Gerhard (1582-1637), not only in structure, but also in method, Glebe-Møller, “Teologi og universitet i Danmark 1560–1700,” 258; E.F. Koch, “En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent,” 682–84; Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism. Volume I*, 54.

<sup>85</sup> See for example E.F. Koch, “En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent,” 672.

<sup>86</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema in quo Omnes ac singuli Religionis Christianæ articuli ita pertractantur; ut Primo; vera sententia afferatur & asseratur. Secundo; Controversiæ priscae et recentes expediuntur. Tertio; Præcipui Conscientiæ Casus e verbo divino decidantur*, vol. I (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1633), fol. b 2 r.

which is followed by a list of theologians from Germany, Norway and Denmark that he sees himself indebted to.<sup>87</sup>

There are slight variations in the structure of the articles, but the general pattern is that each article consists of three parts: a didactic part, which positively asserts the true doctrine presented in the article with a definition and an explication of its parts, a polemical parts that negatively rejects diverging opinions through a meticulous refutation of their arguments, and a pastoral part that deals with possible cases of conscience that arise as a result of the preceding discussion on the topic. It should be noted that I follow Brochmand's own naming convention regarding the first two parts, which he designates as *theologia didactica* and *theologia polemica*, but the third part I designate as 'pastoral' instead of Brochmand's *theologia moralis*. The reason for this is that several commentators seems to confuse this idea of *theologia moralis* with moral guidance or ethics. Both Koch and Kornerup see a useful contribution to the understanding of Brochmand's ethics in the cases of conscience, supplementing the account of his dogmatics.<sup>88</sup> In contrast, Glebe-Møller argues that while this part is often called 'Brochmand's ethics' it has very little to do with ethics, which Glebe-Møller understands as instruction in moral behaviour, which is limited to the articles about the law, secular authority and marriage.<sup>89</sup> Rather, the function of the pastoral part is to provide guidance for pastors. If any in their congregation experiences a troubled conscience because of the doctrine, then they are in need of consolation and support, as Brochmand writes in the introduction to the reader, and *theologia moralis* offers instruction for the pastor on how to provide that consolation.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Martin Luther (1483–1546), Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586), Aegidius Hunnius (1550–1603), Balthasar Mentzer (1565–1627), Johann Gerhard (1582–1637), Leonhard Hutter (1563–1616), Friedrich Balduin (1575–1627), Balthasar Meisner (1587–1626), Nicolaus Hunnius (1585–1643), Paul Tarnow (1562–1633), Johann Quistorp (1548–1648), Johann Clüver (1593–1633), Christian Madsen (1584–1655, Sorø Academy), Hans Poulsen Resen (1561–1638), Hans Mikkelsen (1578–1651, Bishop of Odense), Niels Påske (1568–1636, Bishop of Bergen), Mads Jensen Medelfar (1579–1637, Bishop of Lund), Hans Iversen Wandal (1579–1641, Bishop of Viborg), Jens Dinesen Jersin (1588–1634, Bishop of Ribe), Christian Jensen (Court preacher in Copenhagen 1627–1635) Christian Hansen (Bishop of Aalborg 1610–1642), Morten Madsen (1596–1643, Bishop of Aarhus), Niels Pedersen Aurilesius (1601–1634, Rector of University of Copenhagen), Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fols. b 2 r - b 3 v.

<sup>88</sup> E.F. Koch, "En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent," 674–75; Bjørn Kornerup, "Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670," in *Det lærde Tidsrum og Enevældens første Aar*, vol. IV, *Den Danske Kirkes Historie IV*, ed. Bjørn Kornerup and Hal Koch (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, 1959), 285.

<sup>89</sup> Glebe-Møller, "Det teologiske Fakultet 1579–1732," 136–37.



## *Sabbati Sanctificatio*

Among Brochmand's writings, *Sabbati Sanctificatio* is the one that had the broadest and longest lasting impact, both in Denmark-Norway and abroad. Published in two volumes with a winter part in 1635 and a summer part in 1638 it is commonly considered Brochmand's House Postil, which later title alterations reflects.<sup>91</sup> It was printed in numerous editions well into the 19th century and by end the of the 17th century it was the most widespread postil in Danish households.<sup>92</sup> Individual testimonies also demonstrate its impact. In the library of Augustana University (Sioux Falls, SD) there is a copy of the 1655 edition of *Sabbati Sanctificatio* with a letter from 1949 attached. The letter followed the donation of the book to the university library and describes the importance it had in the family. The donor had emigrated as a child with her family from Norway to North America in 1866, where they arrived in Dakota. Church services were not regular in the early days and therefore her father would often spend the Sunday reading the pericope aloud followed by the exposition in the postil.<sup>93</sup>

Particularly on the Faroe Islands, Brochmand contributed strongly to the shape of Lutheranism through his postil, which would also be read at church services, when a pastor was not present.<sup>94</sup> The impact of the reception of Brochmand's postil still lingers in present-day colloquial Faroese, where the expression *Brochmandslestur* still nowadays is used to refer to a text, speech, or sermon that is rather long and slightly boring.<sup>95</sup> According to the

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<sup>90</sup> Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. b 2 v.

<sup>91</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Det er: Gudelig Betenckning oc kort Forklaring offuer alle Evangelier oc Epistler, som paa Søndage oc alle hellige Dage / udi Guds Meenighed / det gandske Aar igiennem / pleye at fremsættis oc forhandlis: Guds Børn til Gudelig Øffuelse forfattet. Vinter-Parten* (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1635); Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Det er: Gudelig Betenckning oc kort Forklaring offuer alle Evangelier oc Epistler, som paa Søndage oc alle hellige Dage / udi Guds Meenighed / det gandske Aar igiennem / pleye at fremsættis oc forhandlis: Guds Børn til Gudelig Øffuelse forfattet. Sommer-Parten* (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1638).

<sup>92</sup> Charlotte Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum forlag, 2001), 730–31.

<sup>93</sup> Private correspondence provided to me by the librarian at Augustana University (Sioux Falls, SD).

<sup>94</sup> Concerning the importance of Brochmand on the Faroe Islands see Gerhard Hansen, "Revivalist Movements on the Faroes," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 11, no. 4 (1986): 312, but this is an area that is in need of further studies.

<sup>95</sup> <https://www.folkakirkjan.fo/kunning/tidindi/brochmand-og-stanley-i-fuglafjardar-kirkju>

biography by Møller, Brochmand's postil was still preferred devotional reading in the Danish and Norwegian homes at the beginning of the 19th century.<sup>96</sup>

The postil was published in a total of 24 editions, according to Stenbæk, with the latest being published in 1862.<sup>97</sup> As indicated by the publication history and adjoining testimonies, Brochmand was still a part of household piety in the late 19th century, but one should note that there was a period of almost 100 years from the penultimate edition in 1788–91 until the 1862 edition and that the 19th century was a golden age for publication of sources in Denmark. Nonetheless, the manifold editions throughout the 17th and 18th century more than testify to the importance of Brochmand's postil.

The two volumes contain expositions of both the epistle and gospel pericopes for all Sundays in the liturgical year and a selection of feast days.<sup>98</sup> The close relation between the expositions and the pericopes following the liturgical has opened for questions concerning the particular genre of the work as a whole as well as the individual expositions. In general, Brochmand's postil has commonly been considered a collection of sermons and the analysis of the individual 'sermons' also reflects this.<sup>99</sup> Initially, Koch recognises that they are not sermons as such, noting that we do not know if they were previously held before a congregation, but they were intended for household devotion.<sup>100</sup> The latter point is supported by the dedications to the noblewomen Barbara Wittrop (1591–1653) and Anne Lunge (1610–52) in either volume. While the dedications do not specify a particular purpose for the postil, one does find a high praise for the manner in which these noblewomen raised their

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<sup>96</sup> Møller, "Biskop Jesper Brochmands Levnet," 249.

<sup>97</sup> Jørgen Stenbæk, "Brochmand, Jesper Rasmussen (Casparus Erasmus Brochmandus) (1585–1652)," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie Online* (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 2010). [https://www.degruyter.com/database/TRE/entry/tre.07\\_192\\_38/html](https://www.degruyter.com/database/TRE/entry/tre.07_192_38/html).

<sup>98</sup> Christmas Day, St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, New Year's Day, Purification of Mary, Annunciation of Mary, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, 2nd Day of Easter, 3rd Day of Easter, Ascension Day, 2nd Day of Pentecost, 3rd Day of Pentecost, St. John the Baptist, Visitation of Mary, St. Michael, All Saints' Day.

<sup>99</sup> See for example Lyby and Grell: "Given his scholarly inclinations, Brochmand's considerable ability and popularity as a writer of devotional literature is somewhat surprising. In 1635 he published a collection of sermons, *Huspostil*, which remained popular with pious Danish households for more than two centuries." Lyby and Grell, "The Consolidation of Lutheranism in Denmark and Norway," 140.

<sup>100</sup> E.F. Koch, "En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent," 702. This view is reiterated by Nørgaard, who emphasises that *Sabbati Sanctificatio* follows the form of the postil, but has the home, not the church, as its locus, Lars Cyril Nørgaard, "Overvejelser over en ligprædiken," *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (2021): 8, n. 2.

children and household and an account of the blessings that God will give to those parents who teach their children and household knowledge, will, and fear of God.<sup>101</sup> It is not unlikely that these are representative examples of how *Sabbati Sanctificatio* was intended to be used. Nonetheless, in Koch's view the expositions of *Sabbati Sanctificatio* do resemble the sermon of the time and could potentially have been held as they are and ought therefore to be considered examples of the Lutheran sermon at the time. Following this line of thought, Nørager Pedersen argues that Brochmand, together with Hemmingsen, constitute a particular type of doctrinal sermon (*læreprædiken*) and is thus analysed within the context of preaching history.<sup>102</sup> The considerations concerning the specific genre, form and context for *Sabbati Sanctificatio* will receive further elaboration in Chapter 4 in connection with the examination of pious praxis, but my starting point will be to consider *Sabbati Sanctificatio* as a series of expositions on scriptural passages following the pericopes of the liturgical year.

### *Source accessibility*

In my thesis I have taken advantage of certain recent developments with the field of digital humanities that are helpful to deeply textual studies. While the thesis does not place itself in the field of digital humanities, I do occasionally rely on quantitative considerations to assist the close reading of the main sources in order to provide a broader perspective. It is necessary to clarify the process of achieving this. Since there does not currently exist a digital edition of Brochmand's works, except in the form of photographic digitizations produced by The Royal Library of Denmark in conjunction the project Early European Books, I have had to produce my own machine-readable version of, in particular, *Sabbati Sanctificatio* in order to perform computational operations on it. For this purpose I have used Transkribus, which relies on models for Hand-written Text Recognition (HTR), but which are nonetheless applicable to and highly effective for early modern print.<sup>103</sup>

The model was trained on a ground truth data set based on the first 120 pages (60,898 words) of the winter part of *Sabbati Sanctificatio* using PyLaia with a theoretical Character Error Rate (CER) of 0.70/0.91. The result was a text corpus, which has been stored on a Github repository, which also includes a selection of comparable sources of early modern Danish

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<sup>101</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, fols. ii r-v; Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, fols. ii r - iii v.

<sup>102</sup> A.F. Nørager Pedersen, *Prædikenens Idéhistorie* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1980), 215ff.

<sup>103</sup> "Transkribus – Unlocking the Past with AI," READ-COOP, accessed October 29th, 2025, <https://www.transkribus.org/>

postils.<sup>104</sup> Since the real CER is higher than indicated by the model, it has been necessary to apply fuzzy parameters for search queries using the Python library TheFuzz with a variance ratio of 75% (unless otherwise noted) and a clause to include words beginning with the search query to anticipate longer phrases that result from falsely identified spaces between words.<sup>105</sup> This, however, in turn results in a number of false friends, which complicate the use of quantitative measures for statistical purposes and context studies. For this reason, all search queries that are referenced in the thesis will be listed in Appendix A, which provides both the query, the positive search results, and all identified false friends. Python code used in connection with quantitative results will be provided in Appendix B.

## Reference Practices

When working with sources of any kind one should always work the difficulty balance of authenticity, transparency, readability, and intelligibility. While set of decisions in how to represent the past can be perfect, at the very least one can strive to be transparent. Therefore the following decisions have been made to ensure transparency in access to the sources and readability: all significant Danish quotations will be translated fully with original in the footnotes and will be represented exactly as they appear in the original. German sources are quoted in their original, while Latin sources are translated where relevant, but primarily given as original in the footnotes. There is also a specific challenge with quoting from Brochmand's postil, which is how to handle scriptural quotations within the text. The pericope is often given a bold type, but without a reference in the margins, so that the typography indicates when the pericope is cited. Other scriptural quotations are given thorough marginal references, but are not always distinguished in the text, except when Brochmand introduces a quotation. The bold type of the pericope has been kept in the Danish quote, but not in the English translation, as it is not possible to match completely unless translating quite literally, which does not always convey the meaning of the text in the best possible way. Marginal references are not included or indicated in the quotes. This does make it more difficult to distinguish scriptural quotations from Brochmand's explication, but as I argue in Chapter 4, it is likely not intended to be consistently read as scriptural quotation followed by explication, but there is a point in how scriptural quotations and explication are interlinked as a complete text and the quotation practices chosen here will reflect this observation.

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<sup>104</sup> *Early Modern Danish Postils*, v. 0.2.0, Jonas Kjølner-Rasmussen, released December 24, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7113232>

<sup>105</sup> *TheFuzz*, v. 0.20.0, Adam Cohen, released August 18, 2023, python 3.8 or later

All quotations from Latin sources are written plene with ambersand written as ‘et’, nasal strokes written fully, and ij endings are kept instead of being corrected as ii. Capitalization and punctuation are for the most part kept as in the original (certain words are consistently capitalized, such as *spiritus*, *fides*, *evangelium*), except where they interfere with the readability of the text (such as double capitalization at the beginning of a paragraph). In the Latin works, Brochmand quotes and references scriptural passages extensively. The scriptural references are for the most part kept in the quote or added in the text body if excluded from the quote. On occasion, a lengthy catena of scriptural quotations will be contracted in the quote itself, to be able to document the scriptural references without hindering the legibility of both text body and quotation. These instances will be presented with square brackets, such as [2 Cor 5:18–19; Luke 24:46–47; Acts 20:20–21.24; 1 Pet 1:18–19ff].

## Biographical introduction<sup>106</sup>

### *Childhood and Education: 1585–1607*

Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand was born on 5th of August 1585 in Køge to mayor Rasmus Sørensen Brochmand (1537–1599) and his second wife Bodil Jakobsdatter Schøller (1561–

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<sup>106</sup> The sources for Brochmand's biography are manifold as many books of 'jubilee teachers', chroniclers and writers of personal history have attempted a presentation of his life. However, it is quickly clear that there are only minor variations among the various sources and they seem to be primarily based on either Brochmand's autobiography, printed in the university's programme for his funeral, "Latinsk universitetsprogram ved Biskop Jesper Rasmussøn Brochmands Død, Hafn. 29. Apr. 1652," Hiølmst. 650 a 2° (Copenhagen, 1652) or *vita* in the funeral sermon held by Eric Torm, Erik Olufsen Torm, *Ligprædiken over D. Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, biskop af Sjælland, død 19.april 1652.* (1652), 39–71. Outside of the early *vita*e of Brochmand, I rely for the most part on the biographies by Kornerup and Hens and by Møller and will primarily reference these. However, a more exhaustive list of sources for the biographical introduction can be summarized as follows: Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Det er: Gudelig Betenckning oc kort Forklaring offuer alle Evangelier oc Epistler, som paa Søndage oc alle hellige Dage / udi Guds Meenighed / det gandske Aar igiennem / pleye at fremsættis oc forhandlis: Guds Børn til Gudelig Øffuelse forfattet. Vinter-Parten* (Copenhagen: Peder Hake, 1655), fols. b ii r - b vi v; Theophilus Spizelius, *Templum Honoris Reseratum; in quo l. illustrium ævi huius, orthodoxorum, ac beate defunctorum theologorum philologorumque imagines exhibentur* (Augsburg: Gottlieb Göbel, 1673), 189–95; Erik Pontoppidan, *Annales ecclesiæ Danicæ diplomatici, oder nach Ordnung der Jahre abgefasset und mit Urkunden belegte Kirchen-Historie des Reichs Dänemarck, des Vierten Theils, erster Band* (Copenhagen: Gottman Friderich Kisel, 1752), 76–82; Gerhard Treschow, *Danske Jubel-Lærere eller Historisk Berætning om de Lærere, som efter Reformationen i Dannemark og Norge, i offentlige Embeder ved Skole, Academie og Kirken have tient i 50 Aar og derover* (Copenhagen: Andreas Hartvig Godiche, 1753), 65–90; Detlev Gotthard Zwergius, *Det Siellandske Kleresie Eller Efterretning Om De Biskopper, Provster, Præster og andre Geistlige Som Fra Reformationens Tid indtil vore Tider have levet og lært udi Kirker og Skoler i Siellands Stift og underliggende Provintser. Afdeelt i tvende Tomer. Med Høiædle og Høiærværdige Herr Biskop Ludvig Harboes Fortale* (Copenhagen: C.G. Glasings Efterleverske, 1753), 169–237; Christopher Giessing, *Nye Samling af Danske, Norske og Islandske Jubel-Lærere, med Slægt-Register og Stam-Tavler, samt hosførende Anmærkninger til vor Danske Histories Oplysning. Anden Deels andet Bind* (Copenhagen: Berlingske Bogtrykkerie, 1783), 21–31; Møller, "Biskop Jesper Brochmands Levnet"; Bjørn Kornerup and H.A. Hens, "Jesper Brochmand (biskop)," in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, accessed January 10, 2022. [https://biografiskeksikon.lex.dk/Jesper\\_Brochmand\\_-\\_biskop](https://biografiskeksikon.lex.dk/Jesper_Brochmand_-_biskop).

1619).<sup>107</sup> He went to Latin school in Køge at five years of age and was sent to the recently established school for sons of the noble and other honourable men, Herlufsholm, in 1598, where he studied for three years.<sup>108</sup> In 1601 he enrolled at the University of Copenhagen, but stayed there for only a short while before the rector of Herlufsholm, Hans Jensen Alanus (1563–1631),<sup>109</sup> recalled him to the position of *auditor* (*hører*), which meant that Brochmand spent the next two years teaching at the school.<sup>110</sup> After teaching, he went abroad to study at the philosophical faculties in Leiden (1603–1605) and in Franeker (1605–1607).<sup>111</sup> During

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<sup>107</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand ought not to be mistaken for his elder relative and namesake Jesper Brochmand (1488-1562), Martin Schwarz Lausten, “Jesper Brochmand (kancellisekretær),” in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, accessed July 15th, 2025, [https://lex.dk/Jesper\\_Brochmand\\_-\\_kancellisekret%C3%A6r](https://lex.dk/Jesper_Brochmand_-_kancellisekret%C3%A6r). For an overview of the Brochmand genealogy, see Giessing, *Nye Samling af Danske, Norske og Islandske Jubel-Lærere. Anden Deels andet Bind*, 28, although do note the comments by Møller, “Biskop Jesper Brochmands Levnet,” 197.

<sup>108</sup> Herlufsholm was founded on a 12th century Benedictine monastery in 1565 by Herluf Trolle and Birgitte Gøye, but was transferred to the administration of the king and the king’s council already in 1567, Trap Danmark, “Herlufsholm,” accessed July 16th, 2025, <https://trap.lex.dk/Herlufsholm>; Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, “Birgitte Gøye,” in *Den Store Danske*, accessed July 16th, 2025, [https://lex.dk/Birgitte\\_G%C3%B8ye](https://lex.dk/Birgitte_G%C3%B8ye).

<sup>109</sup> Øjvind Andreasen, “Hans Jensen Alanus,” in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, accessed July 16th, 2025, [https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Hans\\_Jensen\\_Alanus](https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Hans_Jensen_Alanus).

<sup>110</sup> Møller, “Biskop Jesper Brochmands Levnet,” 198–99.

<sup>111</sup> The exact years should be taken with some caution. The vita included in the preface to the 1655 edition of *Sabbati Sanctificatio* as well as the funeral sermon state that Brochmand didn’t begin his studies in Leiden until 1604 around Pentecost, Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, b 1 v; Torm, *Ligprædiken over D. Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand*, 41, and this is repeated in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, Kornerup and Hens, “Jesper Brochmand (biskop)”. Brochmand writes in his autobiography that he went to Leiden in 1603 and spent full three years there before moving on to Franeker, where he taught others for almost two years: “Concessi hortatu amicorum in Belgium, idque Anno Millesimo Sexcentesimo et Tertio, circa solennia sacri spiritus, acrecta Lugdunum Batavorum ivi. Ubi postquam solidum triennium Lingvis et Philosophiæ impendissem, Academiam Lugdunensem cum Franeqverana Frisorum commutavi, inque ea biennium prope exegi et Logicam, Metaphysicam, Physicam, Eticam alios docui.” “Latinsk universitetsprogram ved Biskop Jesper Rasmussen Brochmands Død, Hafn. 29. Apr. 1652”. Considering that Brochmand co-published a disputation in November 1605 in Franeker (see below) and that he was registered in the immatriculation protocol in 1605 in Franeker (under the name “Caspar Erasmus, Danus”), S. J. Fockema Andreae and Th. J. Meijer, eds., *Naamlijst der studenten*, vol. I, *Album studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis (1585–1811, 1816–1844)* (Franeker: T. Wever, 1969), 37, it is not likely that he would only have begun his studies in 1604. The end date of his studies of 1607 is likely determined as a *terminus antequem* following the reference to his 1607 disputation mentioned below, but he would not return to Denmark until Easter 1608. Regarding the funding for his studies, his mother took

this time, Brochmand received a thorough education in languages, philosophy, philology and history, and in Franeker he was also given permission to teach, even if he had not yet received academic degree.<sup>112</sup> A few theses were published in these years with Brochmand as the defendant and professor of philosophy Lollius Adama (1585–1609) presiding over the defence. The topics of the these reveal a study that was focused on ethical, logical, physical and metaphysical questions.<sup>113</sup> The condensed references in the theses also provide a small glimpse into his education as they reveal an engagement with authors like Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), John Duns Scotus (1265/66–1308), Jacobo Zabarella (1533–1589), Thomas

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care to send him abroad, but his source of funding is not further documented. Møller suggests that in addition to Alanus, both the royal chancellor Arild Huidtfelt (1546-1609) and the king's chancellor Christian Friis til Borreby (1556-1616) are not unlikely to have provided their support, which seems not unreasonable, especially considering the connection to Herlufsholm, Møller, "Biskop Jesper Brochmands Levnet," 200–201.

<sup>112</sup> Sybrand Haije Michiel Galama, *Het Wijzgerig Onderwijs aan de Hogeschool te Franeker 1585–1811* (Franeker: T. Wever, 1954), 35. It is perhaps surprising that the Lutheran Brochmand went to Reformed Netherlands to study, but it should first be mentioned that the stipulation that limited academic studies abroad was only issued in 1621 and was primarily concerned with those students who had a royal scholarship to study theology. If they intended to serve in an office in either school or church, they were not permitted to enroll in a university that taught 'corrupt doctrine', meaning those that deviated from *Confessio Augustana*, Bjørn Kornerup and Urban Schrøder, *Det lærde Tidsrum og Enevældens første Aar*, vol. IV, *Den Danske Kirkes Historie* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, 1959), 280–82; Glebe-Møller, "Det teologiske Fakultet 1579–1732," 153. As the statistics show, this did not eliminate studies abroad, although this was hardly the intention, since medicin, in particular, could not be studied without traversing confessional boundaries. For a study of Danish and Norwegian students travelling abroad, see Vello Helk, *Dansk-norske studierejser fra reformationen til enevælden 1536–1660. Med matrikel over studerende i udlandet*, Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences, vol. 101 (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1987), 42–43. In the context of choosing Franeker, it should also be mentioned that Glarboe suggests that Franeker was one of the less expensive universities to attend, testified by the larger number of students from the duchies and of lesser means, whereas a relatively smaller number of students came from nobility, Henny Glarboe, "Danske og norske Studenter ved Universitetet i Franeker (1592–1803)," *Personalthistorisk Tidsskrift* 53 (1932): 53–54.

<sup>113</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand and Lollius Adama, *Problemata quorum veritatem. Præsiede D.D. Lollio Adama, Philosopho, in Lycaeo Franequerano, defendere pro virilientetur publice in auditorio philosopho 13. Novemb.* (Franeker: Ægidius Radæus, 1605); Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand and Lollius Adama, *Disputatio metaphysica de principio individuationis, quam dante deo, præsiede D.D. Lollio Adama, in Lycaeo Franequerano Philosophiæ Professore publico et ordinario* (Franeker: Ægidius Radæus, 1606). Several scholars also mention *Disputationes Variæ Philosophicæ* (Franeker, 1607, 8o) which supposedly showcase some of his lectures, but I have been unsuccessful in tracking down this disputation. Zwergius mentions *de logices objecto* as one topic of this disputation, Zwergius, *Det Siellandske Kleresie*, 227.



Cajetan (1469–1534), Francisco Suarez (1548–1617), Paul Soncinatus (d. 1494/5), Petrus Fonsecae (1528–1599), Benedict Pererius (1536–1610), Petrus Ramus (1515–1572) and, of course, Aristotle (384–322 BC). The academic environment in Franeker was from the start built around a traditional Aristotelian approach, which relied heavily on compendia. This was a contrast to the surrounding Dutch universities, where requirements were introduced to teach based on the Greek Aristotle instead of textbooks. It is possible that this has contributed to the rather open and eclectic approach to Aristotle, than has been identified in Franeker, but even though this only really developed after Brochmand's stay there, it is noteworthy that Adama, who was an Aristotelian, also had students, who exhibited consistent Ramist influences.<sup>114</sup>

### *Professor at University of Copenhagen: 1608–1638*

In 1608 he was recalled to Denmark by Arild Huitfeldt to serve as the new rector at Herlufsholm. He entered the position after receiving his degree of *magister philosophiæ* from University of Copenhagen and served for two years, before he was appointed to professor at the university in 1610. Thus began a career of almost three decades as a professor. He first entered the rank of professor of Latin (also referenced as *professor pædagogicus* or *professor eloquentiæ*), during which time he also married Sille Tønnesdatter Balchenburg (1581–1661) on 24th of June 1611.<sup>115</sup> In 1613 he was promoted to professor of Greek and served there for two years. His literary production during this time was fairly limited, but he presided over one disputation in 1615 that reveal a broad engagement in matters pertaining to philology, logic, metaphysics, physics, ethics and politics as well as a smaller disputation series concerning the discipline of philosophy, but only two out of three disputations in the series are preserved.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Jacob van Sluis, *The Library of Franeker University in Context, 1585–1843* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 56–57; Galama, *Het Wijsgerig Onderwijs aan de Hogeschool te Franeker 1585–1811*, 221.

<sup>115</sup> Zwergius, *Det Siellandske Kleresie*, 177; Møller, “Biskop Jesper Brochmands Levnet,” 201–2. Sille Tønnesdatter Balchenburg had served in the house of the king's chancellor Christian Friis til Borreby and Mette Hardenberg, Zwergius, *Det Siellandske Kleresie*, 216.

<sup>116</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Quæstiones Miscellæ Philologicæ et Philosophicæ quas Deo ter opt. ter Benigniss: Annuente, Pro Summis in Philosophia honoribus indispensandis ad diem IX. Maji in Regia Hefniensi Academia* (Copenhagen: Henrich Waldkirch, 1615); Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand and Hans Rasmussen Brochmand, *Disquisitionum de generali philosophiæ notione prima, quam in Academia Haffniensi 14. Julij cum bono Deo defendet Casparus Erasmus Brochmandt, respondente Johanne Erasmo Coagiensi*. (Copenhagen: Henrich Waldkirch, 1613); Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand and Hans Hansen Resen, *De generali philosophiæ notione disquisitio III, quæ communissima philosophiæ principia expendet atque expediet, in publicam disputationem ad diem 22 Julij, si volet Deus, diducenda præside Gasparo Erasmo Brochmand, respondente Johanne Johannis f. Resenio*. (Copenhagen: Henrich Waldkirch, 1615).

In 1615 he was promoted to professor of theology, while at the same time receiving his degree of *doctor theologiae* with a disputation on the universal grace in the theology of Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600).<sup>117</sup> The professorship was, however, briefly interrupted, when King Christian IV (1588–1648) appointed him to serve as tutor for Crown Prince Christian (1603–1647) in 1617–1618.<sup>118</sup> By this time, Brochmand had already had established contact with several members of the ruling elite, both king, chancellors, and rectors. Throughout his life this contact would be preserved and he would eventually grow to be a trusted public servant to Christian IV.

The year 1615 not only marked Brochmand's entry to the theological faculty, but also the transition of the professor of theology, Hans Poulsen Resen (1561–1638), to the position as Bishop of Zealand. It is also considered a significant year for the development of theology in Denmark-Norway. Following the accession of Christian IV to the throne, ecclesiastical policy would increasingly be directed by a desire for uniformity, not the least in matters pertaining to faith. Until this point, the theological environment had been a complex mix of Lutheran, Melanchthonian, Calvinist and Zwinglian influences. The Church Ordinance (1537/9) assumed a commitment to *Confessio Augustana* as it was listed among the books that the pastors were expected to own, but it was never officially accepted as a national creed.<sup>119</sup> When the confessional controversies in Germany reached some intermediary conclusion with the publication of the *Formula Concordiae* (1577), it was decidedly rejected by King Frederik II (1534–1588) who considered it an innovation and prohibited the possession or import of the *Concordia* (1580) with the argument that it would disturb the unity that the kingdom had experienced so far.<sup>120</sup> This resulted in a certain sense of liberty being granted to the theologians within the kingdom to accommodate a complex of Protestant perspectives.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Hans Poulsen Resen and Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Pro D. Nicolao Hemmingio de gratia universali. Contra Joh. Piscatoris tractatum contrarium* (Copenhagen: Henrich Waldkirch, 1615).

<sup>118</sup> Møller, "Biskop Jesper Brochmands Levnet," 202–5.

<sup>119</sup> Carsten Bach-Nielsen and Jens Holger Schjørring, *Kirkens historie. Bind 2* (Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel, 2012); Bach-Nielsen and Schjørring, *Kirkens historie. Bind 2*, 226; Dreyer, "The Changing Face of Lutheranism in Post- Reformation Denmark," 47.

<sup>120</sup> Lyby and Grell, "The Consolidation of Lutheranism in Denmark and Norway," 122–23; Dreyer, "The Changing Face of Lutheranism in Post- Reformation Denmark," 45–46; Kornerup, "Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670," 150–53.

<sup>121</sup> This is not to say that the time was without its own controversies, which especially the case of Niels Hemmingsen shows, Dreyer, "The Changing Face of Lutheranism in Post- Reformation Denmark," 46–52.

This changed with Christian IV and Resen.<sup>122</sup> During the period 1607–1615, Resen acted as *primus motor* for an effort towards uniformity, which consisted of several open controversies against colleagues at the university who exhibited so-called ‘crypto-Calvinist’ tendencies. By 1615 Resen’s fight against ‘crypto-Calvinism’ had achieved smaller victories (through the deposition of dissenting professors), but his transition to the bishopric of Zealand more so marked the beginning of a period of consolidation with Brochmand as a trusted colleague at the university.<sup>123</sup> Although the *Formula Concordiæ* was still never acknowledged as an official confessional document in either Denmark or Norway, its role shifted during these years. There is some evidence that Resen was influenced by its theology, especially in questions of christology, but 20 years later Brochmand would go so far as to say that those who do not approve of *Formula Concordiæ* are not worthy of being considered members of the Lutheran Church.<sup>124</sup>

During Brochmand early years at the university he seems to have had a close working relationship with Resen and showed himself as a staunch supporter of Resen’s line of

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<sup>122</sup> See especially Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Denmark, 1513–1660: The Rise and Decline of a Renaissance Monarchy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 173–85 for the close relationship between Christian IV, the church and its clergy. It is also noteworthy that a significant number of the reforms mentioned here were issued through a letter from the king to the clergy.

<sup>123</sup> Dreyer, “The Changing Face of Lutheranism in Post- Reformation Denmark,” 52–54; Lyby and Grell, “The Consolidation of Lutheranism in Denmark and Norway,” 129–33. For a more extensive treatment of Resen in the years 1607-1615, see Kornerup, *Biskop Hans Poulsen Resen: studier over kirke--og skolehistorie i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede*, 298–492, however, do note Fink-Jensen’s observations that 1615 could hardly be determined as the year of the absolute victory of Lutheran Orthodoxy considering the slew of regulations and ordinances that followed in the years after, Fink-Jensen, *Fornuften under troens lydighed*, 166–70.

<sup>124</sup> “[O]mnes ac singuli γνήσιοι Lutherani, non modo probent scripta Canonica Prophetarum et Apostolorum, tanquam indubitata[m] fidei et morum normam: sed etiam pro confessionis symbolis agnoscant Augustanam Confessionem, Augustanæ confessionis apologiam, Lutheri Catechismum, Articulos Smalcaldicos, et Formulam Concordiæ. Quos libros qui non probat; qui non propugnat, indignus est qui Lutheranæ Ecclesiæ membris accenseatur.” Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Λυχνος Λογου Προπητικου, Φαίνων ἐν ἀνχμηρῷ τόπω: Oppositus Veritatis Pontificiæ Speculo. Hoc Est: Succincta, sed solida, causarum, quibus inductus Illustrissimus Dux Christianus Wilhelmus, Marchio Brandenburgensis &c., a Lutherana Ecclesia defecit, & se Ecclesiæ Pontificiæ mancipavit, refutatio [...]* (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1634), 161. Kornerup, *Biskop Hans Poulsen Resen: studier over kirke--og skolehistorie i det 16. og 17. aarhundrede*, 346–49.

theology.<sup>125</sup> However, around the time that Brochmand began his tutorship of the crown prince, he got into contact with Holger Rosenkrantz (1575–1642), who turned out to be another strong influence.<sup>126</sup> In these years, Rosenkrantz became a mentor for Brochmand. While tutoring the crown prince, Brochmand wrote to Rosenkrantz in 1617 requesting aid, because he knew Rosenkrantz was working on a catechism that might be helpful. His desire was to avoid all questions that had arisen from human curiosity and to lead the crown prince to piety and righteousness.<sup>127</sup> In another letter that year he wrote to Rosenkrantz concerning some more specific questions about God as the author of both the law and the gospel, since he was about to discuss the same topic at a private disputation.<sup>128</sup> This correspondence took place at the same time that Brochmand published a disputation series about the sacraments, where one can detect a direct influence of Rosenkrantz on Brochmand's understanding of the sacraments.<sup>129</sup> In the years between 1616 and 1631 there was an extensive correspondence

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<sup>125</sup> Dreyer, "The Changing Face of Lutheranism in Post- Reformation Denmark," 55; Kornerup, "Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670," 218. In the context of Resen's influence on Brochmand, one ought also mention the curious and highly enigmatic manuscript "Casparus Catholicus sive Brockmannus Papizans," GKS 132 folio (Copenhagen). It is unfortunately very damaged and disorganised, which makes it very hard to read these days. According to Andersen, the anonymous author claims that Brochmand was a zealous Calvinist during his stay in Leiden and was only reluctantly converted to Lutheranism by the influence of Resen and Caspar Bartholin (1585-1629). It also claims that Brochmand fell into Bucerianism later on. Although the claims regarding Brochmand's Calvinist youth are hardly sustainable, the manuscript does provide a contemporary perspective on the connection between Resen and Brochmand's Lutheranism, Erik Petersen, "Wulfstans kodex og Schumachers liste: Om den ældste fortegnelse over håndskrifter i Det Kongelige Bibliotek," *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger* 48 (2009): 29–30.

<sup>126</sup> It is not clear when or how that relation began. Andersen suggests that they were introduced to each other through the chancellor, Christen Thomesen Sehested (1590-1657), who worked closely with Brochmand during his tutorship of the crown prince. The relation seems to have originated around 1616, which also coincided with the time that Rosenkrantz entered the king's council, Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 142.

<sup>127</sup> Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 223. The letters are reprinted in Holger Fr. Rørdam, "Breve til og fra Holger Rosenkrands," *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger Tredje Række*, no. 5 (1884–86): 753–54

<sup>128</sup> Zwergius, *Det Siellandske Kleresie*, 184–85.

<sup>129</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *De Sacramentis Disputatio I-VIII* (Copenhagen: Henrich Waldkirch, 1616–29). The disputations were noticed abroad and received some criticism by Daniel Cramer (1568-1637) for introducing doctrinal novelties. However, according to Andersen, Cramer only had indirect knowledge of the disputations and they were mostly used as part of the general accusations against Rosenkrantz, Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 261. For a comparison of the disputation series with Rosenkrantz, see Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 250–52. In the context of Rosenkrantz' influence, another notable work is the posthumous commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. According to Andersen, the manuscript was sent to

concerning both topics of a theological nature and the exchange of manuscripts, particularly as Brochmand sought council in the writings of Rosenkrantz, many of them unpublished at the time.<sup>130</sup> The letters also reveal some of the zealousness of the younger Brochmand, not only in encouraging Rosenkrantz to publish his writings for the benefit of the church, but also in exhortations to leave his position as a member of the king's council and turn his back on the world in order to use his gifts in the service of the church instead.<sup>131</sup> When this finally happened in 1628, Brochmand rejoiced by dedicating *De Pontifice Romano* to him.<sup>132</sup>

The period 1625–1629 marked Christian IV's very brief participation in the Thirty Years' War or the Emperor's War (*Kejserkrigen*) as it is also known in Danish historiography. The military campaign was very short and was characterized by a series of defeats, which led to the troops of Tilly and Wallenstein to march up through Jutland and occupy it. Considering the lack of military success, the peace of Lübeck in 1629 was quite lenient. The loss of the king's possessions was fairly limited and the most significant result was a worsened relationship between the king and his council.<sup>133</sup> From a religious perspective, the war and concurrent calamities, such as epidemics, famine and natural disasters, were interpreted within the framework of God's punishment for the sins of the people. Combined with the pressure of Catholic missionary activity (1622–1624), the religious literary production of the time was characterised by anti-Catholic polemics and a call to repentance.<sup>134</sup> Brochmand took active part in these efforts with a zealous concern for his country. In a letter to Rosenkrantz in 1626, Brochmand impressed upon his mentor his lamentations over the country, that in spite

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Rosenkrantz for a review in 1625 and the explication of the old covenant seems to be in alignment with Rosenkrantz' views, Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Commentarius in epistolam ad Hebræos* (Copenhagen: Hieronymus Christensen Poulsen, 1706); Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 309.

<sup>130</sup> Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 230–31. See also Glebe-Møller, *Doctrina secundum pietatem*, 159–75 for a bibliography of Rosenkrantz' published and unpublished writings.

<sup>131</sup> Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 143; Kornerup, "Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670," 288.

<sup>132</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *De Pontifice Romano Libri Quinque* (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartor, 1628).

<sup>133</sup> Paul Douglas Lockhart, "Political Language and Wartime Propaganda in Denmark, 1625–1629," *European History Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (2001): 10–13; Kornerup, "Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670," 246–51. For an overview of Denmark during the Thirty Years' War, see also Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Denmark in the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648: King Christian IV and the Decline of the Oldenburg State* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1996), but its strength does not lie in the religious dimension of the war.

<sup>134</sup> Lockhart, "Political Language and Wartime Propaganda in Denmark, 1625–1629," 19–23; Einar Molland, "Det jesuitiske misjonsforsøk i Danmark 1623–1624," *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger Syvende Række*, no. 1 (1951–53): 284–365; Dreyer, "The Changing Face of Lutheranism in Post-Reformation Denmark," 56. See also Chapter Three concerning penitential piety and the ordinary and extraordinary days of prayer and penitence.

of their false doctrine, the Catholics were far more repentant and pious, while his countrymen, although having the light of the word of God, cared only for the world and immoral lives.<sup>135</sup> This sentiment is repeated in 1627 in an anti-Catholic polemical writing, which was published in the vernacular and addressed to the laity. Here Brochmand acknowledges fully that there are too few people among them who exhibit any zealousness for piety, such as one might find among Catholics. However, instead of converting, the reader should confess the truth of it, that the fruits of faith are lacking, but that this does not therefore imply a falsehood of doctrine.<sup>136</sup> A second vernacular writing from the same year had a more pastoral approach in providing guidance for striving against sin and consolation for anxious souls, which meshed quite well with his work on the plague from 1625. It imprints upon the reader that when they experience the plague, they should consider who sent it and for what reason. It is not a medical treatise, but the plague has been sent by God as punishment for sin and the remedy is therefore first a confession of sins, ceasing their resistance and initiation of prayer.<sup>137</sup> Of a more practical nature, one ought also consider the 1629 ordinance concerning church discipline. It contained prescriptions for both laity and clergy concerning proper conduct and went into quite a bit of detail. The clergy was primarily warned against drunkenness and improper fashion, but more generally they received admonition to act as examples of proper and righteous conduct for their congregation. Regarding the laity, the ordinance declared that elders should be elected in all parishes consisting of pious and

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<sup>135</sup> “Hostes enim nostri, quantumvis superstitione cæci sunt, ea tamen parte oculati sunt, quod in saccis, cinere, jejunio, continuis precibus et variis corporis afflictionibus, et quidem non raro haud necessariis, dolorem suum de offenso Deo testentur. Nos vero, quibus Lux verbi Domini nostri clarum affulsit, heluamur, scortamur, opibus cumulandis toti vacamus. Non est qui ingemiscat: non est qui pro domo Dei ad Deum suspiret: non est qui saccum pro Regis nostri incolumitate induat: non est qui Deo nostro, in pænam more furentis leonis proterve ruentis, Jesum Christum opponat.” *Dänische Bibliothec oder Sammlung Von Alten und Neuen Gelehrten Sachen aus Dännemarck. Bd. 3* (Copenhagen: Hieronymus Christensen Poulsens enke, 1739), 213–14.

<sup>136</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Gudelig vndervisning: Om Jt Guds Barn / vden sin sjælis største skade oc Saligheds fordærffuelse / kand den Papistiske Religion antage [...]* (Copenhagen: Jørgen Hantsch, 1627), G 4 v - G 10 v; E.F. Koch, “En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent,” 694–96; Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 307.

<sup>137</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *It Christen Menniskis Aandelige Kamp* (Copenhagen: Henrich Waldkirch, 1627); Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Manus domini. Hoc est: De peste e verbo divino pia institutio* (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartor, 1625). *Manus domini* was also published in a vernacular edition in 1630. There has only been very limited attention paid to these earlier works of Brochmand, but considering the parallels to both *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* and *Sabbati Sanctificatio*, as also observed by Koch, it would be interesting to consider the continuities with later works, especially in light of the Rosenkrantz controvesy, E.F. Koch, “En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent,” 712–18.

zealous men who should assist and council the pastors in matters of moral conduct and lacking or improper church attendance. The councils task with disciplining the members of the congregation was a serious task, which could move from private admonition to enacting a ban from partaking in the Eucharist and finally with risk of exile. The ordinance also contained some general stipulations regarding the proper administration of the sacraments and the word of God, which included an admonition to the fathers of the households to teach their household the catechism.<sup>138</sup>

During his time at university, Brochmand served as rector on three different occasions (1623, 1629, 1635)<sup>139</sup> and in 1620 he was granted a prebend at Lund Cathedral as additional income.<sup>140</sup> As part of his duties, he was actively involved in various tasks of reform efforts and controversies. According to Andersen, it is likely that Brochmand, together with Rosenkrantz, Bartholin and the chancellor Christian Friis, was actively involved in the efforts towards a university reform, which resulted in the *Novellæ Constitutiones* in 1621.<sup>141</sup> When Christian IV issued the publication of a new bible edition, it was in large parts managed by Brochmand, who was very involved in practical matters, especially the finalization of the cobber ingravings by Simon de Pas.<sup>142</sup>

The close relationship between Brochmand and Rosenkrantz did not last, but eventually turned into a bitter controversy. There are no surviving letters from Brochmand to Rosenkrantz between 1631 and 1638, and we are only aware of one that was sent because we have Rosenkrantz' reply dated November 1638, and that is marked by a tone that became increasingly harsh at the highpoint of the controversy.<sup>143</sup> The predominant explanation for how the relations between the two men disintegrated is based on the understanding that Brochmand eventually moved away from the insecurity and curiosity that had characterized his early years at university, and during the late 1620s drifted instead to an underlying conservatism in order to defend the certainty of theological truth as it was expressed in the *Formula Concordiæ*.<sup>144</sup> This shift in theology is often compared to Rosenkrantz' innovative

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<sup>138</sup> Kornerup, "Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670," 251–56.

<sup>139</sup> Zwergius, *Det Siellandske Kleresie*, 178.

<sup>140</sup> Møller, "Biskop Jesper Brochmands Levnet," 205.

<sup>141</sup> Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 191–92; Glebe-Møller, "Det teologiske Fakultet 1579–1732," 152–53; Kornerup, "Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670," 278–79; Schmidt, *Professoren im Norden*, 59–64.

<sup>142</sup> Carsten Bach-Nielsen, "Christian den Fjerdes foliobibel og dens ikonografi," *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (1990): 67.

<sup>143</sup> Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 358–59.

<sup>144</sup> Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 306–8; Dreyer, "The Changing Face of Lutheranism in Post-

efforts in developing a theology that was significantly different from his contemporaries. As a student, Rosenkrantz had spent time between 1590 and 1595 in both Rostock and Wittenberg, where he was, at first, a strong proponent of Aristotelian philosophy and Gnesio-Lutheran theology.<sup>145</sup> This changed around the turn of the century. In a letter to Daniel Cramer (1568–1637) in 1623, Rosenkrantz described how he had gone through a religious crisis some 24 years earlier. In the letter he laid out three main objections to the dominant theology he had found at the universities. First, he was tormented by the many differences of opinion among those who claimed to build on the same foundation and yet came to very different conclusions, leading to harsh controversy and strident polemics. Second, many theologians fought their controversies with terminology and methods that were alien to scripture, which ought to be the foundation of theology. Third, the form of theology that resulted from these two errors was of such a kind that it was incapable of leading to piety.<sup>146</sup> The experiences in Rostock and Wittenberg set Rosenkrantz on the path of creating a theology that was based on scripture, without imported philosophy and which could rightly be entitled a “doctrine according to piety” (*doctrina secundum pietatem*).<sup>147</sup>

The centre of the controversy was Rosenkrantz’ doctrine of double justification, which was first publicly presented in his preface to an edition of pastoral writings and letters by Albrecht V (1490–1568), Margrave of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia.<sup>148</sup> The publication quickly became controversial and was first attacked by Stephan Klotz (1606–1668), superintendent-general of Schleswig and Holstein, who directed the condemnation to the theological faculty at the University of Copenhagen. The Faculty took a lenient approach at first, but eventually joined with Klotz in the condemnation of Rosenkrantz. It is generally assumed that Brochmand was the leading voice behind the faculty’s responses and he also presided over the three disputations that were defended in November 1640, which marked the end of the

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Reformation Denmark,” 56–57; Kornerup and Helk, *Biskop Hans Poulsen Resen II*, 23–24.

<sup>145</sup> Jens Glebe-Møller, “Holger Rosenkrantz, ‘the Learned’ (1574–1642),” in *Medicine, Natural Philosophy, and Religion in Post-Reformation Scandinavia*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (London: Routledge, 2017), 99–100. doi:10.4324/9781315594712.

<sup>146</sup> Glebe-Møller, “Holger Rosenkrantz, ‘the Learned’ (1574–1642),” 102–3; Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 99–101.

<sup>147</sup> Glebe-Møller, “Holger Rosenkrantz, ‘the Learned’ (1574–1642),” 102.

<sup>148</sup> Holger Rosenkrantz, ed., *Fürsten Spiegel. Das ist: Schrifftten und Sendschreiben Des Durchleuchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn Herr ALBRECHT des Fünfften / Marggraffen zu Brandenburg / Erster Hertzogen in Preussen*. (Aarhus, 1636); Glebe-Møller, “Holger Rosenkrantz, ‘the Learned’ (1574–1642),” 110.



controversy. The teachings of Rosenkrantz were indirectly condemned as contrary to the church's doctrine and in 1642 Rosenkrantz died of illness.<sup>149</sup>

### *Bishop of Zealand: 1639–1652*

Another seminal year was 1638, which was marked by the death of Resen on 14th of September. Christian IV quickly chose Brochmand as successor to the bishopric of Zealand, but at the behest of Brochmand himself, the king organised an election among the town pastors in the bishopric in November, since Brochmand desired to follow the instructions of the Church Ordinance. He was elected unanimously and consecrated on the 17th of March 1639.<sup>150</sup> Around the same time Brochmand experienced the personal tragedy of losing their son, Christian Jespersen Brochmand, who died at sea on the way home from studying in England, leaving them without any children.<sup>151</sup> Brochmand's time as bishop was in large parts characterised by a continuation of the line already by himself and Resen. Occupied with safeguarding the church, he continued his reform efforts, polemical engagements and edifying activities. The significant reform efforts is a topic of a different study, but a few highlights ought to be mentioned, nonetheless. After the desire of Brochmand, a small change was made to the liturgy of the Eucharist. The praxis at the time was to distribute bread and wine in silence, but in 1646 Christian IV requested that distribution should be accompanied by the words "this is the blood of Christ" in order to encourage a more attentive consideration of the meaning of the elements. In 1640 the Latin choirs in the liturgy were abolished and replaced by reading of scripture and singing psalms in the vernacular.<sup>152</sup> Finally, one of the more infamous resolutions was found in a royal letter from 1645, which tried to do away with the unfortunate habit of sleeping during the sermon. To prevent this, it was declared that a body of elders should be given sticks to prod on the head those people who were found to be sleeping during the church service.<sup>153</sup>

One particular controversy would characterise his time as bishop, which was that of the conversion of Christian Wilhelm of Brandenburg (1587–1665) to Catholicism in 1633. On that occasion, the Jesuits published the *Speculum Veritatis*, which listed 10 reasons for the

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<sup>149</sup> Glebe-Møller, "Holger Rosenkrantz, 'the Learned' (1574–1642)," 111–13; Kornerup, "Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670," 291–94. Regarding the controversy between Rosenkrantz and Brochmand, see also the thorough overview in Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 297–387.

<sup>150</sup> Kornerup, "Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670," 268–70; Møller, "Biskop Jesper Brochmands Levnet," 208–9.

<sup>151</sup> Kornerup and Hens, "Jesper Brochmand (biskop)."

<sup>152</sup> Kornerup, "Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670," 307–8.

<sup>153</sup> Kornerup, "Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670," 273–74; Johansen, "Preacher and Audience: Scandinavia," 322.

conversion. Christian IV requested the Brochmand wrote a response, which was published in 1634, where he refuted all of the 10 points.<sup>154</sup> The Jesuits responded with a meticulous *Apologia Speculi Veritatis* (1638) to which Brochmand had to respond. His final disputation was published posthumously and while the systematic refutation of the *Apologia* is commendable as ever, the tone is decidedly different and harsher. Considering the attacks on his character during the controversy, it is perhaps not surprising that he was personally affected by the ordeal.<sup>155</sup> The controversy also provided the occasion for a lecture series at the university in 1642 against the *Apologia*, which together with his lecture series on Genesis and the published disputations are the only recorded examples of his teaching activity at the university.<sup>156</sup>

While already as a professor of theology, Brochmand began his career as a preacher of funeral sermons, but it was especially during his time as bishop that he served in that capacity, with the majority being published 1645–1648.<sup>157</sup> His funeral sermon activity testifies to what has already been indicated in the account of Brochmand’s life, which is that from a very young

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<sup>154</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Λυχνος Λογου Προφητικου, Φαίνων ἐν ἀνχμηρῷ τόπῳ: Oppositus Veritatis Pontificiae Speculo. Hoc Est: Succincta, sed solida, causarum, quibus inductus Illustrissimus Dux Christianus Wilhelmus, Marchio Brandenburgensis &c., a Lutherana Ecclesia defecit, & se Ecclesiae Pontificiae mancipavit, refutatio [..]* (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1634). This work was later translated into German, Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Evangelisch Liecht und Recht Dess vesten Prophetischen Worts, das da scheint in einem duncklen Orth, &c. Entgegen gestellt Dem genandten Spiegel Pöpstischer Warheit, &c : das ist, Kurtze und Gründliche Widerlegung deren Motiven und Ursachen, welche den Durchleuchtigen, Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Christian Wilhelmen, Marggraffen zu Brandenburg, &c. angestrengt, dass Er der Lutherischen Religion Valedicirt, und dagegen zu der Römisch Catholischen Religion getretten..* (1638).

<sup>155</sup> Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Confutatio Apologiae Ducis Christiani Wilhelmi, quatuor partibus absoluta* (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1653), although parts of it had already been published as in a disputation a few years earlier, Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Παρακαταθήκη divina, opposita Ταῖς βεβήλοις κενοφωνίαις καὶ ἀντιθέσεσι τῆς φευδωνύμου γνώσεως : hoc est: Apologiae Speculi veritatis Brandenburgici confutatio* (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1646). For an overview of the Brandenburger controversy, see also Kornerup, “Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670,” 262 and E.F. Koch, “En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent,” 696–702.

<sup>156</sup> Schmidt, *Professoren im Norden*, 127, n. 31.

<sup>157</sup> E.F. Koch, “En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent,” 724–25. The funeral sermons of Brochmand have recently attracted greater attention, see for example Lars Cyril Nørgaard, “Making Private Public: Representing Private Devotion in an Early Modern Funeral Sermon,” in *Early Modern Privacy*, ed. Michaël Green, Lars Cyril Nørgaard, and Mette Birkedal Bruun (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 378–400 and Nørgaard, “Overvejelser over en ligprædiken.”

age, he was placed into contact with the ruling elite and he remained within that sphere of influence throughout his life. A copy of received letters testifies to the solidification of his network through contacts abroad, most of which were received during his time serving as bishop, but already through Rosenkrantz, he was given the opportunity to build a network.<sup>158</sup> He worked closely together with Christian IV ever since being assigned as a tutor for the king's son and when Christian IV died in 1648, Brochmand was given the responsibility of safekeeping the relics until a new heir was crowned. Brochmand's involvement was not, however, purely a blessing. During the controversy between Christian IV and his mistress Kirsten Munk (1598–1658), Brochmand supported the king's decision that her children were not allowed to visit her after being dismissed from court. This incurred the enmity of the king's son-in-law, Corfitz Ulfeldt (1606–1664), who had multiple attempts at revenge against Brochmand after the death of Christian IV, which embittered the last years of the aging bishop.<sup>159</sup> After some years of physical ailments, Brochmand died on the 19th of April 1652. His student, Erik Torm, was in charge of the funeral sermon, which, due to objections made by Brochmand's nephews, was never commercially printed.<sup>160</sup>

None of Brochmand's children outlived them. Instead, he and his wife established a stipend to aid theology students in their travels abroad and opened their house for young men studying at the university.<sup>161</sup> Through this, they exerted an influence on significant actors of the next generation, including Hans Svane (1606–1668), who as bishop was instrumental in implementing absolutism in Denmark-Norway in 1660,<sup>162</sup> and the powerful chancellor Peder Schumacher Griffenfeld (1635–1699).<sup>163</sup> During his life, Brochmand collected an impressive library of about 4.000 volumes, which were bequeathed to the university library after his

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<sup>158</sup> Rosenkrantz had brought Brochmand into contact with Balthasar Mentzer as early as 1616, Andersen, *Holger Rosenkrantz den Lærde*, 130. See the apography of letters in "Breve Til Jesper Brochmand. Afskrifter," GKS 3038 kvart (Copenhagen).

<sup>159</sup> Kornerup, "Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670," 296–97; Møller, "Biskop Jesper Brochmands Levnet," 227–33; Heiberg, Steffen, "Corfitz Ulfeldt (forræderidømt)," in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, accessed July 28th, 2025, [https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Corfitz\\_Ulfeldt\\_-\\_forr%C3%A6derid%C3%B8mt](https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Corfitz_Ulfeldt_-_forr%C3%A6derid%C3%B8mt); Tandrup, Leo, "Kirsten Munk," in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, accessed July 28th, 2025, [https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Kirsten\\_Munk](https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Kirsten_Munk).

<sup>160</sup> Treschow, *Danske Jubel-Lærere*, 69–70.

<sup>161</sup> For a full list of charitable activity, see Giessing, *Nye Samling af Danske, Norske og Islandske Jubel-Lærere. Anden Deels andet Bind*, 30.

<sup>162</sup> Kornerup, "Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670," 297, 343ff.

<sup>163</sup> Heiberg, Steffen, "Peder Schumacher Griffenfeld," in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, accessed July 28th, 2025, [https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Peder\\_Schumacher\\_Griffenfeld](https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Peder_Schumacher_Griffenfeld)

death.<sup>164</sup> Beyond personal use and its accessibility for the young students that Brochmand housed, it was also made available for visitors. When the Spanish Count Bernardino de Rebolledo (1597–1676) was sent to Copenhagen as ambassador (1648–1661), he studied in the various book collections that were made available to him, including Brochmand's.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> The collection, unfortunately, seems to have perished in the 1728 fire, just as the rest of the university library did, Banning, “Det teologiske Fakultet 1732–1830,” 214, but the catalogue gives us a valuable insight into his personal collections, “Bibliothecæ Brochmandianæ,” AM 901, 4o (Copenhagen).

<sup>165</sup> Emil Gigas, *Grev Bernardino de Rebolledo. Spansk gesandt i Kjøbenhavn 1648–1659* (Copenhagen: Græbes Bogtrykkeri, 1883), 34–35.

## Chapter 1: The Nature of Theology

### Theology and Prolegomena

From the end of the 16th century, Protestant systems of theology began to include in their works an introductory addition in the style of the *prolegomena*, which dealt with presuppositional matters of the nature of theology, such as its foundational principles, method, and epistemological considerations.<sup>1</sup> The questions themselves were of course nothing new, since they built on academic discussions on the nature of theology that were abundant since the 12th and 13th centuries, especially due to the influence of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and *Ethics*. Particularly influential was the introduction written by Thomas Aquinas to Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, which detailed five questions concerning the nature of theology as *sacra doctrina*: 1) on the necessity of theology; 2) whether it is one discipline or many; 3) whether it is practical or speculative; 4) on the subject of theology; and 5) on the method of theology.<sup>2</sup> However, discussions on the nature of theology took on quite a different character in the early Reformation, which suspended certain of these questions for a time. This was partially due to a rejection of the Aristotelian foundation of the medieval scholastic debates,<sup>3</sup> and partially due to different needs in terms of collecting and systematizing their bodies of theology. These efforts were firstly focused on the pedagogical arrangement for use at universities to aid in the training of a new generation of pastors, and subsequently on the authoring of confessional documents to establish boundaries externally.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Richard A. Muller, *Prolegomena to Theology*, vol. 1, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics: The Rise and Development of Reformed Orthodoxy, c. 1520 to Ca. 1725* (Boston: Baker Academic, 2003), 85; Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism. Volume 1*, 73ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Ad evidentiam hujus sacrae doctrinae, quae in hoc libro traditur, quaeruntur quinque: 1 de necessitate ipsius; 2 supposito quod sit necessaria, an sit una, vel plures; 3 si sit una, an practica, vel speculativa: et si speculativa, utrum sapientia, vel scientia, vel intellectus; 4 de subjecto ipsius; 5 de modo." "Sentences Commentary," Thomas Aquinas, accessed July 12th, 2025, <https://aquinas.cc/la/en/~Sent.I.Pr.Q1>. See also Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics I*, 88–96; Ulrich G. Leinsle, *Introduction to Scholastic Theology*, trans. Michael J. Miller (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2010), 120–242.

<sup>3</sup> Leinsle, *Introduction to Scholastic Theology*, 255–60.

<sup>4</sup> Leinsle, *Introduction to Scholastic Theology*, 260–64, 299–300; Thomas Kaufmann, "The Clergy and the Theological Culture of the Age: The Education of Lutheran Pastors in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe*, ed. C. Scott Dixon and Luise Schorn-Schütte (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 120–36; Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics I*, 100–102; Walter Sparr, "Method and Ethos of Theological Instruction and Discourse," in *The Cambridge History of Reformation*

In a parallel development, the Catholic theologians continued their engagement with the medieval scholastic legacy, including the instrumentalization of Aristotelian philosophy and metaphysics as a methodological foundation.<sup>5</sup> Two milestones in this trajectory were the Council of Trent (1546–1563) and the course of study established by the Jesuits culminating in the *Ratio Studiorum* in 1599.<sup>6</sup> The impact of post-Tridentine theology on inter-confessional polemics, the methodological development pioneered by the Paduan school, and the establishment of metaphysics as an independent academic discipline in the philosophical faculties offered a challenge to the development of theological systems, which resulted in renewed considerations on both theology as a scientific discipline and on method.<sup>7</sup> The result was that around 1600 the *prolegomena* began to appear in systems of theology and would increasingly become an established part of the inter- and intra-confessional discussions about the nature of theology.

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*Era Theology*, ed. Kenneth G. Appold and Nelson H. Minnich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024), 405–11. Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* (1521) was a significant model for university textbooks with a method rooted in biblical exegesis and formed the basis for Niels Hemmingsen's *Enchiridion* (1557) which laid the foundation for theological studies in Copenhagen until it was replaced by Brochmand's *Universæ Theologiæ Systema*. See for example Kornerup, "Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670," 70–72.

<sup>5</sup> See the examples of Johannes Eck and Cardinal Cajetan for different approaches, Leinsle, *Introduction to Scholastic Theology*, 268–76.

<sup>6</sup> Leinsle, *Introduction to Scholastic Theology*, 280–86; Sparn, "Method and Ethos," 412–15.

<sup>7</sup> Sparn, "Method and Ethos," 418–21; Leinsle, *Introduction to Scholastic Theology*, 299–302; Walter Sparn, *Wiederkehr der Metaphysik: Die ontologische Frage in der lutherischen Theologie des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1976); Bengt Hägglund, *Die heilige Schrift und ihre Deutung in der Theologie Johann Gerhards: Eine Untersuchung über das altlutherische Schriftverständnis* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1951), 9–36; Steiger, "The Development of the Reformation Legacy," 700–703; Richard A. Muller, "Scholasticism, Reformation, Orthodoxy, and the Persistence of Christian Aristotelianism," *Trinity Journal* 19, no. 1 (1998): 81–96; Jānis Krēslīņš, *Dominus Narrabit in Scriptura Populorum: A Study of Early Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Teaching on Preaching and The Lettische Lang-Gewünschte Postill of Georgius Mancelius*, *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen*, vol. 54 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1992), 75–108. The "return of metaphysics" did of course not come without inter-confessional controversies, which especially the Hoffmann-controversy concerning the relationship between theology and philosophy testify, see for example Friedrich, *Die Grenzen der Vernunft*; Glenn K. Fluegge, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) and the Conceptualization of Theologia at the Threshold of the "Age of Orthodoxy": The Making of the Theologian*, *Oberurseler Hefte. Ergänzungsbände*, vol. 21 (Göttingen: Edition Ruprecht, 2018), 65–70. doi:10.2364/3846903018.

## On the Constitution of Theology

The first article in Brochmand's *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* serves as his *prolegomena* in laying out his presuppositions of the work.<sup>8</sup> Although the numbering of the articles follow a simple numerical order, it is clear that the first article is distinct from the rest of the work. This is shown typographically in the page numbers that follow the folio format and was thus printed in connection with the table of contents and indices, whereas the numerical page numbers only begin with the second article, "On Sacred Scripture". Furthermore, it is seen in the sense that Brochmand deviates slightly from the format of the articles that is used in the rest of the work. A standard article contains three parts. The first is a didactic part where he presents the proper definitions and distinctions relevant to the topic of the article. Then follows a polemical part, where he goes through all relevant controversies and dismantles the arguments of his theological opponents. These relate mostly to the specific discussions on the nature of theology, but Brochmand also includes a discussion about the genre of the theological system (*systema theologicum*). Here he argues that the praxis of treating of doctrine in a methodical way as well as the presentation of it in a compendious format is of divine origin. The basis for the argument is derived from scripture, where he first references how God himself presented, in a direct manner, the essence of Christian doctrine (*summa doctrinæ Christianæ*) to Adam and Eve immediately after the fall (Gen 3:15)<sup>9</sup> and subsequently gave a summary of both the gospel and the law: the gospel to Abraham in the form of the promises of blessings through his seed (Gen 12:3, 22:18, 28:14, 49:10) and the law to the Israelites presented methodically in the form of the two tablets (Ex 20; Deut 5). Furthermore, John the Baptist, Christ himself, and the disciples followed a similar praxis when they preached the two essential parts of Christian doctrine, which Brochmand presents as "do penitence or repent and believe the gospel" (*agite pœnitentiam seu resipiscite, et credite Evangelio*) (Mark 1:15; Luke 24:47). Finally, Brochmand provides a thorough list of examples from the early church as well as a few medieval examples to show that the systematic treatment of the articles of faith is not a new thing, but part of a continuous tradition.<sup>10</sup> The third and final part of the article on theology concerns cases of conscience related to the topic and is designated as the moral part. The didactic and polemical parts follow a familiar pattern in his *prolegomena*, but in the moral part he does not specifically consider cases of conscience related to the nature of theology. Rather, he lays out the foundation for what he intends to do with the moral part by first listing the foremost Catholic,

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<sup>8</sup> Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fols. y 2 v - aa 2 v.

<sup>9</sup> "I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and thy seed and her seed: she shall crush thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for her heel." (Gen 3:15)

<sup>10</sup> Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fols. z 3 v - z 4 r.

Reformed, and Lutheran works and authors on the topic of cases of conscience, followed by a definition of *conscientia*,<sup>11</sup> and finally a consideration of what the doubting conscience is and how it must be encouraged.<sup>12</sup>

## Theology and Doctrine

The summary definition of theology is set forth in Section VII of the first part of the article and contains in itself the various questions treated in the previous sections. It is therefore a good starting point for a discussion on the nature of theology:

Theology is doctrine, derived from revelation, comprehended by sacred writings, by which, regarding God and the things that are necessary to know, believe, and do unto salvation, we are thus instructed, so that we, having been transformed in the image of God, can be blessed with eternal life.<sup>13</sup>

As an initial observation, it is worth noting that Brochmand defines theology as *doctrina*. Understood in the context of scientific theory, scientific disciplines could be defined in terms of an internal *habitus* with a corresponding external *doctrina*. In this way it is not possible to separate entirely the *doctrina* of a discipline from the *habitus*. They stand in a close relationship by which one begets the other through the teaching activity inherent in *doctrina* and by which one is made capable of learning and structuring knowledge through the acquisition of the *habitus*.<sup>14</sup> In exemplary fashion, Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) provides a twofold definition of theology that considers it first systematically and abstractly as *doctrina*

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<sup>11</sup> “*Conscientia itaque est tacita quædam mentis ratiocinatio, cujus definitivam sententiam excipit cordis aliquis affectus: quo bona et recta quæ judicantur, cum quadam lætitia adprobantur, mala autem et prava cum dolore et mæstitudine improbantur; divinitus insita omnibus hominibus, partim ut sit judicium et testimonium integritatis, ad quam homo initio conditus fuit, et labefactionis peccatum sequutæ, partim ut sit tribunal Dei, in pectoribus hominum erectum ad accusandum delinquentes et excusandum hos, qui quæ recta sunt faciunt.*”

Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. aa 1 v.

<sup>12</sup> Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fols. z 4 v - aa 2 v.

<sup>13</sup> “*Theologia est doctrina, (1) hausta e revelatione, (2) literis sacris comprehensa, (3) qua de Deo & rebus, cognitu creditu & factu ad salutem necessariis, ita (4) erudimur, ut transformati in imaginem Dei, vita beemur æterna.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. z 1 v.

<sup>14</sup> Fluegge, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637)*, 62; Häggglund, *Die heilige Schrift und ihre Deutung in der Theologie Johann Gerhards*, 48; Gabriel Jüssen and Gangolf Schrimpf, “Discipline, Doctrina,” in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie. Band 2: D-F*, ed. Joachim Ritter (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 1972), 256–61.



and then habitually and concretely as *habitus θεόσδοτος*.<sup>15</sup> For this reason Wallmann underlines the necessity of distinguishing between ‘Lehre’ and ‘Gelehrsamkeit’ when understanding the specifics of *doctrina de deo* in Gerhard’s conception. In so far as theology is defined in terms of both *doctrina* and *habitus*, it is not possible to separate entirely the system of knowledge and the knowing subject, but as a compound term it denotes the presence of the knowledge of God in the human soul.<sup>16</sup> Gerhard’s balanced dual definition was not universally accepted, and according to Wallmann it is possible to detect a prioritization between the various traditions: “Wenn spätere lutherische Definitionen die Theologie als *habitus* und nicht als *doctrina* bestimmen wollen, reformierte Definitionen mit vorzug als *doctrina* und nicht als *habitus*, so sieht Gerhard in den Kategorien *doctrina* und *habitus* noch keine Alternative.”<sup>17</sup> In this context it is noteworthy that as a Lutheran professor, Brochmand chooses *doctrina* in his summary definition of theology, but as the subsequent discussion will show, it is followed by a strict reluctance to use the term *habitus* to characterize theology.

### Efficient Cause of Theology

The fourfold explication of the summary definition approximates the four causes as its components. The initial part concerning the efficient cause is only briefly described, while the

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<sup>15</sup> “Theologia (systematice et abstractive considerata) est doctrina ex verbo Dei exstructa, qua homines in fide vera et vita pia erudiuntur ad vitam aeternam. Theologia (habitualiter et concrete considerata) est habitus θεόσδοτος per verbum a Spiritu sancto homini collatus, quo non solum in divinorum mysteriorum cognitione per mentis illuminationem instruitur, ut quae intelligit in affectum cordis executionem operis salutariter traducat, sed etiam aptus et expeditus redditur de divinis illis mysteriis, ac via salutis alios informandi, ac coelestem veritatem a corruptelis contradicentium vindicandi, ut homines fide vera et bonis operibus rutilantes ad regnum coelorum perducantur,” Johann Gerhard, *Loci Theologici Cum Pro Adstruenda Veritate Tum Pro Destruenda Quarumvis Contradicentium Falsitate Per Theses Nervose Solide Et Copiose Explicati; Opus Praeclarissimum Novem Tomis Comprehensum.. Tomus I*, ed. Eduard Preuss (Schlawitz: Berolini, 1863), 8.

<sup>16</sup> “Theologie, doctrina ex verbo Dei exstructam ist bei Gerhard kein vom erkennenden Subjekt abgetrennter Inbegriff von Glaubenssätzen, sondern wie jede Wissenschaft und jede Kunstfertigkeit ein habitus, eine Form menschlichen Bewußtseins. Noch unberührt von der modernen, von der ausgesetzten Trennung von erkennenden Subjekt und zu erkennendem Objekt ausgehenden Frage nach der Möglichkeit der Erkenntnis beschreibt der doctrina-Begriff die als Zuständlichkeit gefaßte Wirklichkeit der Kenntnis des göttlichen Wortes in der Seele des Menschen,” Johannes Wallmann, *Theologiebegriff bei Johann Gerhard und Georg Calixt*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie (Tübingen: Mohr, 1961), 69–71.

<sup>17</sup> Wallmann, *Theologiebegriff bei Johann Gerhard und Georg Calixt*, 68–69 See also Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics I*, 356–57.

other three are given separate sections in the article as a whole. Briefly put, the efficient cause of theology is God, but more exactly, God in his capacity as the one who through the Spirit reveals doctrine (theology).<sup>18</sup> The compacted argument follows scriptural passages that plainly describe how knowledge of God and the heavenly wisdom is only accessible through the revelation of God (Matt 16:17, 11:27; 1 Cor 2:7–8; 2 Pet 1:20–21). The basis hereof ties in with the distinction between two different levels of theology. There is a *theologia ἀρχέτυπος*, which is the divine knowledge which God in the most perfect and divine manner has about himself and everything outside of him. This stands in a mediated relationship to, and is the source of, *theologia ἔκτυπος*, which concerns the knowledge that creation has about God and divine matters.<sup>19</sup> The mediated knowledge is of a threefold kind: *theologia unionis*, which is the immense knowledge the Son has of the Father through the personal union of the two natures in Christ;<sup>20</sup> *theologia visionis*, which is the knowledge that the good angels and the saints that have gone over to the eternal life possess as they gaze upon God; and finally, *theologia viatorum*, which is the knowledge that is possible to possess in this life, drawn

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<sup>18</sup> “*Efficiens Theologiae est Deus, qui Spiritu suo hanc doctrinam nobis revelavit.*” Brochmand, *Universae Theologiae Systema I*, fol. z 1 v.

<sup>19</sup> “*Etenim ipsis Theologia, alia ἀρχέτυπος, alia ἔκτυπος. Theologia ἀρχέτυπος Theologis est divina scientia, qua Deus se et omnia extra se modo perfectissimo et vere divino intelligit: dicta Theologia ἀρχέτυπος, quia fons est ac scaturigo universae scientiae, quae Deo et rebus divinis invenitur in creaturis Joh.1.v.18.,1. Cor.2.v.10.11.12. Theologia ἔκτυπος Theologis est scientia, quam de Deo et rebus divinis habent creaturae.*” Brochmand, *Universae Theologiae Systema I*, fol. y 3 r.

<sup>20</sup> It is worth noting that Brochmand considers *theologia unionis* as a subdivision of *theologia ἔκτυπος*. According to Muller the Lutheran tradition equated *theologia unionis* with *theologia ἀρχέτυπος* which left it playing a negligent role in the Lutheran prolegomena, Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics I*, 252–55. The matter is not quite so simple. Gerhard does separate the discussion of *theologia unionis* from *theologia visionis* and *theologia viatorum*, but mainly in the sense that there is a difference of degree between “*theologia ἔκτυπος in Christo homine*” and “*theologia ἔκτυπος in creaturis rationalibus.*” *Theologia unionis* is the most perfect knowledge of God, *theologia visionis* is perfect knowledge of God, and *theologia viatorum* is imperfect knowledge of God, yet all three are in some way communicated as *theologia ἔκτυπος*: “*Ἐκτυπος enim theologia est ex priori quasi expressa et efformata per gratiosam communicationem.*” Gerhard, *Loci Theologi Tomus I*, 4. More forcefully we find in Calov the remark that some ‘falsely’ refer *theologia unionis* to *theologia ἔκτυπος*, Abraham Calov, *Systema Locorum Theologicorum, e Sacra posissimum Scriptura, & Antiquitate, nec non adversariorum confessione, Doctrinam, Praxin, & Controversiarum Fidei. Tomus Primus Generalis* (Wittenberg: Johannes Röhner, 1655), 3. Brochmand does not make such a clear distinction, although the scriptural arguments do reference the exalted nature of Christ’s knowledge as well as its role as a mediator: Ps 45:8, John 3:34, John 1:16, Col 2:3.

from the divine word.<sup>21</sup> The entire article on theology concerns this particular final designation of theology.

## Principle of Theology

The second part of the definition concerns the instrumental cause or principle (*principium*) of theology. The principle of any scientific discipline is that which is assumed as axiomatic knowledge. That which is first known as true, immediated, and without the necessity for demonstration.<sup>22</sup> In the context of scientific disciplines, the principles are self-evident knowledge that is grasped intuitively and from which certain knowledge can be demonstrated through the use of reason. As will be seen in the discussion on the relationship between philosophy and theology, it is important to note that the principles have no need for demonstration, but communicates truth immediated.<sup>23</sup> Brochmand can define the principle of theology in a few various though seemingly synonymous ways. Initially he establishes that the only principle of theology is the word of God, and more precisely, it is the word of God comprehended through the writings of the prophets and apostles.<sup>24</sup> As with the ‘sacred writings’ (*sacræ literæ*) in the summary definition, the subsequent clarification to the principle of theology defines it as simply ‘sacred scripture’ (*sacra scriptura*),<sup>25</sup> while the discussions about the relationship between theology and philosophy posit the principle of theology as ‘divine revelation’ (*divina revelatio*).<sup>26</sup> These various and diverse ways of

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<sup>21</sup> “*Prima est Theologia Unionis; quæ est immensa illa filii Dei scientia, quam ex Unione personali indeptus est* [Ps 45:8; John 3:34; John 1:16; Col 2:3]. *Secunda est Theologia visionis, quæ nihil aliud est, quam eximia Dei et rerum divinarum scientia, qua boni angeli et beati homines, in æternam vitam translati, excellunt, orta inde, quod Deum coram intuentur* [Matt 18:10; 1 John 3:2; 1 Cor 13:12; 2 Cor 5:7]. *Tertia est Theologia Viatorum seu revelationis, quæ est hominum, in hisce terris adhuc militantium, e verbo divino hausta, sapientia* [1 Cor 2:10-11ff, 13:9ff].” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. y 3 r.

<sup>22</sup> “Aristotelis Definitio hæc est, Principium est primum, vnde aliquid aut est, aut fit, aut cognoscitur.” Rudolph Goclenius, *Lexicon Philosophicum* (Frankfurt: Mattias Becker, 1613), 870.

<sup>23</sup> Häggglund, *Die heilige Schrift und ihre Deutung in der Theologie Johann Gerhards*, 136–40.

<sup>24</sup> “*Verbum Dei, Scriptis Prophetarum et Apostolorum comprehensum, Principium Theologiæ esse, et quidem Unicum.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. z 1 r.

<sup>25</sup> “Cum enim quicquid de Deo et rebus divinis credere oportet, ita revelatum sit in scripturis sacris, ut ut nec plus, nec minus credere oporteat ad salutem, quam in scripturis sacris traditum est: nemo non videt, quod scriptura sacra eaque sola, Unicum Theologiæ Principium sit.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. z 1 r.

<sup>26</sup> “Philosophicorum habituum principium est ratio: at Theologiæ principium est divina revelatio.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. y 3 v.

rephrasing the principle of theology can be aptly recapitulated in the formal definition of sacred scripture.<sup>27</sup>

## Object of Theology

In addition to being the principle of theology, scripture is also closely connected to its object, which requires an introductory comment. When it comes to both theology and faith (see Chapter 2), Brochmand works with a threefold distinction of its object, albeit presented in slightly different ways, which at a first glance creates a movement from a broader to a narrower definition. For theology the three distinctions are *objectum adaequatum*, *objectum proximum* and *objectum princeps*, while for faith the distinctions are *objectum adaequatum*, *objectum primum* and *objectum proprium et proximum*. In both cases *objectum adaequatum* is clearly the object of theology and faith in the broadest sense, being comprehensive and exhaustive in describing exactly that which is their object.<sup>28</sup> It also seems reasonable that *objectum primum* is less technical and primarily serves to introduce a prioritization or order in the distinctions of the object. In this way Joachim Jungius (1587–1657) can subdivide *objectum proximum* into both *primum* and *secundarium* in his

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<sup>27</sup> “Scriptura sacra est (1) verbum Dei, (2) per Prophetas et Apostolos, viros a Dei Spiritu immediate actos, in litteras fideliter relatum, (3) Vt de Dei essentia, voluntate et recto ejus cultu erudiamur, atque ita veram rationem consequendi vitam æternam certo edoceamur.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 1. Although highly pertinent, it has been outside of the scope of the project to conduct a detailed analysis of Brochmand’s view of scripture. However, the considerations on the object of theology and the practical use of scripture in chapter four ought to give some reconsideration to the traditional scholarly view, which reduces Brochmand’s view of scripture to the theory of the verbal inspiration down to the vocal signs of the Hebrew text and the lexical approach to scripture in early modern Lutheranism, see for example Glebe-Møller: ”Ja, noget af det karakteristiske ved ortodoksien er netop denne ejendommeligt golde drøftelse af skriften og dens forskellige attributter. De ortodokse var fundamentalister om en hals. Alt skulle kunne udledes af skriften, som blev betragtet som et leksikon og en lovsamling på én gang.” Glebe-Møller, “Det teologiske Fakultet 1579–1732,” 133–34 as well as Lyby and Grell, “The Consolidation of Lutheranism in Denmark and Norway,” 140 and Kornerup, “Det lærde tidsrum 1536–1670,” 286. See also Steiger, “The Development of the Reformation Legacy,” 703–20 for a critical perspective.

<sup>28</sup> See also Zedler’s definition: “*Objectum adæquatum*, *Objectum totale*, wird dasjenige genennet, welches just so viel, und weder mehr noch weniger unter sich begreiff, als was zu einer Würckung und Erhaltung eines Zweckes nöthig ist.” Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, vol. 25 (Halle: Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1731–54), 199.

handbook on logic,<sup>29</sup> and there are several examples of academic theses on the theological virtues where God is presented as the *objectum primum* of love (*charitas*), while the neighbour is the *objectum secundarium*.<sup>30</sup>

However, it remains unclear to what extent the remaining distinctions merely serve as a further narrowing of the object, as if moving in a three-step fashion from the most general to the most specific object, or if the distinctions retain their technical meaning, which should then be taken into consideration. First consider *objectum proximum*, which refers to the object towards which an act is immediately directed or with which a habitus is immediately occupied. It has a counterpart in *objectum remotum*, which is dependent on or derived from another object.<sup>31</sup> In addition to the example above from Jungius's handbook on logic, Franz Burman (1628–1679) presents such a use case in *Synopsis Theologiae*, where the object of theology is the right worship of God, but since the object of such worship is itself God, it follows that the *objectum remotum* of theology is God.<sup>32</sup> Consider next *objectum proprium*, which refers to an object that is able to be the object of only one discipline. Compare this to *objectum commune*, which is used when something is the object of more than one

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<sup>29</sup> "31. *Objectum Logica* sive *Subjectum circa quod*, aliud *proximum*, Aliud remotum. Proximum rursus vel *Primum* vel *Secundarium*. 32. *Objectum proximum primum*, sunt mentis operationes, praesertim secunda. 33. *Objectum proximum Secundarium* est Oratio externa quatenus mentis operationes apposite ad Veritatem exprimit. 34. *Objectum remotum* sunt tres universae circa quas tum operations, tum sermo externus occupantur." Joachim Jungius, *Logica Hamburgensis* (Hamburg: Georg Wolf, 1681), 6.

<sup>30</sup> One such example: "II, Charitas est virtus Theologica, qua Deus propter se diligitur et proximus propter Deum. Est virtus specialis a fide et spe diversa, estque in gradu etiam remisso vere Theologica et supernaturalis. *Primum* ejus materiale objectum est Deus, *secundarium* nos ipsi et proximus." John Barton, *Theses Theologiae de actibus humanis et virtutibus theologicis ad mentem doctoris subtilis* (Leuven: Martin van Overbeke, 1775), Thesis V.

<sup>31</sup> "Das Object einer Fertigkeit (habitus) oder einer That, wird eingetheilet in das nächste und entfernte. Das **nächste Object**, *Objectum proximum*, ist, in welches unmittelbar die That verübet wird; das **entfernte Object**, *Objectum remotum*, aber in welches die That mittelst eines andern Objects verübet wird." Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, 200.

<sup>32</sup> "LII. *Objectum Theologiae, circa quod* versatur, est vita hominis, sive cultus ipsius erga Deum; quem cultum, seu quam vitam Theologia dirigit. Cum autem cultus illius objectum sit Deus, ad quem cultus ille refertur, *et quem cognoscere ut illum solum verum Deum, est vita aeterna*. Joh. 17:3. hinc remotum Theologiae objectum, sive objectum ejus *ad quod* est Deus. Atque hoc quidem utrumque Theologiae objectum, objectum ejus *quod*, sive *materiale* dici solet." Franz Burman, *Synopsis theologiae et speciatim oeconomiae Foederum Dei* (Utrecht: Cornelis Jacobsz Noenaert, 1671), 14.

discipline.<sup>33</sup> One reason for the lack of certainty in determining the significance of these distinctions is that Brochmand never uses their counterparts (*proximum-remotum*, *primarium-secundarium*, *proprium-commune*). In so far as Brochmand does not refer to an *objectum remotum* it is less clear what the significance of *objectum proximum* is, beyond describing what theology or faith is more directly occupied with, thus providing a more narrow distinction from *objectum adaequatum*. Similarly with *objectum proprium*, where one has to make one's own inferences about *objectum commune* in order to determine the particular significance of the distinction. However, if these distinctions are perceived as merely moving from the broader to the narrower object, then one is presented with an obstacle when comparing with Gerhard. In his *prolegomena*, Gerhard expresses the manifold ways in which others before him have defined the object of theology and he does it in such a manner that it seems as if these distinctions are considered as rather parallel ways of describing the various aspects of the object of theology, not as a strict movement from the broader to the narrower.<sup>34</sup> When explicating the object of faith, Gerhard can assign both *objectum proprium* and *objectum adaequatum* at the same time to the very same object, suggesting that they are used

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<sup>33</sup> “*Objectum commune*, heisset ein Object, damit mehrere zu thun haben: aber ein **eigenthümliches Object**, *Proprium Objectum*, ist, womit nur eine Wissenschaft allein beschäftigt ist. Z.E. die Seele ist ein Objectum commune, beydes des Gottesgelehrten als Philosophen: jenes, indem er ihr ewiges Wohl zu befördern, dieses aber, indem er die Vollkommenheiten der Kräfte, des Verstandes und Willens zu verbessern und vergrößern suchet. Der menschliche Körper ist ein gemeines Object des Naturkündigers und Artztes: jenes, indem er die Beschaffenheit deselben zu erforschen trachtet, dieses, indem er die verlorne Gesundheit wieder zu erstatten bemühet ist. Hingegen sind die Schuhe das Objectum proprium des Schusters, die Kleider des Schneiders u.s.w.” Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, 200.

<sup>34</sup> “*Subjectum circa quod sive objectum* theologiae varie a variis assignatur. Quidam duplex statuunt objectum, *primarium* videlicet Deum glorificandum, et *secundarium*, videlicet hominem salvandum. Illud vocant objectum *contemplationis*, hoc vero *operationis*. Quidam objectum statuunt *Deum et creaturas*, in quarum contemplatione eam non minus quam in Dei cognitione occupari volunt. Quidam objectum statuunt, Deum non absolute, sed *relate* videlicet respectu divinae revelationis consideratum, unde Lutherus dicit in c. 26. Gen. *Deum quaerendum esse non in praedicamento substantiae, sed relationis*. Hieronymus in proem. com. super lament. Jer. *ad Christi et ecclesiae sacramenta* objectum theologiae revocat Lutherus praefat. comm. in Psalm. 51, tom. 4 Lat. fol. 379. *Theologiae proprium subjectum est homo peccati reus ac perditus, ac Deus justificans et salvator hominis peccatoris*. Quidam Christum, vel quod idem est, Deum quatenus in facie Christi mediatoris sese exhibuit, unicum theologiae objectum statuunt 1. Cor. 2, v. 2. 2. Cor. 4, v. 6. Lutherus tom. 7. Germ. fol. 73. *Deus nullibi inveniri potest nisi in Christo*. Sed haec omnia non sunt opposita, verum subordinate.” Gerhard, *Loci Theologici Tomus 1*, 7–8.

in parallel but for explicating various aspects of faith.<sup>35</sup> However, in an editorial addition to the 1657 edition of his *Loci Theologici*, Gerhard applies these distinctions in a way that seems closer to a movement from the broader to the narrower.<sup>36</sup> Considering the observed variations in the use of these distinctions of the object of theology and faith, one has to be careful in drawing too strong conclusions regarding their significations. For that reason, Brochmand's distinctions will primarily be considered by virtue of them providing a movement from the broader to the narrower, while possible secondary significations will be suggested where relevant.

The first distinction of the object of theology is *objectum adaequatum*, which is the most comprehensive distinction and is defined as "whatever God made sure has been written down in his word".<sup>37</sup> In considering the consequences of this distinction, Brochmand lists a number of topics that he considers the subject of theology: God, creation, original perfection and subsequent fall of angels and human beings, restoration of the latter through Christ, natural knowledge of God, love owed to God and the neighbour and lastly the deeds of both godly and ungodly people. Especially regarding the latter three, the *objectum adaequatum* of theology implies that since these topics are found in scripture they are legitimately part of the subject of theology, but also that the understanding of them should be derived only from scripture (Rom 15:4; 2 Tim 3:16).<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> "Fidei, ut est notitia, objectum proprium et adaequatum est Dei verbum in Scripturis propheticiis et apostolicis propositum." Johann Gerhard, *Loci Theologici Cum Pro Adstruenda Veritate Tum Pro Destruenda Quarumvis Contradicientium Falsitate Per Theses Nervose Solide Et Copiose Explicati; Opus Praeclarissimum Novem Tomis Comprehensum. Tomus 3*, ed. Eduard Preuss (Berlin: Schlawitz, 1865), 354. "Ceterum cum fides sit non solum notitia et assensus, sed etiam fiducia, ideo quaerendum est proprium illud objectum, quod fidei, quatenus est fiducia, competit. Illud dicimus esse promissiones Dei gratuitas; est enim perpetua relatio inter verbum promissionis et fidem, quae verbo illi innitur. [...] Sed enim cum promissiones gratuita sint variae, ideo dicimus, fidei justificantis proprium et adaequatum objectum esse promissionem evangelicam de Christo mediatore." Gerhard, *Loci Theologi Tomus 3*, 413.

<sup>36</sup> "*Objectum fidei* ratione assensus est vel *adaequatum*, nimirum omne et solum Dei verbum, vel *primarium*, quod sunt praecipua doctrinae capita, quae vocare solemus *articulos fidei*; ratione *fiduciae* objectum vel est *generale*, nimirum promissio gratiae, vel *speciale*, quod est Christus redemptor." Gerhard, *Loci Theologi Tomus 3*, 412.

<sup>37</sup> "*Adaequatum Theologiae objectum est, quicquid Deus in verbo suo perscribi curavit.*" Brochmand, *Universae Theologiae Systema I*, fol. y 4 r.

<sup>38</sup> "Cum enim principium Theologiae sit Verbum DEI scriptum, veluti sectione proxime sequente demonstrabimus: fieri non potest, quin omne illud pro Objecto Theologia agnoscendum sit, quod in scriptura sacra traditum et perscriptum invenitur. Quocirca cum in scriptura sacra non tantum agatur de DEO, de

The second distinction is *objectum proximum*, which shows that what theology is more immediately directed at in scripture is that which God reveals through it. It is more precisely defined as “what no eye has seen, no ear has heard, has not descended into the heart of humans, prepared by God for humans, and revealed through the Holy Spirit”.<sup>39</sup> Even if there is no specific mention of philosophy, the subsequent catena of scriptural passages underscores the distinction between theology and philosophy. In theology, there are mysteries of faith, which are only grasped in so far as God is made known through Christ, and Christ is known by those to whom God has revealed him (John 1:18; Matt 11:27, 16:17; 1 Cor 2:7–9).<sup>40</sup> The prime examples are the trinity and the two natures of Christ, regarding which there are statements that are true in theology, but not true when considered through philosophical principles. In *Ἀιρεσις Ἐλεγχομένη* Brochmand gives the example of the philosophical axiom “how many persons there are, so many singular essences are there”.<sup>41</sup> This is most true when dealing with finite persons, but since the persons of the trinity are infinite, it would be false to apply that axiom in theology. Thus with reference to Matt 11:27, philosophy cannot know the doctrine of the trinity.<sup>42</sup>

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creatione, de primigenia angelorum et hominum integritate, de lapsu angelorum et hominum, de hominum per Christum restitutione; sed etiam de notitia Dei naturali, de charitate Deo ac proximo debita, de rebus gestis plurimorum hominum, piorum ac impiorum: non possunt non hæc omnia esse subjectum Theologiæ.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. y 4 r.

<sup>39</sup> “*Proximum Theologiæ Objectum est, quod oculus non vidit, auris non audivit, in cor hominis non descendit, a Deo præparatum hominibus, et per Spiritum sanctum revelatum.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. y 4 r.

<sup>40</sup> Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fols. y 4 r-v.

<sup>41</sup> “quot sunt personæ, tot sunt essentiæ singulares,” Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Ἀιρεσις Ἐλεγχομένη: Seu Vera de Hæresi Doctrine e Verbo divino asserta, & ab impugnationibus Pontificiorum, Calvinistarum, Socinianorum, Anabaptistarum, Enthusiatarum, vindicata [...] (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartor, 1636)*, 68.

<sup>42</sup> “Non necesse est dicamus, quod quæ in Theologia vera sunt, in Philosophia falsa sint: suffecerit responsio: verissimam esse assertionem illam Philosophicam de personis essentia finitis: at fallere usurpatam de personis essentia infinitis, quales sunt sacrosanctæ Trinitatis personæ. Dissentientis sententiæ Patroni frustra implorabunt Philosophiæ auxilium: nescit enim Philosophia doctrinam de Deo Patre, Filio et Spiritu S. Nota est Christi assertio Matth.11.v.27. *Nemo novit patrem nisi filius, neque quisquam novit filium nisi Pater, et cui filius voluerit patefacere.*” Brochmand, *Ἀιρεσις Ἐλεγχομένη*, 68. “All things are delivered to me by my Father. And no one knoweth the Son but the Father: neither doth any one know the Father, but the Son, and he to whom it shall please the Son to reveal him.” (Matt 11:27)



The final distinction is *objectum princeps*, defined as God but with an important qualifier: “The principal object of theology is God in so far as he has made himself known in Christ to sinful humans unto salvation”.<sup>43</sup> The qualifier is important since some of his theological opponents establish God, divine things and divine nature as the object of theology,<sup>44</sup> though Brochmand establishes a Christocentric emphasis in theology, whereby Christ crucified as the cornerstone of salvation becomes the lens through which God is to be understood in doing the work of theology (1 Cor 2:2; John 5:46; Acts 4:11–12). As a technical distinction *objectum princeps* does not seem to have had widespread use, but could be understood as the principal or chief object of theology. It is closely connected to Brochmand’s subsequent discussion of theology as the most eminent discipline, which it is on account of having the most noble object, which is summarized as the *objectum princeps*.<sup>45</sup>

In moving from the broader to the narrower object, Brochmand presents his hermeneutical keys for engaging with scripture as the principle of theology, which place the revelation of God in Christ at the center. Brochmand can also demonstrate this focus in praxis when, in a gospel exposition for Easter Monday, he highlights the two disciples on their way to Emmaus (Luke 24:11–35) as examples to follow:

Consider, you child of God, what you principally should seek, when you read the holy scriptures. You should most principally seek Jesus Christ. [...] Whoever reads the scriptures for that reason, that he will learn from them that Jesus from God has become wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and reconciliation for him: be certain that the same Jesus, who here reveals himself for the disciples and then expounds for them Moses and the prophets, he will also let himself be found and by his good spirit open mind and heart that they can understand the scriptures unto salvation.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> “*Princeps Theologiæ Objectum est Deus, quatenus se in Christo manifestavit hominibus peccatoribus ad salutem.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. y 4 v.

<sup>44</sup> Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fols. z 2 v - z 3 r.

<sup>45</sup> “Cæterum ea, quæ strictim attulimus, de Theologiæ Objecto, satis evincunt quod *Theologia sit disciplinarum omnium eminentissima*. Disciplinæ namque dignitas a dignitate Objecti æstimanda venit. *Theologia autem versatur circa objectum nobilissimum Etenim Objectum illud jure justissimo censetur præstantissimum: 1. quod in se est optimum, Maximum, Immutabile: 2. quod in relatione ad mentem lucidissimum est: 3. quod actione sua, infinitum mentis desiderium implere potest.* Quæ conditiones omnes ac singulæ, in Theologiæ objecto exacte inveniuntur. *Nam Deus, quatenus se in Christo revelavit hominibus ad salutem.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. y 4 v.

<sup>46</sup> ”Act du Guds Barn huad du skalt fornemmeligen søge / Naar du læser den hellige Skriff / du skalt allerfornemmeligste søge effter JEsu Christum. [...] Huo som nu af denne endelige Aarsage læser Skrifterne /

## Final Cause of Theology

With a brief mention of the aim of theology (*finis theologiæ*), Brochmand builds upon the definition of theology as doctrine to establish as the first aim that it should instruct the human being in all that is necessary to know, believe, and do in order to be saved (1 Tim 3:15; 1 Cor 1:5; 2 Tim 3:13). However, the aim of theology is not limited to the dissemination of this knowledge by itself. Acquiring this knowledge does not make a theologian, for the second aim is that the doctrine of salvation should be set forth in such a way that the human being is reformed and renewed in the image of God that had once been lost through sin (Rom 6:17; James 1:21; 2 Cor 3:18). It follows then that theology is a doctrine that must have a transformative effect on the human being whereby they are shaped according to the form and figure of Christ. Finally, the third aim of theology is eternal life (John 5:39; John 20:31).<sup>47</sup>

## Theology and Philosophy

Brochmand's *prolegomena* does not hold a separate discussion on the role of metaphysics in theology in particular. However, he does have some general reflections on the usefulness of philosophy in theology in *Ἀιρεσις Ἐλεγχομένη*. The use of philosophy is not rejected, but must be balanced as if sailing between Scylla and Charybdis.<sup>48</sup> There is a positive use, which Christ, the apostles, and the prophets demonstrate when they draw conclusions through the use of philosophical principles,<sup>49</sup> but there is also a negative use, which stems from two misuses. The first is where a false conclusion is drawn because a word, which means entirely

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at hand aff dennem vil lære / at JEsus er bleffuen hannem af Gud til Viszdom / Retfærdighed / Helliggiørelse oc Gienløsning: Være sig vis paa at den samme JEsus / som her aabenbarer sig for Disciplene oc udlegger dennem Mosen oc Propheterne / hand skal oc lade sig finde / oc ved sin gode Aand aabne Hue oc Hierte / at mand til Salighed kand forstaa Skrifterne.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 73.

<sup>47</sup> “*Tres in primis sunt Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ fines. Primus Theologiæ finis est, ut erudiatur homo de rebus salutem cognitu, creditu et factu necessariis. [...] Secundus Theologiæ finis est, ita proponere salutis doctrinam, ut homo in hac doctrina, veluti in typo quodam fusorio refingatur ac reformetur in Christo ad imaginem Dei, per peccatum amissam. [...] Evangelica doctrina non concedat peccandi licentiam, sed contra ducat ad sanctimoniam; urget nativam hujus doctrinæ indolem: quæ est, ut sit typus quasi fusorius, in quem immitti nos portet, instar fusilis cujusdam metalli, ut formæ ac figuræ Servatoris Jesu Christi quam proxime conformemur. [...] Tertius finis Theologiæ est vita æterna.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fols. z 1 r - z 1 v.

<sup>48</sup> Brochmand, *Ἀιρεσις Ἐλεγχομένη*, 58ff. See also the treatment in Koch, “En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent” 751–755.

<sup>49</sup> Brochmand, *Ἀιρεσις Ἐλεγχομένη*, 61–64.

different things in theology and philosophy, is used as if it had a meaning common to both, and the second is where points of doctrine are rejected if they do not entirely and completely correspond with what reason can grasp by the principles of philosophy.<sup>50</sup>

A consequence of this is that when there is a danger of certain words being misunderstood, Brochmand is careful to pay special attention to the absolute difference between philosophy and theology. The first occurrence of this differentiation is in the discussion on whether theology is a theoretical (speculative) or a practical discipline. The distinction itself echoes the influential work of Jacobo Zabarella (1533–1589), whose writings on logic had a great impact on methodological developments in the early 17th century.<sup>51</sup> An integrated element of Zabarella's distinction between contemplative and practical disciplines is the identification of the various disciplines with their particular habitus among the intellectual virtues.<sup>52</sup> Thus, in order to consider the nature of theology as a theoretical or practical discipline, Brochmand must necessarily preface the discussion by drawing up the absolute differences between philosophy and theology: "we cannot do as those do who in order to explain the nature of theology consider and consult the Aristotelian habitus enumerated in Nicomachean Ethics 1.6. For the philosophical habitus and theology differ entirely."<sup>53</sup>

The distinction is grounded in fundamental differences that can be recounted in four points. Philosophy is 1) learned through human efforts, so that there is no need for the particular grace of the Holy Spirit in order to acquire it. It therefore works through the natural powers of the human being, whereby 2) reason is established as its principle and 3) it concerns those things which are known by nature. Finally, 4) the end of philosophy is a happiness that is perishable, since it belongs to this world. Theology differs in the sense that 1) it can only be learned through the light of grace (John 6:44–45; 2 Cor 3:5; Phil 2:13; 1 Cor 3:6–7; 2 Cor 4:6), which 2) corresponds to its principle, which is divine revelation (1 Cor 2:10–12). This illumination is necessary because 3) theology deals with matters that are entirely unknown for *homo animalis*. It is not directly specified what is meant by *homo animalis*, except by a

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<sup>50</sup> Brochmand, *Ἀἰρεσις Ἐλεγχόμενη*, 64–66.

<sup>51</sup> Pozzo R., "Kant on the Five Intellectual Virtues", in Pozzo R., *The Impact of Aristotelianism on Modern Philosophy* (Washington, D.C.: 2004) 183–185.

<sup>52</sup> Fluegge, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) and the Conceptualization of Theologia* 62–64; Freedman J.S., "Classifications of Philosophy, the Sciences, and the Arts in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe," *The Modern Schoolman* 72 (1994): 40–45.

<sup>53</sup> "Non possumus cum his facere, qui naturam Theologiae explicaturi, habitus Aristotelicos, enumeratos 1.6. Ethic. Nichomachicorum, adeunt et consulunt. Nam habitus Philosophici et Theologia toto genere differunt." Brochmand, *Universae Theologiae Systema I*, fol. y 3 v.

reference to the contrast between soul and spirit in 1 Cor 2:14.<sup>54</sup> The most likely explanation is that it refers to the human being when considered according its capacities and natural faculties of the soul. The human being has been given the use of reason as a gift from God, but after the fall, reason has been corrupted to the point that on its own it is not capable of understanding the divine mysteries. With reference specifically to 1 Cor 2:14, Brochmand argues in the article “On Sacred Scripture” that while the use of reason is indeed necessary in order to understand the mysteries of faith, if reason begins to rely on itself then it will instead fight against the truth that has been revealed by God.<sup>55</sup> Rather, one must be guided by the Holy Spirit in order to understand the mysteries of faith or, as in the case of theology, they must be illuminated by the light of grace. Another consideration regarding *homo animalis* is that it is not displaced by the light of grace; one can instead speak of a simultaneity. In the article “On Eternal Life”, Brochmand writes that in addition to *vita gloriæ*, which is the topic of the article, one can speak of both *vita animalis* and *vita gratiæ*. The former refers to the human being as a sensible and rational creature, and when described according to the *vita animalis* there is no difference between pious and impious people. However, the latter refers to the life in Christ through faith.<sup>56</sup> While Brochmand does acknowledge in the article “On

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<sup>54</sup> “But the sensual man perceiveth not these things that are of the Spirit of God. For it is foolishness to him: and he cannot understand, because it is spiritually examined.” (1 Cor 2:14)

<sup>55</sup> “(1) Rationem donum Dei esse, libens concedo, sed tale, ut post lapsum nequitiam sufficiat capiendis et comprehendendis mysteriis divinis. [...] (2) Suum esse, in mysteriis divinis intelligendis, rationis usum, non negamus; sed intra certos cancellos concludendum. Scriptura sane, non minus quam disciplinæ aliæ, vocibus constant et rebus: ad quas observandas, comprehendas et retinendas, Spiritus Dei requiri intentum animi nostri studium, summamque mentis nostri attentionem. [...] Suum ergo usum rationi in mysteriis divinis excipiendis, intelligendis, percipiendis, retinendis, libenter concedimus. Sed vero qui hinc concluderit, rationem corruptam, sibi relictam, non adversari mysteriis divinis; fallitur. Nam quanquam ratio respectu nudæ faultatis apprehendendi, observandi, et retinendi, utilis est et plane necessaria ad intelligenda mysteria divina: attamen simul ac ratio incipit suo iudicio niti, et secundum istos conceptus, quos e consideratione rerum hujus seculi hausit, æstimare dogmata fidei, statim reluctari aggreditur veritati divinitus revelatæ.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 72.

<sup>56</sup> “Scriptura meninit *triplica vita* homini a Spiritu Dei tribui solitæ. *Prima est vita animalis, piis et impiis communis, qua homo vivit, sentit, ratiocinatur* 1. Cor.2.v.14. et 15.v.46. Cui opponitur *mors naturalis*, quæ est animæ et corporis dissolutio. *Secunda vita est vita gratiæ, qua homo non tam in se, quam in Jesu Christo vivit, juxta illud Pauli* Gal.2.v.20. *Vivo autem in amplius ego, sed vivit in me Christus: et vitam, quam nunc vivo in carne, vivo per fidem illam filii Dei, qui dilexit me, et tradidit seipsum pro me.* Et huic vitæ opponit in codice sacro Spiritus Dei *mortem peccati* Eph.2.v.1., Luc.9.v.60., 1. Tim.5.v.6. *Tertia vita est vita gloriæ, qua anima juncta rursum corpori Deum facie ad faciem intuetur, libera jam ab omni labe ac sine metu omni Deo perfecte serviens* Joh.3.v.16., 1. Cor.13.v.12., Coloss.3.v.3.4., 1. Joh.3.v.2.” Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Universæ*

God” that there is a natural knowledge of God, that is either congenital or acquired through observation of the created world and is thus accessible for *homo animalis*, this knowledge drawn from the light of nature is defective and is therefore not sufficient for salvation. Only the knowledge revealed through the word of God is considered salvific knowledge.<sup>57</sup> For that reason this natural knowledge does not properly fall within the realm of theology, for 4) the end of theology is eternal beatitude (John 20:31).<sup>58</sup>

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*Theologiæ Systema in quo Omnes ac singuli Religionis Christianæ articuli ita pertractantur; ut Primo; vera sententia afferatur & asseratur. Secundo; Controversiæ priscæ et recentes expediantur. Tertio; Præcipui Conscientiæ Casus e verbo divino decidantur*, vol. II (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1633), 7048. For comparison see also how Luther considers the concept of *homo animalis* in Ilmari Karimies, *Martin Luther's Understanding of Faith and Reality (1513–1521): The Influence of Augustinian Platonism and Illumination in Luther's Thought* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2022), 108–35 and Anna Vind, “The Human Being According to Luther,” in *Anthropological Reformations – Anthropology in the Era of the Reformation*, ed. Anna Eusterschulte and Hannah Wälzholz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 69–86.

<sup>57</sup> “*Modus quo in notitiam Dei pervenitur, geminus est: Notitia enim Dei alia est naturalis, quippe e lumine naturæ hausta; alia autem certo verbo divinitus patefacta. Notitiam Dei naturalem, eamque tum congenitam, tum e creaturarum contemplatione diligentiore acquisitam, adstruit variis locis scriptura [Rom 2:14-15; Acts 14:16-17]. Hæc tamen Dei notitia, quæ aut connascitur nobis, aut e creaturarum contemplatione acquiritur, non sufficit ad salutem, sed post lapsum manca est et mutila. Etenim de gentibus, quibus non nisi lumine naturæ Deus notus erat, scriptum invenitur [Rom 1:21; Acts 14:16]. Quæ et ejus generis dicta alia, clare docent et demonstrant, quam manca sit cognitio e lumine naturæ hausta, et quam non sufficiat ad salutem. Notitia vero Dei, quam Deus ipse certo verbo patefecit, et certa est et sola salutaris est [John 1:18; Matth 11:25-27; John 17:3].*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 102–3. It is worth noting that in contrast to his colleague, Caspar Bartholin (1585-1629), Brochmand abstains from designating this knowledge as ‘natural theology’ (*theologia naturalis*), Caspar Bartholin, *Metaphysica Major Qua Scholiis olim illustratum Enchirid. Metaphysicum nunc primum publicatur* (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1629), fol. b 4 r, and instead makes a clear distinction between theological and metaphysical arguments, Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 110.

<sup>58</sup> “Etenim (1) habitus Philosophici, industria humana, sine speciali Sanctus sancti gratia, addiscuntur: at Theologia ut addiscatur, gratiæ divinæ lumine opus est [...]. (2) Philosophicorum habituum principium est ratio: at Theologiæ principium est divina revelatio [...]. (3) Philosophici habitus circa ea versantur, quæ natura nota sunt: Theologia vero circa illa occupatur, quæ homini animali penitus ignota sunt [...]. (4) Habituum Philosophicorum finis, est peritura mundi felicitas: at Theologiæ finis est æterna beatitudo.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. y 3 v.

## Theory and Praxis

Only after this initial reservation concerning the relation between theology and philosophy does Brochmand respond to the actual question, in response to which he gives theology a double determination as *both* theoretical *and* practical. The importance of the reservation becomes more apparent when one sees how he subsequently describes theology. First of all, the theoretical nature of theology is demonstrated at the literal level, since scripture itself uses ‘science’ (*scientia*), ‘to know’ (*scio*), and ‘to learn’ (*cognosco*) when talking about theology and its characteristics (Is 53:11; Jer 3:15; John 3:11,17:3; 2 Cor 8:7). Furthermore, theology deals with necessary knowledge, which Brochmand exemplifies as the doctrine of God, angels, and creation, and finally, a part of theology serves to drive out that darkness which has obscured the human mind and human thought since the fall (Eph 4:17–18).<sup>59</sup> The practical nature of theology is grounded in a definition of theology as prudence (*prudentia*), which is found in scripture (Prov 1:2–3; Ps 119:104.110.169). The act of doing theology is not completed once mere knowledge (*nuda notitia*) has been established (Matt 7:21–22; Luke 6:46; John 13:17); it is a doctrine according to piety (*κατ' ἐνσέβειαν*) (1 Tim 6:3; Tit 1:1). This is elaborated in the final point, which states that theology teaches how God should be worshipped and the neighbour loved (1 Tim 1:5).<sup>60</sup>

## Theology and Intellectual Virtues

The practical consequences of the distinction between philosophy and theology as disciplines becomes even more clear when Brochmand engages in the more specific controversies regarding the characterization of theology with reference to the intellectual virtues of Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*: science (*scientia*), wisdom (*sapientia*), and prudence

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<sup>59</sup> “Quo præmisso, contendimus quod *Theologia*, *alia atque alia sui parte, sit et theorica et practica*. Theorica est Theologia (1) quia scriptura epitheta et effecta scientiæ, ipsi attribuit [...]. (2) quia agit de rebus necessariis, et quæ sub operationem non cadunt: cujusmodi sunt, doctrina de Deo, de angelis, de creatione: (3) quia homines post lapsum, inter cætera mala, etiam obtenebrati sunt mente ac cogitatione [...]: quare necesse est, ut aliqua Theologiæ particula insumatur istis mentis tenebris pellendis.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fols. y 3 v - y 4 r. Brochmand’s final point about the darkness of the mind after the fall is closely connected to the loss of the image of God and the question of its restoration in the regeneration and renewal of the human being after justification. For a discussion of this topic, see Chapter 3.

<sup>60</sup> “Practica etiam est Theologia: (1) quia Spiritus Dei rotunda oratione definit Theologiam per prudentiam [...]. (2) quia Spiritus Dei diserte affirmat, quod Theologia non absolvatur nuda notitia [...]. (3) quia Theologia est doctrina κατ' ἐνσέβειαν [...]. (4) quia Theologia maxima sui parte docet, quomodo Deus sit colendus et proximus diligendus.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. y 4 r.

(*prudentia*).<sup>61</sup> Here Brochmand repeats the prefatory distinction between theology and philosophy, but maintains that the use of the terms themselves is justified, because they are all found in scripture as descriptions of what theology is. As long as they are not understood in the philosophical sense, theology is science *and* wisdom *and* prudence.<sup>62</sup>

### *Scientia*

The section on science is the most extensive, as Brochmand presents and responds to three objections to considering theology as science. The first objection seems focused on the circumstance that acquiring knowledge through listening to the word is in and of itself not sufficient to restore the image of God, since those who will be saved are also those who live according to the commandments by expressing their faith in active love and in trust. For that reason theology cannot be science, according to the objection. Brochmand responds that since the human mind (*διάνοια*) has been obscured after the fall, one of the functions of theology is to drive out that darkness. This function belongs to theology as a speculative discipline, although it is immediately granted that theology is not *merely* speculative.<sup>63</sup> The second objection is that science works by drawing conclusions based on principles that are known in themselves, while scripture describes theology as wisdom hidden in a mystery (1 Cor 2:7).<sup>64</sup> Brochmand posits that the principles of philosophical and human sciences are known by

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<sup>61</sup> The section begins with a brief listing of who is representative of each of the three positions. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) prefers science, wisdom is preferred by John Duns Scotus (1265/66-1308), Franz Junius (1545-1602), Amandus Polanus (1561-1610), and Lukas Trelcatius (1573-1607), while Bartholomäus Keckermann (1572-1609) prefers prudence, Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. z 1 v.

<sup>62</sup> The argument is based on the following references, which partially overlap with the references in the section on theology as theoretical and practical discipline: Science: Is 53:11; Jer 3:15; John 3:11,17:3; 2 Cor 8:7. Wisdom: 1 Cor 1:6; Col 1:9,2:3, James 3:15. Prudence: Prov 1:2-3; Ps 119:104.110.169, Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. z 2 r.

<sup>63</sup> "Etenim qui negant Theologiam esse scientiam: urgent (1) *Imaginem Dei nuda speculatione non recuperari, Christi vocem esse, non auditores, sed factores salvandos, Pauli assertionem esse, finem præcepti esse caritatem ex corde puro profectam, fidem denique, virtutem principem, non nuda notita, sed potissimum fiducia absolvi.* [...] (1) *Homines post lapsum, inter cætera mala, etiam obtenebrati sunt τῇ διανοίᾳ Ephes.4.v.17.18: quare etiam pars Theologiæ tenebris pellendis insumetur.*" Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. z 2 r.

<sup>64</sup> "But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, a wisdom which is hidden, which God ordained before the world, unto our glory." (1 Cor 2:7)

nature, while the principle of theology is received from a heavenly revelation.<sup>65</sup> The final objection is that science does not deal with individual facts (singulars), while theology relies on scripture as its principle, and scripture presents singular instances of that which is treated in theology. Brochmand gives both the immovable faith of Abraham and the constancy of Job during his hardships as two examples of the singulars. This objection is adopted from Thomas Aquinas and was part of a larger medieval discussion on the cognition of singulars and universals. A common Aristotelian stance would be that the singulars are known by the senses, while universals are known through science.<sup>66</sup> To the extent that theology deals with the singular instances in scripture, it seems that theology is not science. However, Brochmand's response is that scripture only deals with the singular instances in order to present an outline of the whole. Although the argument is rather compact, the reference to Rom 15:4 seems to indicate that since the singular instances in scripture are given for the purpose of their learning, then this is not sufficient to demonstrate that theology is not science.<sup>67</sup>

### *Sapientia*

Those who object that theology is wisdom base this on the understanding that wisdom is the *habitus* that best describes metaphysics as a discipline. In a contemporary definition, one might find that “metaphysics is wisdom, which considers being insofar as it is being, and those things which directly belong to it, for the sake of whose knowledge it has been acquired

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<sup>65</sup> “Urgent (2) scientiam elicere conclusiones e principiis per se notis: Theologiam autem sapientiam esse, in *Mysterio absconditam* I. Cor.2.v.7. [...] (2) Scientiæ Philosophicæ seu humanæ nituntur principiis natura notis: at Theologia, diversissima disciplina, utitur principiis, e superna revelatione acceptis.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. z 2 r.

<sup>66</sup> “Summa Theologiæ,” Thomas Aquinas, accessed July 12th, 2025, <https://aquinas.cc/la/en/~ST.I.Q1.A2>. The medieval discussion on the problem of universals is well established and extensively researched. For the purposes of Brochmand's argument, the main point is that he positively relies on Thomas, who argued that “the intellect can have some kind of knowledge of the singulars.” Brochmand, *De Sacramentis Disputatio I-VIII*, 237.

<sup>67</sup> “Urgent (3) scientiam non esse singularium; in Theologia autem de plurimis singularibus tractari, videlicet, *Abrahami immota fide, Jobi in ærumnis invariata constantia, et sexcentis aliis*. [...] (3) Scriptura non agit de singularibus istis, nisi quatenus quandam universitatem, sub certa quadam consideratione, adumbrant, docente Paulo Rom.15.v.4.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. z 2 r. “For what things soever were written were written for our learning: that, through patience and the comfort of the scriptures, we might have hope.” (Rom 15:4)



by philosophers”.<sup>68</sup> In this view, wisdom is primarily concerned with examining those things that are universal and it is capable of proving the principles of other disciplines.<sup>69</sup> While this is true regarding wisdom in the philosophical sense, theology is distinct from it in two respects. It is a wisdom that comes down from above (James 3:15–17), and it is considered mere foolishness (*mera stultitia*) by the philosophers (1 Cor 1:19–20). Both of these characteristics support the principle of theology as stemming from divine revelation and not reason, yet there is an additional dimension to Brochmand’s conception of theology as wisdom that emerges from his exposition of James 3:15–17 in his commentary on the Epistle of James. In contrast to wisdom as metaphysics, the wisdom that comes from above has a moral quality to it. It is the wisdom with which those Christians are endowed who are truly pious and faithful and do not merely claim to be Christians.<sup>70</sup> In the following, Brochmand describes this distinguishing feature of true Christians as pertaining to an attitude in the lived life. He contrasts earthly and heavenly wisdom in such a way that earthly wisdom, having its origins in the earthly Adam, is preoccupied with judging and punishing the deeds and words of others, whereas those who possess heavenly or spiritual wisdom seek rather to amend their own lives.<sup>71</sup> A second characteristic divides earthly and heavenly wisdom by the effect it

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<sup>68</sup> “Metaphysica est sapientia, quæ contemplatur ens quatenus ens, et quæ ei immediate insunt, hujus cognitionis gratia a philosophis acquisita.” Hans Hansen Resen and Christian Jespersen Brochmand, *Disputationum Logico-Metaphysicarum prima. De generalissimarum istarum Disciplinarum genuina Constitutione*. (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartor, 1634), fol. d 1 v.

<sup>69</sup> “Cæterum qui negant Theologiam esse sapientiam, urgent sapientiam circa maxime universalia versari, in nuda cognitione acquiescere, habitum acquisitum esse, principia aliarum disciplinarum probare. Quæ in Theologiam vix quadrant.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. z 2 r. See also Risto Saarinen, “Wisdom as Intellectual Virtue: Aquinas, Odonis and Buridan,” in *Mind and Modality: Studies in the History of Philosophy in Honour of Simo Knuuttila*, ed. Vesa Hirvonen, Toivo Holopainen, and Miira Tuominen, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History Series, vol. 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 189–98 and Gregory M. Reichberg, “The Intellectual Virtues (Ia IIae, Qq. 57–58),” in *The Ethics of Aquinas*, in *The Ethics of Aquinas*, ed. Stephen J. Pope (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2002), 137–38.

<sup>70</sup> “Sed hic sermo est de sapientia, qua homines vere pios ac fideles, ac non tam nomine ac opinione, quam re et facto Christianos, præditos esse convenit.” Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *In Canonicam & Catholicam Jacobi Epistolam Commentarius* (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1640), 183.

<sup>71</sup> “Tu, qvem titillat libido aliena facta et dicta redendi, aucupatus hoc censendi munere sapientiam, nescio qvam, vide quæso, quæ et qvalis sit hæc tua sapientia. Non certe est sapientia cælestis, qui auctorem habet Christum, de cælo Dominum. Christus enim aliena facta a recto abeuntia, non odiose sub censuram vocavit, sed leni spiritu emendavit Lucæ 4.versu 18, et idem tu ut facias hortatur Matth 11.v.28.29. Sapientia vero tua est terrena, quam didicisti et hausisti a terreno Adamo Gen.3.v.1.2.seq. et quæ te terræ affigit, ac a regno cælesti exulare facit. Nec enum fieti potest, ut tu τὰ ἄνω mediteris, ubi est Christus Col.3.v.1, qui humi repis cogitatione

achieves among humans. God is the God of peace, not of discord. Therefore a heavenly wisdom does not seek to create quarrels or strife, which might lead to evil deeds.<sup>72</sup> The moral quality of wisdom is further underscored in Brochmand's summary questions to the reader. He instructs that if they want to know whether they have that heavenly wisdom, they should look at themselves and see whether they are pure. This is understood as an encouragement to examine themselves for particular virtues that are considered signs (*indices*) of this wisdom, which includes love, faith, peace, mercy, sincerity, and obedience.<sup>73</sup>

### *Prudentia*

The section on prudence is even briefer, since Brochmand merely states that prudence in the philosophical sense is occupied with the human good, but theology is “the prudence of the children of light”.<sup>74</sup> The phrase *prudentia filiorum lucis* is not expanded further, but as it is a reference to the parable of the dishonest manager in Luke 16:1–13, it would be useful to consider the exposition it is given in the postil, especially in the gospel exposition for the 9th

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tua, ut notes, quid illic et istic terrarum geratur, ne calumniandi desit materia. Animalis ac carnalis est hæc sapientia, non autem spiritualis: Hæc enim urget, ut non tam alienam castiges, quam tuammet emendes Mat.7.v.1.2. Dæmonica denique est hæc sapientia: Nam Dæmon unice occupatur in alienis peccatis notandis, accusandis, exaggerandis Job 1.v.10.11 Apoc.12.v.10.” Brochmand, *In Canonicam & Catholicam Jacobi Epistolam Commentarius*, 185.

<sup>72</sup> “Non est vera et cælestis et Christiana sapientia, qvæ lites ferit, quæ ad rixas excitat, quæ ad opera mala et improba ducit.” Brochmand, *In Canonicam & Catholicam Jacobi Epistolam Commentarius*, 186.

<sup>73</sup> “Si scire voles, an vera ac coelesti sapientia sis præditus, vide an sis castus. Hoc est, an amorem Jesu Christi, sponsi tui, omni rei, etiam carissimæ præferas, mandante *Christo* Lucæ 14.v.26.seq. et exemplo præeunte *Paulo* Philip.3.v.7.8: vide an sis εἰρηνικός, qui et pacem secteris et colas ipse cum omnibus Ebr 12.v.14. et in animis dissidentibus reconciliandis studiose occuperis Math.9.v.9. Vide etiam, an sis ἐπιεικής, qvi potius condones, qvam tuum jus rigide persequaris Matth. 18. versibus 28.29.seq. Vide quoque an sis ἐνπειθής, qvi benigne omnia interpreteris 1 Cor.13.v.4.5.seq. Misericors etiam esto, exemplo misericordis *Patris* Matth.18.v.23.seq. et *Samaritani*, afflictum proximum prompte juvantis Lucæ 10.v.33.seq. Ferax quoque sis optimorum justitiæ fructuum Johan.15.v.1.2.sequent. Noli rixosus esse, et amans litigiosæ disceptationis 1.Cor.11.v.16. Vide denique, sis ἀνυπόκριτος habens et caritatem Rom:12.v.9. et fidem 2. Cor.6.v.26. et φιλαδελφίαν ἀνυπόκριτος 1. Pet.1.v.22. Hæ enim virtutes sunt indices sapientiæ ἀνῶθεν κατερχομένης.” Brochmand, *In Canonicam & Catholicam Jacobi Epistolam Commentarius*, 188–89.

<sup>74</sup> “Porro, qui negant Theologiam esse prudentiam, urgent: *Prudentiam esse habitum occupatum circa bona humana, teste Aristotele 6.Eth.cap.5.* Verum certa responsio est: Theologiam non esse prudentiam Philosophicam, definitam ab Aristotele; sed esse prudentiam filiorum lucis Luc.16,8.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, fol. z 2 v.

Sunday after Trinity.<sup>75</sup> In the parable, the manager is praised for the prudence with which he acts once he knows that he will be removed from his position due to being negligent in managing his office. He strives by dishonest means to acquire friends that can take care of him when he no longer has a job or a home. Brochmand explains that the praise afforded to the manager does not concern the means by which he acts (financial fraud is a sin),<sup>76</sup> but the disposition or attitude that he shows in the effort he puts into the work:

Do you then want to know what it is Christ here chiefly drives at, then you have it expressed in these words: the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light. Look to the miser and the diligence and passion he puts up in order to hoard property for himself. [...] Oh, how should we be ashamed that we are not nearly as careful and so diligent and so passionate in acquiring the eternal life with legal and by God ordained means as these sinful children of the world are by illegal means in striving after that which they against the will of God desire for their own eternal condemnation and corruption.<sup>77</sup>

By putting in this effort and diligence in acquiring property, the manager is acting more prudently than the children of God, who are lethargic and sluggish in working on their own salvation. The exhortation that comes as part of this has a sense of urgency, and the readers are reminded that the day will come in which they will need to have their business in order. Brochmand does this by asking the readers to imagine themselves on their deathbed and what they would be able to say had they shown that prudence in living their life:

Would it not be well that you could on your day of death say and sing from the psalm: blessed am I who have taken care of the needy. The Lord will save me in this wicked age. The Lord shall keep me and preserve me for life if it is to his glory and my blessedness. The Lord shall quench me on my sickbed. He shall heal me? What could

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<sup>75</sup> The following is partially based on Jonas Kjøller-Rasmussen, "Teologi, videnskab og troens liv hos Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand," *Dansk Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke* 47, no. 3 (2020): 235–49.

<sup>76</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 917–18.

<sup>77</sup> "Vilt du da vide / huad det er / Christus her fornemmeligen driffuer paa / da haffuer du det udi disse Ord forfattet: **Denne Verdens Børn ere klogere udi deris Slect / end Liusens Børn.** See mig til den Gierige / med huad Flijd oc Fyrighed hand legger sig der effter / at hand kand samle Gods tilhobe. [...] Ach huad maae vi skamme os / at vi icke ere nær saa omhyggelige oc saa flittige oc saa fyrige / ved lowlige oc aff Gud selff forskreffne Midler / at erlange det ævige Liff / som disse syndige Verdens Børn ere at søge / ved ulowlige Midler / effter det de imod Guds Villie / sig selff til ævig Fordømmelse oc Fordærffuelse stunde effter." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 918–19.

be more joyous than in the time and hour of death to be able to say: Lord Jesus, I have kept myself after your commandment, which is: give and to you shall be given. Give me, who now passes on from this life, that life which will never end. I have according to your word made friends with the unrighteous wealth in that I have clothed the naked, fed the hungry, received the poor for lodgings, visited the prisoner. Let me now according to your promise and holy assurance be received in the eternal dwellings.<sup>78</sup>

The emphasis on the works of charity should of course not be mistaken for some kind of works righteousness, as if they could purchase salvation like Simon Magus (Acts 8:9–24). Given the proper reservations, the conclusion remains that the reader is given the assurance that if they believe in their heart in Jesus Christ, cleanse themselves from sin by his blood, and follow the example of the dishonest manager in putting in the effort to aid the poor, then they can be assured of their salvation:

Surely I know that I cannot with my poor alms, that I have received from your hand to distribute, acquire for me the kingdom of heavens and the eternal dwellings in the kingdom of God. I know that answer Simon received, who wanted to purchase for himself the Holy Spirit and the kingdom of God for money. Thus says S. Peter to him: your money will become your ruin, when you think that you can acquire the gift of God for money. I know that the eternal life is the gift of the grace of God in Christ Jesus our Lord. But that I believe that if I of the heart believes in Jesus Christ and daily cleanse myself of sin by his blood and of my greatest ability aid the poor, then I shall after this life certainly be received in the eternal dwellings.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> “Vaar det icke got / at du kunde paa Dødsens Dag sige oc siunge aff Psalmen: Salig er ieg / som hafuer hafuer taget mig den Nødtørffte til: HERren skal frelse mig i denne onde Tid. HERren skal bevare mig / oc skal holde mig ved Liffuet / om det er hannem til ære / oc mig til Salighed. HERren skal vederquege mig paa min Sotteseng: Hand skal hielpe mig aff ald min Siugdom? Huad kan være glædeligere / end paa Dødsens Tid oc Time at kunde sige: HERre JESu / jeg haffuer effter dit Bud holt mig / som saa liuder: Gifuer / oc eder skal giffues. Giff du mig / som nu drager aff dette Liff / det Liff / som aldrig faar Ende. Jeg haffuer / effter dit Ord / giort mig Venner aff den wretfærdige Mammon / i det jeg haffuer klædt den Nøgne / spiset den Hungrige / annammet til Herberg den Fattige / besøgt den Fangne. Lad nu mig / effter dit Løffte oc hellige Tilsagn / indtagis i de ævige Bolige.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 921–22.

<sup>79</sup> “Vel veed jeg / at jeg kand icke med min ringe almissee / som jeg haffuer aff din Haand bekommet at uddeele / forhuærffe mig Himmerige oc de ævige Bolige i Guds Rige. Jeg veed huad Suar Simon fick / som vilde kiøbe sig den Hellig Aand oc Guds Rige til for Pendinge. Saa siger til hannem S. Peder: Dine Pendinge bliffue hos dig til Fordærffuelse / at du acter mand kand bekomme Guds Gaffue formedelst Pendinge. Jeg veed / at det ævige Liff er Guds Naades Gaffue i Christo JESu vor HERre. Men det troer jeg / at huis jeg troer aff Hiertet paa JESum

When establishing the scenario on their imagined deathbed, Brochmand imbeds an urgency in their consideration, which is further reinforced in the gospel exposition on the 13th Sunday after Trinity. In another reference to the dishonest manager, the reader is reminded that once they wake up in hell, it will be too late to employ that prudence in pursuing eternal life:

We are so little thoughtful that we hardly spare the smallest thought or make any effort that the soul, once it leaves this body, could be received into the eternal kingdom of God and in the heavenly dwellings. Truly, Christ must say: That the children of this world are more prudent than the children of light in their generation. It will then be too late to think “what should I do that I can receive the eternal life” when you wake up in hell.<sup>80</sup>

## Conclusion

Following in the footsteps of his contemporary scholarly conversation partners, Brochmand begins his theological system by laying out the foundational presuppositions and establishing his method for the work ahead. In doing so, there are two main observations that should be highlighted. The first is that Brochmand builds upon and utilizes recent methodological developments to construct his system. Following the establishment of metaphysics as an academic discipline, theologians were provided with a technical apparatus for categorizing, analyzing, and distinguishing the topic under consideration. Further, Brochmand recognizes the usefulness of philosophy in theology in presenting arguments and drawing conclusions, and at the practical level he demonstrates an indebtedness to metaphysics by adopting the vocabulary of being, causes, objects, habitus, act, potency, etc. In this sense, Brochmand’s *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* can rightly be called an Aristotelian work.<sup>81</sup> However, the

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Christum / oc dagligen renser mig aff Synden ved hans Blod / oc jeg aff yderste Formue bjstaar den Fattige / da skal efter dette Liff jeg visseligen annammis i de ævige Bolige.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 922.

<sup>80</sup> “[Vi] ere saa lidet efftertenckendis / at vi neppeligen giøre os mindste Tancke / end sige vjtløfftig wmage / huorledis vi / naar Sielen gaar aff dette Legeme / kunde udi Guds ævige Rige oc udi de himmelske Boliger indtagis. Sandeligen / Christus maa vel sige: At denne Verdsens Børn ere klogere end Liusens Børn udi deris Slect. Det er da forsilde / at tencke / huad skal jeg giøre / at jeg kand faa det ævige Liff / naar mand opvogner / udi Helffuede.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 1021.

<sup>81</sup> Lyby and Grell, “The Consolidation of Lutheranism in Denmark and Norway,” 140. Regarding the metaphysical vocabulary, one finds an excellent overview in Cornelius Martini, *Metaphysica Commentatio compendiose, succincte, et perspicue, comprehendens universam Metaphysices doctrinam* (Strasbourg: Johann

usefulness of philosophy has a strict limit, since it is guided by human reason, which has been corrupted by sin after the fall. For that reason, philosophy is incapable of conceiving of those things of God that pertain to salvation. Instead, theology, entirely distinct and separate from philosophy, is the discipline occupied with God and those things that are necessary to know, believe, and do unto salvation, in which things the theologian is instructed through divine revelation, the word of God in scripture.

This leads to the second observation, which concerns the methodological consequences of establishing the word of God revealed in scripture as the principle of theology. Initially it means that Brochmand relies on scripture as his main form of argumentation, but it also has wider implications when it comes to vocabulary. With the *habitus* controversies in mind, it is noteworthy that even though Brochmand establishes a direct comparison between *habitus philosophici* and *theologia*, and even though he analyzes theology in such a way that strongly resembles how one would analyze a *habitus*, he nowhere directly states that theology is a *habitus*. Furthermore, when specifying the exact nature of theology as a discipline by referring to *scientia*, *sapientia*, or *prudentia*, he maintains the use of the technical terms, which are traditionally considered *habitus*, but categorically rejects the Aristotelian understanding as intellectual virtues. This becomes an established pattern in Brochmand's methodology, where he adopts a terminology grounded in either philosophical or theological discussions, but consistently redefines them. Their meaning is derived from scripture, and often how scripture uses those specific terms, which demonstrates the way in which philosophy and theology are radically different disciplines. Thus, through *scientia*, theology is not only about instruction in knowledge, but also has a transformative function through illumination of the human mind darkened by the fall. It is equally true for *sapientia* and *prudentia*, which assign to the theologian a moral quality and requires of them the demonstration of a zeal for a life in holiness and the pursuit of eternal life. The end result is that Brochmand constructs a hybrid concept that encompasses both the theoretical and practical aspects in such a way that they concern the theologian themselves, not only in grasping what is necessary to know, believe and do unto salvation, but also in possessing the drive to act upon it. Thus, Brochmand constructs a concept of theology that is very far removed from a professionalization of theological ministry,<sup>82</sup> but theology concerns the

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Carolus, 1605).

<sup>82</sup> See for example Fluegge, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637)*, 130ff. This is not to be confused with a professionalization of the education of pastors. The inclusion of *casus conscientiae* in *Universae Theologiae Systema* indicates an attention to pastoral care; to how pastors are instructed in aiding their congregation when they struggle with doubt and anxieties. But theology in and of itself concerns the individual's way to eternal life and is not primarily a disposition for leading others to salvation.

individual in their own path towards eternal life.

As a final observation it is worth remembering the critique that Rosenkrantz had of contemporary practices in university theology. Beyond the charge of unnecessary polemics, he objected to the use of terminology alien to scripture and that the theology they produced was not able to lead to piety.<sup>83</sup> Considering Brochmand's reluctance to use the word *habitus* and the consistent manner in which he defines this highly technical terminology on the basis of scripture, such that the meaning is entirely different from what one might expect, it might seem that there is a greater overlap between the theological projects of Rosenkrantz and Brochmand than previously noticed. Granted, as the controversy itself testifies, they came to some rather different conclusions and Brochmand had a commitment to a completely different theological framework (Formula of Concord), but perhaps the influence of Rosenkrantz lingered more strongly than previous scholarship has perceived. Instead of seeing *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* as a "retreat into conservatism", a suggestion might be to see it as an attempt at building a scripturally based theology that leads to piety committed to an orthodox Lutheran theology; following the vision of Rosenkrantz, but diverting in the results. Although, going beyond the suggestion will be conditioned on further studies in the Rosenkrantz-Brochmand controversy and the theology of Brochmand himself.

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<sup>83</sup> Glebe-Møller, "Holger Rosenkrantz, 'the Learned' (1574–1642)," 102–3.

## Chapter 2: The Concept of Faith

### Faith and Theology

It is well known that the topic of faith was central, controversial, and persistent from the early Reformation and onward. United with significant issues of justification, sanctification, scripture, grace, God–human relations, and identity, the understanding of faith became a distinguishing feature in reformational and inter-confessional controversies.<sup>1</sup> With the expression of *sola fide*, Luther rejected the notion of a justification that was dependent on the contribution of any human activity. Instead of understanding saving faith as a faith that is shaped by active love (*fides caritate formata*), Luther argued that faith is the work of God alone in the human being, wherein the human being receives all that God gives: righteousness, grace, life, and freedom. In addition, Christ receives all of the evil that the Christian possesses: sin, death, damnation. It is through faith that this exchange takes place, but together with the ‘joyful exchange’ belongs also the struggle. The joyful exchange is sometimes framed in terms of death and resurrection: the old human must die so that a new can arise with Christ in a new life, but since the old human resists their destruction, a struggle persists in daily mortification of sins (also exemplified as the strife between flesh and spirit). These do not stand in a simple relationship to each other, but express the highly paradoxical declaration of the Christian as simultaneously righteous and sinner (*simul iustus et peccator*).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “Glaube ist nicht nur ein Thema, sondern das Thema der Reformation.” Günter Lanczkowski, et al., “Glaube,” in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie Online* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), VI. Reformation/Neuzeit/Systematisch-theologisch. 2. „Allein durch den Glauben an Christus“ – Die Reformation Luthers. [https://www.degruyter.com/document/database/TRE/entry/tre.13\\_275\\_28/html](https://www.degruyter.com/document/database/TRE/entry/tre.13_275_28/html). “The Reformation focused all significant theological issues in faith.” Andreas Grünschloß, et al., “Faith,” in *Religion Past and Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), IV. Systematic Theology. 2. History of Theology. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1163/1877-5888\\_rpp\\_COM\\_08687](https://doi.org/10.1163/1877-5888_rpp_COM_08687). “For Protestant Reformers faith became the main theological subject addressing salvation and justification. Paired concepts such as faith and God, faith and justification become dominant.” Ilaria L. E. Ramelli, et al., “Faith,” in *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, ed. Constance M. Furey, et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), IV Christianity. B Medieval Times and Reformation Era. doi:10.1515/ebr.fait.

<sup>2</sup> Philipp Stoellger, “Martin Luther on Faith,” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Steffen Kjeldgaard-Pedersen, “Erasmus i Luthers frihedstrakat,” in *Kirkehistorier: Festskrift til Martin Schwarz Lausten*, ed. Carsten Selch Jensen and Lauge Olaf Nielsen (Frederiksberg: Anis, 2008), 49–71; Anna Vind, *Latomus and Luther: The Debate: Is Every Good Deed a Sin?* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), 265–68.



As Luther developed his understanding of faith in the debates with medieval scholastic theology, he rejected or reformulated several traditional distinctions of faith, in particular the understanding of faith as *virtus* or *habitus*.<sup>3</sup>

Luther's ways of talking about faith manifested in manifold ways.<sup>4</sup> Two, in particular, should be mentioned. One is his conception of faith as trust, *fiducia*. It embodies the passive receptiveness of faith in the sense that it is not trust in oneself, but trust in the promises of God because of Christ. It is a trust that can appear counter to the experience of abandonment, so that in the midst of tribulations, the believer will yet adhere to Christ and trust that God will be merciful to them.<sup>5</sup> Another is derived from encouraging the adherence to Christ, which can be expressed as *fides apprehensiva*: faith grasps Christ. This understanding of faith can be represented by two aspects, which do not always relate to each other in a simple manner. In the first place it pertains to the comprehension of the good news of forgiveness of sins and as such relates to understanding. In the second place, it has a deeper meaning, which pertains rather to the union with Christ whereby the human being receives Christ himself and by extension participates in his righteousness. The apprehension not merely of Christ as the

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<sup>3</sup> Grünschloß, et al., "Faith," IV. Systematic Theology. 2. History of Theology. However, his discussion of the virtues or powers of faith in *De libertate Christiana* exemplify the reformulation or reorientation of established vocabulary, Steffen Kjeldgaard-Pedersen, "Erasmus i Luthers frihedstrakat," in *Kirkehistorier: Festskrift til Martin Schwarz Lausten*, ed. Carsten Selch Jensen and Lauge Olaf Nielsen (Frederiksberg: Anis, 2008), 63–64.

<sup>4</sup> Stoellger is exemplary in covering an expansive approach to Luther's varied approaches to faith, Philipp Stoellger, "Martin Luther on Faith," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). <https://oxfordre.com/religion/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-331>.

<sup>5</sup> Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele, "Fiducia bei Martin Luther," in *Gottvertrauen: Die ökumenische Diskussionen um Fiducia*, vol. 250, ed. Ingolf U. Dalferth and Simon Peng-Keller, *Quaestiones Disputatae*, vol. 250 (Freiburg: Herder, 2012), 163–81; Fluegge, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637)*, 56; Anna Vind, "Heroic Anti-Heroism: Johannes Tauler and Martin Luther Revisited," in *Christus als Held und seine heroische Nachfolge: Zur 'imitatio Christi' in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Achim Aurnhammer and Johann Anselm Steiger, *Frühe Neuzeit, Studien und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur und Kultur im europäischen Kontext*, vol. 235 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 56–57; Stoellger, "Martin Luther on Faith," Faith and Reason, Understanding, Experience, Trust. The conceptualization of faith as trust had lasting implications for the impact of Lutheran theology on societal development, see for example Sasja Emilie Mathiasen Stopa, "Trusting in God and His Earthly Masks: Exploring the Lutheran Roots of Scandinavian High-Trust Culture," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 33, no. 4 (2020): 456–72. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/johs.12300> and Nina Koefoed and Bo Kristian Holm, eds., *Pligt og omsorg: velfærdsstatens lutherske rødder* (Copenhagen: Gads forlag, 2021).

object of knowledge, but such that in faith itself, Christ is present.<sup>6</sup> With Luther's emphasis on the paradoxes and human passivity, his concept of faith resists simple explanations. In particular the question of the manner of passivity in the interpretation of the apprehensive faith and faith as trust is the subject of continual discussion within Luther research, which testify to its complexity. What remains, however, is a general consensus that Luther's concept of faith was quite revolutionary for its time.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Olli-Pekka Vainio, "Faith," in *Engaging Luther: A (New) Theological Assessment*, ed. Olli-Pekka Vainio (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2010), 140–43. This notion of union with Christ has been a particular attention point in Finnish Luther scholarship, which has also been the subject of extensive ongoing discussions. Not the least in comparison other scholarly traditions, which rather emphasize the relational aspect of faith, although the breadth and impact of Finnish Luther scholarship far exceeds this singular topic. In addition to the recently reference anthology *Engaging Luther*, see also Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson, eds., *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998). The cognitive element of faith is difficult to pin down and one must be careful to avoid simplifying reductionism: "Faith is *not* partially deficient *cognition*, the shortcomings of which might be compensated through *assensus*; it is *not primarily* cognition (*cognitio*) and also *not* initial, "natural" knowledge of God. These all would be determinations of faith in the perspective of Logos (as *nous* or cognitive faculties), which a will (*assensus*) would need to assist because of their deficiency. Hence, faith is not merely "justified true belief" and "not just belief that this proclamation [of the word of God] is true." Faith is also *not* "historical faith" (*fides historica*) that lives from historical knowledge and believes in histories — that too would be faith, cognitively reduced to Logos; rather faith is "apprehensive faith" (*fides apprehensiva*). A false alternative must not be construed out of this because "if it came to that, that one should forget this story, then the foundation would crumble." [...] Faith is not to be understood as an *act* of reason, but faith seeks and needs *understanding* of what is believed and of faith itself; otherwise faith would be blind trust." Stoellger, "Martin Luther on Faith," Faith and Reason, Understanding, Experience, Trust.

<sup>7</sup> See for example discussions in Bo Kristian Holm and Peter Widmann, eds., *Word – Gift – Being: Justification – Economy – Ontology*, Religion in Philosophy and Theology, vol. 37 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009). Hamm also testifies to the complex nature of the topic of Luther's concept of faith in commenting on the controversies within scholarship on Luther's personal theological development: "Dieses integrative theologische Programm verdichtet sich in Luthers neuem Glaubensverständnis, das nicht nur Erkenntnis und Gemüt, sondern auch die Dunkelheit des Schmerzens und die Helligkeit der Freude integriert. Luther blieb bei diesem Glaubensbegriff nicht stehen. Er entwickelte ihn in der Folgezeit so stark weiter, dass in der modernen Forschung umstritten ist, ob das Glaubensverständnis der Psalmen- und Römerbriefvorlesung schon als reformatorisch gelten kann." Berndt Hamm, *Der frühe Luther: Etappen reformatorischer Neuorientierung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 86.

Melanchthon had a slight shift in emphasis, as he developed a close and necessary relationship between knowledge of salvation history and the personal trust in the merits of Christ. Faith must know what it believes, which includes not only knowledge of the specific salvific events, but also the divine promises contained therein and the application to the individual. In a more systematized expression, Melanchthon presented a tripartite definition of faith, where the parts consisted of *notitia*, *assensus*, and *fiducia*.<sup>8</sup> This distinction became foundational as subsequent generations translated the concept of faith into their own contexts.<sup>9</sup> One aspect that emerges is the specific relationship between *notitia* and *assensus* as it relates to the intellect on the one hand, and *fiducia* as it relates to the will on the other. While these separate parts of faith were supposed to be closely integrated according to

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<sup>8</sup> Hendrik Stössel, “Christologie,” in *Philipp Melanchthon: Der Reformator zwischen Glauben und Wissen*, ed. Günter Frank (Göttingen: De Gruyter, 2017), 381; Klaus Haendler, *Wort und Glaube bei Melanchthon: Eine Untersuchung über die Voraussetzungen und Grundlagen des melanchthonischen Kirchenbegriffes*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 37 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1968); Klaus Haendler, “Offenbarung – Geschichte – Glaube: Bemerkungen zum Glaubensbegriff Melanchthons,” in *Reformatio und Confessio: Festschrift für D. Wilhelm Maurer zum 65. Geburtstag am 7. Mai 1965*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Kantzenbach and Gerhard Müller (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlaghaus, 1965), 63–83; Grünschloß, et al., “Faith,” IV. Systematic Theology. 2. History of Theology.

<sup>9</sup> See for example Johann Gerhard’s definition: “Hoc loco agimus de fide justificante, quae complectitur notitam, assensum et fiduciam. (\*\*Fides consideratur: 1. *materialiter* ratione omnium actuum, qui in fide justificante concurrunt, licet non omnesificent; 2. *formaliter*, quatenus justificat. Priore respectu in certas partes dispectitur, ubi tamen sciendum, cum fides non sit totum vel integrale vel essentielle, nec partes ipsi tales assignari, ideoque in quadam latitudine utimur hoc partium termino, nihil aliud intelligentes, quam diversos actus se invicem consequentes et in fide justificante concurrentes. Posteriori respectu est tamen fiducia seu fiducialis meriti Christi apprehensio, ideoque hoc sensu partes diversas non agnoscit\*\*) Respectu notitiae et assensus refertur intellectum, atque objecti loco habet omne et solum DEI verbum Scripturis prophetis et apostolicis nobis revelatum; respectu fiduciae refertur ad cor sive voluntatem, atque objecti loco habet promissiones evangelicae de Christo mediatore.” Gerhard, *Loci Theologi Tomus 3*, 350 or the definition in the Heidelberg Catechism: “Quid est fides? Est non tantum notitia, qua firmiter assentior omnibus quae Deus nobis in verbo suo patefecit, sed etiam certa fiducia, a Spiritu Sancto, per Evangelium in corde meo accensa, qua in Deo acquiesco, certo statuens, non solum alijs, sed mihi quoque remissionem peccatorum, aeternam justitiam et vitam donatam esse, idque gratis ex Dei misericordia, propter vnius Christi meritum.” Zacharias Ursinus, *Catechesis Religionis Christianae, quae traditur in ecclesiis et scholis palatinatus* (Heidelberg: Michael Schirat and Ioannes Mayer, 1563), 8. Martin Ohst, “Varianten protestantischen Subjektivitätsdenkens: Zum Glaubensbegriff bei Luther und Schleiermacher,” in *Reformation und Moderne: Pluralität – Subjektivität – Kritik: Akten Des Internationalen Kongresses der Schleiermacher-Gesellschaft in Hall, März 2017*, ed. Jörg Dierken, Arnulf von Scheliha, and Sarah Schmidt, *Schleiermacher-Archiv*, vol. 27 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 292ff.

Melanchthon, there are some suggestions that the distinctions in themselves hold the potential for a separation between the content of faith and life in faith.<sup>10</sup> In his study of the Rosenkrantz controversy, Glebe-Møller identifies a gradual intellectualization of faith as it becomes something distinct from the pious Christian life in an effort to guard themselves from Catholic errors:

[T]he danger of sliding back into the Catholic ditch causes the majority of theologians to move faith and works further and further from each other in their dogmatic writings. Even if the orthodox theologians always emphasize that faith and its effects in a Christian life can never be separated, [...] the sharp conceptual distinctions show that faith is beginning to be considered a particular kind of knowledge or acknowledgement of the work of salvation, which do not stand in an organic relationship with the pious Christian life. Faith relates to the intellectually conceived doctrine on its own level, and then on the next level the Christian life unfolds itself. [...] The dogmatics stand on its own as the presentation of pure doctrine; it is the object of faith. By its side it has ethics, which guides the Christian life. [...] That they did not forget the connection between faith and the works of faith only shows itself in that the ten commandments are thoroughly expounded in the dogmatics.<sup>11</sup>

The present chapter will consider how the concept of faith is developed in the theology of Brochmand with a particular focus on the object of faith and how it relates to the life in faith.

## **Justifying Faith**

The starting point for a discussion on Brochmand's understanding of faith is the article on justifying faith which follows "On Penitence" and is followed by "On Justification, Regeneration, and Renewal" in the second volume of *Universæ Theologiæ Systema*.<sup>12</sup> At 71

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<sup>10</sup> Friedrich, *Die Grenzen der Vernunft*, 298–99.

<sup>11</sup> [F]aren for at glide tilbage i den katolske grøft får flertallet blandt teologer til at rykke troen og gerningerne længere og længere fra hinanden i deres dogmatiske skrifter. Selv om de ortodokse teologer altid fremhæver, at troen og dens virkninger i et kristen liv aldrig kan skilles [...] viser de skarpe begrebsmæssige distinktioner, at troen er ved at blive opfattet som en særlig art erkendelse eller anerkendelse af frelsesgerningerne, som ikke står i organisk forbindelse med det fromme kristne liv. Troen forholder sig til den intellektuelt opfattede lære på sit plan, og på næste plan udfolder så det kristne liv sig. [...] Dogmatikken står for sig som fremstillingen af den rene lære; den er troens objekt. Ved sin side har den etikken, der vejleder for det kristne liv. [...] At man ikke har glemt sammenhængen mellem tro og troens gerninger viser sig kun i, at de ti bud gennemgås udførligt i dogmatikken." Glebe-Møller, *Doctrina secundum pietatem*, 76–77.

pages it is of fairly average length and follows the expected pattern of defining justifying faith with reference to its distinction and causes, dealing with the arguments of his opponents in controversial matters, and proscribing how someone should approach a person with an anxious conscience related to matters of faith. Although the discussion in the present chapter does not deal with the interconfessional controversies in any particular detail, it is worth mentioning that about half of the article concerns controversies that mostly relate to disagreements with his Catholic opponents. Foremost among these are Gregory of Valencia and Robert Bellarmine, but at several points Brochmand also speaks directly against theses presented at the Council of Trent, particularly the questions concerning whether faith is trust or assent and whether a Christian ought to have certainty regarding the forgiveness of their sins.<sup>13</sup>

These controversies serve as a backdrop against the definition of justifying faith, but before arriving at a definition, Brochmand begins with the word *fides*: its significations and distinctions. Initially, five possible significations of faith are listed in order to establish what exactly is meant when we are talking about faith. The first refers to the general experience of believing that what someone says is true or that what they have promised they will also do, while the second seems to refer to a very specific meaning derived from Gal 3:25,<sup>14</sup> where *fides* refers to the fulfillment of the Old Testament promises in the coming of Christ. The third and fourth signification refer to faith both as content of faith and the proclamation of it as true doctrine. This signification is not tied to a confession of faith in the salvific sense, even if it is a proclamation of a ‘heavenly truth’ (*veritas cælestis*). Brochmand refers to James 2:19 as an exemplary use of this signification concerning the demons who believe and tremble,<sup>15</sup> and also to Titus 1:16 concerning those who profess to know God, yet deny it with their deeds.<sup>16</sup> However, there are also positive associations with this signification in highlighting the reputation of the congregation in Thessalonica (1 Thess 1:8),<sup>17</sup> together with

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<sup>12</sup> Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 397–467.

<sup>13</sup> “Secundus Pontificiorum error est: Fidem justificantem non non esse Fiduciam, sed nudum et simplicem assensum. [...] Quintus Pontificiorum error est: Christianum non debere certa fide tenere peccata sibi remissa, se justificatum, sibi præparatam salutem æternam, se regni cælestis hæreditatem additurum: quinimo Christiani hominis esse, de his omnibus dubitare.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 408–9.

<sup>14</sup> “But after the faith is come, we are no longer under a pedagogue.” (Gal 3:25)

<sup>15</sup> “Thou believest that there is one God. Thou dost well: the devils also believe and tremble.” (James 2:19)

<sup>16</sup> “They profess that they know God: but in their works they deny him: being abominable and incredulous and to every good work reprobate.” (Titus 1:16)

<sup>17</sup> “For from you was spread abroad the word of the Lord not only in Macedonia and in Achaia but also in every place: your faith which is towards God, is gone forth, so that we need not to speak any thing.” (1 Thess

the admonition to persevere in faith that Paul and Barnabas gave to the congregations in Lystra, Iconium and Antioch (Acts 14:22).<sup>18</sup> The fifth signification invokes the emphasis on trust (*fiducia*) as an expression of faith. With reference to Matt 17:19, Acts 26:27–28, Heb 11:1, and James 1:6, representing various aspects of faith, Brochmand can summarize the fifth signification as “faith is taken for a certain and steadfast trust in that, which is believed.”<sup>19</sup> In this final signification Brochmand expresses what follows as the topic of the article on faith.

## Distinctions of Faith

Following the significations, Brochmand reflects of the nature of justifying faith through four distinctions. The first is a distinction between living faith and dead faith, which centers on both the steadfast trust and the fruit of faith expressed in good works. Living faith is defined by this unwavering trust (*indubitata fiducia*) in Christ in such a way that it shows itself through a sincere love towards one’s neighbour and a fiery eagerness (*fervidum studium*) for good works (Gal 5:6; James 2:18; 1 Tim 1:5).<sup>20</sup> In contrast, dead faith is characterized by idle vainglory, completely void of trust in Christ, and disjointed from love and good works (Matt

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1:8)

<sup>18</sup> “*Primo significat veritatem et constantiam in dictis et factis, sive ea Dei, sive hominum sit. Ps.86.v.15. Domine, tu es multus benignitate et fide, id est, fidelitate et constantia in dictis promissisque servandis atque implendis. Rom.3.3. Num ipsorum infidelitas fidem Dei [id est, Dei veritatem, et in promissis servandis immotam constantia] inanem reddet. Secundo denotat impletionem seu præstationem rei promissæ. Gal.3,25. Postquam venit fides [id est, impleta est promissio de Christo venturo] non amplius sub Pædagogo sumus. Tertio designat ipsam Evangelii doctrinam. Rom.1.v.5. Accepimus gratiam et Apostolatam, ut obediatur fidei [id est, Evangelio, e cujus auditu est fides] inter omnes gentes. Rom.3.v.31. legem non destruimus per fidem, hoc est per Evangelii doctrinam. Quarto accipitur fides pro externa professione veritatis cælestis. Jac.2.v.19. Diaboli credunt et contremiscunt. Tit.1.v.16. Deum profitentur se scire, sed factis negant. Sic Act.14.v.22. Paulus et Barnabas in Antiochia confirmant discipulos ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει, id est, in professione veræ fidei perdurare. Fides Thessalonicensium dimanasse dicitur in omnem locum 1.Thess.1,8.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 397 “Confirming the souls of the disciples and exhorting them to continue in the faith: and that through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God. And when they had ordained to them priests in every church and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, in whom they believed.” (Acts 14:21-22)

<sup>19</sup> “*Ultimo, sumitur fides pro certa et immota fiducia in id, quod creditur.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 397.

<sup>20</sup> “*Viva fides est indubitata cordis in Christum Jesum fiducia, exerens se per synceram proximi dilectionem, et bonorum operum fervidum studium.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 398.

17:18–19; James 2:14).<sup>21</sup> The second distinction is between temporary faith and persevering faith. Whether faith is designated as temporary or persevering does not seem to have an impact on the nature of the faith as such. The explication is fairly compact, but it seems that in either case Brochmand would be able to refer to such faith as a truly justifying faith. The main distinction is whether justifying faith is present when a person leaves their mortal life or whether they only possessed justifying faith for a time and then lost it. In the former case it would be classified as persevering faith, and in the latter as temporary faith, but in either case it is justifying faith. This is a main point for Brochmand, seeing as it is possible to lose faith by being overcome by either the desires of the flesh or the adversities of the world (Matt 13:20–22).<sup>22</sup> However, if the believer retains their steadfast trust in Christ until they die and pass on from this life, then they demonstrate to the world that their justifying faith was a persevering faith (Matt 10:22; Matt 24:13; Mark 13:13; Heb 3:6).<sup>23</sup> The third distinction is between personal and foreign faith, which is rather a distinction between different functions of faith. Personal faith concerns one's own participation in the promises and benefits of Christ (Job 19:25; Ps 31:6; Rom 1:17; Gal 2:20),<sup>24</sup> whereas foreign faith concerns the intercessory function of prayer. The way in which a person can acquire, through trust in God and Christ, a temporal or spiritual good for someone else by interceding on their behalf (Gen 19:20; Gen 18:32; Matt 9:2; Acts 27:24; 1 John 5:16).<sup>25</sup>

The final distinction focuses on the central theme of knowledge and affective response in faith. It is divided into three divisions, where the first is historical faith (*fides historica*),

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<sup>21</sup> "Mortua fides est vana religionis Christianæ jactantia, destituta immota cordis in Christum fiducia, et sejuncta a caritate atque studio bonorum operum." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 398.

<sup>22</sup> "Fides temporaria est, qua ad certum tempus credens, sed victus aut cupiditatibus carnis, aut mundi adversitatibus, tandem adjicit et abnegat fidem." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 398. See also the circumstances of faith, which establish that it is possible to lose faith, even when it is a living and true faith: "(3) Possibilitatem amittendi fidem quando nominamus, hoc volumus: fieri posse, ut qvi vera et viva fide a Deo donatus fuit, eam it amittat, ut nunquam recuperet." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 406. This is demonstrated with several examples, including David who is described as a righteous person (1 King 9:4), even though he committed adultery and murder (2 Sam 11:12). Those sins cannot persist in someone who has faith (Gal 5:21; 1 Cor 6:15).

<sup>23</sup> "Fides perseverans est, qua quis in immota illa in Deum et Christum fiducia ita perseverat, ut in illa vitam feliciter claudat." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 398.

<sup>24</sup> "Fides propria est fiducia illa, qua homo fidelis in promissiones divinas et beneficia Christum parta, indubitato recumbit." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 398.

<sup>25</sup> "Fides aliena est fiducia illa in Deum & Christum, qua proximi nostri necessitates Deo commendamus, atque ipsi bona temporalia aut spiritualia impetramus." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 399.

which is also referred to as doctrinal faith (*fides dogmatica*). This historical faith is a belief in the veracity of what God has revealed, but without an affective response, neither towards the revealing God nor towards the thing being revealed (James 2:19; Marc 5:6; Luke 8:28; Acts 19:15).<sup>26</sup> The second is miraculous faith, which concerns a steadfast belief that something God has foretold or desired should happen will indeed happen (Matt 17:20; 1 Cor 13:2). This comes in two forms, which are either active or passive. Active miraculous faith is considered a special gift of God, whereby through the power of God a person can perform some act that exceeds the order of nature, with the qualifier that it ought to happen for praise of the divine name and salvation of human beings (Marc 16:17ff; 1 Cor 13:2). Passive miraculous faith, on the other hand concerns the belief that a person will be a participant in the benefits that follow from such miraculous events (Matt 9:27ff; Acts 14:8–10).<sup>27</sup> Two notes are finally given on miraculous faith. One point is made to emphasize that it is a gift given by God, but that this gift can also be hindered by unbelief (*incredulitas*), so that it does not find its intended expression, either by the person who is given the gift of miracles or by the person who is a beneficiary recipient of the good conferred by the miracle. The second is the observation that the act of doing miracles can also take place among the impious.<sup>28</sup> The final point also underlines that miraculous faith is distinct from justifying faith, which leads to the final division in this distinction, which is given a proper definition:

Justifying faith is not only (1) knowledge of the divine word, and (2) a firm assent, by which we are persuaded, that nothing is contained in the writings of the prophets and apostles, which is not brought forth by God himself, and because of that it is most certain; but it is especially (3) an unwavering trust of the heart, by which a sinner, trembling with every limb and entire soul because of sins, (4) with certainty has established that God not only towards others, but also towards themselves, although

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<sup>26</sup> "Fides historica, quam alii dogmaticam appellant, est qua omnia illa creduntur esse vera, quæ a Deo revelata sunt, sine interiore affectu et cordis fiducia, vel in Deum revelantem, vel in rem a Deo revelatam." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 399.

<sup>27</sup> "Fides miraculosa est, qua firmiter statuimus eventurum ex infinita Dei potentia, quod vel prædixerit Deus, vel fieri voluerit, vel a nobis, vel in bonum nostrum ab aliis. [...] Activa est peculiare Dei donum, quo quis divina potentia facere potest in nominis divini laudem et hominum salutem, quæ naturæ ordinem et quamvis finitam potentiam excedunt. [...] Fides miraculosa, eaque passiva, est qua homo certo statuit se fore participem beneficiorum singularium, quæ per miracula contingunt." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 399.

<sup>28</sup> "Duo autem sunt, quæ de fide miraculosa notari debent: Unum; impediri hoc donum incredulitate, tum ejus, qui miraculorum dono præditus est Matth.17.v.19.20.; tum hominis, cui bonum aliquod miraculo conferetur Matt.13.v.58., Joh.11.v.40.: Alterum; donum miraculorum edendorum, etiam in impios cadere Matth.7.v.23." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 400.



being the greatest sinner, wants to forgive sins on account of the son Jesus, impute the righteousness of Christ, and give eternal life.<sup>29</sup>

Before expounding the various elements of the definition, Brochmand establishes that faith should be considered as *actus*. Faith is first and foremost something that takes place. Furthermore, the three *actus* occur simultaneously in concurrence.<sup>30</sup> Beginning with the first *actus*, *notitia*, it is established that knowledge of the divine word and will is required for the establishment of justifying faith (Rom 10:14).<sup>31</sup> However, mirroring the previous distinction of historical faith, it is immediately established that *notitia* is insufficient in and of itself (Matt 7:21; Luke 12:47; 2 Pet 2:21; 1 John 2:3–4).<sup>32</sup> This leads to the second *actus*, *assensus*, which establishes that for a person to have faith they must not only possess knowledge, but also be in agreement therewith, unhesitatingly and without doubt. In the first place it seems that this more narrowly concerns the conviction that the word of God cannot deceive, but a derivative effect of establishing with certainty that God is the most truthful author of scripture is a steadfast belief in certain doctrinal points that seem to be contrary to reason yet are grasped by faith, such as the trinity and the two natures of Christ. Brochmand here sets up a distinction between *scientia* and *fides* reminiscent of the discussion of *scientia* within the disciplines of theology and philosophy. Through *scientia* they know things and their causes through evidence, but the knowledge that relates to faith is of a different kind. Here there is no evidence (*evidentia*) in the sense that reason requires it to establish something with

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<sup>29</sup> “*Fides justificans non tantum (1) Verbi divini notitia est, et (2) firmus assensus, quo persuasi sumus, nihil contineri scriptis Prophetarum & Apostolorum, quod non sit ab ipso Deo profectum, ac eapropter certissimum; sed inprimis (3) indubitata cordis fiducia est, qua peccator, omnibus artibus atque tota anima tremens ob peccata, (4) certo statuit, quod Deus non solum aliis, sed etiam ipsi, quantumvis peccatori maximo, velit peccata propter filium Jesum remittere, justitiam Christi imputare, & vitam æternam donare.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 400.

<sup>30</sup> “*Tres velut actus concurrunt ad constituendum fidem justificantem.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 400.

<sup>31</sup> “How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? Or how shall they believe him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher?” (Rom 10:14)

<sup>32</sup> “*Primus actus, qui ad fidei constitutionem requiritur, notitia est. Nam fidem salvificam necessario requirere verbi et voluntatis divinæ notitiam [...]. Quod vero nuda voluntatis divinæ notitia non sufficiat constituendæ fidei salvificæ [...].*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 400.

certainty, but these things are completely obscure for *homo animalis*.<sup>33</sup>

Similar to *notitia*, it is not sufficient to stop at *assensus*, which even demons and ungodly can possess (James 2:14; Luke 12:47; Tit 1:16; Matt 7:23). Therefore it is, thirdly, necessary that Brochmand establishes the immovable trust of the heart as the third *actus* of faith.<sup>34</sup> First there is an argument based on the root meaning of *fides*, πιστις, and אֱמוּנָה, which demonstrates that trust (*fiducia*) is necessarily included in the meaning of the word ‘faith’ in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. This is followed by two sets of scriptural arguments, where it is demonstrated that scripture describes faith in various parallel ways that capture this third *actus* in the sense of confidence (*confidentia*, θάρσος; John 16:33; Matt 9:22), conviction (*persuasio*, πληροφορία; Rom 4:21; Heb 6:11,10:22), or trust (*fiducia*, πεποίθις; 2 Cor 3:4; Eph 3:12; Phil 3:4), and that there are particular examples where the faith described cannot possibly be understood as knowledge or agreement, but only as trust. Foremost among these examples are miraculous events, such as the woman with an hemorrhage (Matt 9:20–22), the man who was crippled (Acts 14:8–10), the paralytic (Matt 9:1–8), and the Canaanite woman (Matt 15:21–28), but they are joined by references to the epistles (1 John 5:13; Rom 8:38; Eph 3:17; Heb 11:1; James 1:6–7).<sup>35</sup>

The fourth aspect of the definition of faith is closely connected to the third. Here it is specified that the trust one should hold is not just a general trust that the merits of Christ can be applied to a sinner resulting in the forgiveness of their sins. Rather, it is a specific trust that the merits of Christ apply not only to others, but also and especially to the person who holds

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<sup>33</sup> ”*Secundus actus*, qui ad fidei constitutionem requiritur, *assensus* est, et quidem non *perfunctorius et vacillans, sed firmus et indubitatus*. Nam fidei salvificæ munus et officium esse, certo statuere, fallere non posse verbum Dei, sed illud citra omnem exceptionem quam verissimum esse [...]. Ubi urgenda est vox ἔλεγχος, quæ talis est convictio, quæ intellectum velut cogit ad assentiendum. [...] Coeterum firmus iste assensus, qui ad fidem constituendam requiritur, non oritur ex alio principio, quam quod plane certi simus, verbum illud, cui assentimur, origine divinum esse. Nam quæ per scientiam novimus, ex rerum evidentia scimus, cum scientia sit rei ex causis cognitio. In rebus autem, quas per fidem novimus, nulla est evidentia, sed potius animali homini summa obscuritas 1 Cor.2,14: ut, in Divinitate una tres esse Personas, et unica Christi persona naturas sustenari. Harum tamen et consimilium rerum, quas fide tenemus, summa est in animis Christianorum certitudo, non aliunde nata, quam quod indubie persuasi simus, ipsum Deum, qui veracissimus est, unicum auctorem esse.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 400–401. Regarding *homo animalis*, see the discussion in Chapter 1.

<sup>34</sup> “*Tertius actus*, qui ad fidem salvificam requiritur, et ejus velut anima est, *immota cordis fiducia est*.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 401.

<sup>35</sup> Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 401–2.

this faith, so that their sins are forgiven, righteousness imputed, and eternal life given.<sup>36</sup> The *non tantum, sed inprimis* emphasizes that faith must be a personally appropriated faith in order to fit the definition of justifying faith. Brochmand first builds his argument on a selection of scriptural passages where it is established that a firm and unwavering faith or trust is necessary for salvation (1 John 5:1; Mark 16:16; Luke 7:5; Rom 8:16–17; 1 John 5:10), and follows it up with scriptural passages that demonstrate the personal aspect of faith. He lists five quotations and in four of them the first-person singular stands at the center of a statement bound up with the foundation of faith and salvation. Typographically, this results in a capitalization of the first-person singular pronoun:

Gal 2:20: Christus dilexit ME, et tradidit semetipsum ME.

1 Tim 1:15–16: Certus est sermo, et dignus omnibus modis qui recipiatur: Christum Jesum venisse in mundum, ut peccatores salvaret, quorum primus sum EGO. Verum ideo misertus est MEI, ut in ME primo ostenderet Christus Jesus omnem μακροθυμίαν, ut essem exemplar credituris in ipsum.

2 Tim 4:8: Reposita est MIHI corona justitiæ, quam reddet MIHI Dominus die illa justus judex.

Rom 8:38–39: Plane persvasum est MIHI, neque principatus, neque potestates, neque præsentia, neque futura. Neque sublimitatem, neque profunditatem, neque ullam rem aliam conditam posse nos separare a charitate illa Dei, quæ est in Christo Jesu Domino nostro.<sup>37</sup>

## Object of Faith

Following the definition, Brochmand lists the various causes of faith, the chief of which, for the purposes of this examination, is the material cause, in particular *materia circa quam*, the object of faith. Here Brochmand works with three distinctions which seem to move from an understanding of the object in the wider sense to a narrower sense that more distinctly

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<sup>36</sup>“(4) *Fiduciam* illam, quæ est ipsa salvificæ fidei anima, *non tantum generalem fiduciam esse, qua peccator statuit Deum ita dilexisse mundum, ut filium suum unigenitum in mortem tradiderit Joh.3,16.: sed inprimis singularem illam fiduciam esse, qua quisque fidelis certissimus est, Deum sibi in Christo propitium esse, et sibi propter merita Christi peccata remittere, justiam imputare et vitam æternam donare velle.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 402.

<sup>37</sup> Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 401–2.

captures the core of what faith is directed toward.<sup>38</sup> The first distinction is *objectum adaequatum*, which concerns the entirety of what God has revealed in his word. This should be understood in close connection to scripture as the principle of theology. The second distinction is *objectum primum*, which is the doctrine of Jesus Christ. This shows that from the perspective of faith, the occupation with scripture should be directed against this particular focal point of Christ, which is further defined by the third distinction as *objectum proprium et proximum*. While phrased in a similar manner to *objectum primum*, it is worth noting the particular accent when Brochmand states that *objectum proprium et proximum* is Christ himself insofar as he has died, suffered, and risen for the person who believes.<sup>39</sup> A central question here is the significance of the phrase *Christus ipse*. It initially suggests that the proper object of faith is not foremost doctrinal topics, but is rather a person, Christ himself, and especially by virtue of those deeds that constitute the most important contributions of Christ to salvation history: death, suffering, and resurrection. It highlights that justifying faith is not a general faith in some thing, but it is the specific faith that the merits of Christ applies to the very person who believes. As in the arguments for the *fiducia specialis* in the definition of faith, the personal aspect is further emphasized in the typographical choices for the scripture quotations used as arguments for *objectum proprium et proximum*, where the first-person singular pronouns are capitalized.<sup>40</sup> As the discussion in Chapter 1 indicates, one ought to be cautious in drawing too strong conclusions about the application of these various distinctions. Nonetheless, the use of *objectum proprium* is rather interesting, since it emphasizes that grasping Christ as the one who has died, suffered, and risen for sin can only and singularly be the object of *fides justificans*.

The emphasis on *objectum proprium et proximum* can be understood in parallel to the importance of *fiducia* in the definition of faith with the insertion of *non tantum [...] sed inprimis*, which some of the controversial discussions demonstrate. When arguing that faith is not merely giving assent to what it has intellectually comprehended, but also trust and a confession of the heart, Brochmand references the distinctions of the object of faith. He acknowledges that with respect to assent, faith has the whole of scripture as its object, but

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<sup>38</sup> For a more detailed discussion on *objectum*, see Chapter 1.

<sup>39</sup> “*Ab objecto Fidei justificantis ut ordiamur; illud est aut adaequatum, aut primum, aut proprium. Objectum Fidei adaequatum est quicquid Deus in verbo suo revelavit. [...] Objectum Fidei primum, est doctrina de Jesu Christo. [...] Objectum denique fidei justificantis proprium et proximum est ipse Christus, quatenus pro illo ipso qui credit, mortuus, passus, resuscitatus est et ceterum.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 404.

<sup>40</sup> “*Huc pertinent hæc scripturarum dicta. Gal.2,20. Christus dilexit ME, et tradit se ipsum pro ME. 1.Tim.1,16. Christus misertus est MEI. Rom.8.v.38.39. Plane persvasum est MIHI, nihil posse separare nos a caritate illa Dei, quæ est in Christo Jesu.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 404–5.

insists that there is an additional, separate object for faith, understood as the justifying and saving trust, which is Christ, who died and rose for the one who believes.<sup>41</sup> The latter expression is also summarized as the particular mercy of God (*specialis misericordia Dei*) promised to the one who believes in Christ, which receives its own separate treatment as the *objectum proprium et proximum*, in contrast to considering the revelation of God in scripture as the proper object of faith. In addition to scriptural evidence for the Christocentric nature of faith<sup>42</sup> and a careful exegesis of disputed passages, Brochmand also presents an argument that centers on the nature of justification itself. It is a direct response to a point made by Bellarmine concerning the role and nature of faith in the act of justification. Bellarmine argues that since they are justified by faith (Rom 3:30,5:2), faith must also precede justification. Trust, understood as trust that their sins have been forgiven, cannot precede justification, since justification effects the forgiveness of sins. Therefore trust must follow justification and cannot be a part of or identical to justifying faith.<sup>43</sup> Brochmand deals with

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<sup>41</sup> “(5) *Objectum fidei adæquatum est, quicquid Deus in suo verbo revelavit Act.24.v.14. Rom.10.v.17. 1.Thes.2.v.13. Objectum fidei primum est doctrina de Jesu Christo 1.Cor.2.v.2.7.8, 2.Pet.1.v.16.17.18.seq. Objectum denique fidei proximum est Christus, quatenus pro quovis qui credit, singulariter in mortem traditus est Gal.2.v.20., 1.Tim.1.v.16., Rom.8.v.38.39. Liqet hinc, quod fides, quæ respectu assensus, pro objecto habet totam scripturam sacram: ratione iustificantis et salvantis fiduciæ, non agnoscat aliud objectum, quam Christum, pro isto, qui credit, singulariter mortuum et resuscitatum.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 417.

<sup>42</sup> “*Primo: Ipsa sacra scriptura clare constituit misericordiam specialem Dei in Christo, proprium fidei iustificantis objectum* [John 3:16; Rom 3:24-25; Gal 2:16; Acts 4:12; 1 Cor 1:30; Acts 10:43; Rom 10:4]. *Secundo: Omnium vere fidelium fides iustificans et salvifica, semper in Christum, ut objectum proprium, respexit* [Gal 3:6-7.16; Gal 2:20; 1 Tim 1:16; Rom 8:38-39]. *Tertio: Christus et Apostoli testati sunt, præcipue prædicandum esse Christum, tanquam qui sit proprium Evangelii objectum, et in quo omnes Dei promissiones sunt firmæ* [2 Cor 5:18-19; Luke 24:46-47; Acts 20:20-21.24; 1 Pet 1:18-19ff].” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 418–19.

<sup>43</sup> “*Secvnda ratio, Fides iustificans præcedere debet justificationem; Fides autem specialis misericordiæ sequitur iustificationem; Igitur fides specialis misericordiæ, non est fides iustificans. Propositio huius argumenti certissima est, nam fides est caussa iustificationis; causam enim significant illæ præpositiones, ex et per, cum dicitur ad Roman. 5. Iustificati ex fide; et capite tertio. Qui iustificat circumcisionem ex fide, et præputium per fidem. Omnis autem caussa prior est effectui. [...] Assumptio eiusdem argumenti, nullo negotio demonstratur; nam si fides illa specialis non sequitur iustificationem, falsa esse conuincitur. Quomodo enim vera fides est, qua credo mihi remissa esse peccata, si dum ita credo, nondum sint remissa peccata, sed sunt per hunc actum postea remittenda? Deinde si objectum huius fidei est illa propositio, Mihi sunt per Christum peccata remissa, certe prior debet esse remissio, quam fides, cum omnis actus pendeat ab objecto, non contra objectum ab actu. Neque multum refert, si quis forte dicat, fide speciali non credi peccata esse remissa, sed remitti in præsens: nam semper remissio est objectum fidei, ac per hoc prius debet esse, quam fides; neque intelligi potest, ut objectum*

this argument in a few steps, where he first acknowledges that faith is a cause of justification, but specifies that it is not a meritorious, but rather an instrumental cause. For that reason Brochmand insists on the importance of the ‘exclusive particles’ (*particulæ exclusivæ*), which establish that faith alone is the medium through which justification is applicable to the individual.<sup>44</sup> God, however, remains the efficient cause of both faith and justification.<sup>45</sup> Brochmand also recognizes that the trust in the mercy of God must increase in the person already justified by faith.<sup>46</sup>

However, this does not mean that this particular trust only follows justification and is not part of justifying faith. Rather, it is a question of understanding properly the order and relation of faith, justification, and trust. The example of the publican in the temple (Luke 18:13–14) provides a case where the expression of trust in the mercy of God precedes and is

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fiat per illum ipsum actum, cuius est objectum, cum objectum det essentiam actui, non actus objecto. Non igitur fides illa iustificare potest, quæ iustificationem ipsam specialem pro objecto habet.” Roberto Bellarmino, *Disputationes de controversiis christianæ fidei adversus huius temporis haereticos, Tomus tertius* (Ingolstadt: David Sartor, 1593), 961.

<sup>44</sup> “(5) *Instrumentalis causa justificationis est Fides in Jesum Christum*. Quæ assertio ut certo solideque intelligatur tria demonstranda sunt. *Primum est; Fidem eamque solam iustificare. Secundum est; Cur adeo urgeantur in articulo justificationis particulæ exclusivæ. Tertium; Quo sensu Fides, eaque sola, dicatur iustificare.* [...] *Posterior causa*, qua moti tanto fervore pro particulis exclusivis in actu justificationis pugnemus, summa rei necessitas est. Nam ut evidentissime testemur, omnia opera propria, merita, dignitatem, dispositiones, et qualitates, atque similia, ab actu justificationis penitus excludenda esse, et fidem, ac nullam prorsus aliam rem esse illud medium et instrumentum, quo Dei gratia et misericordia, meritumque Christi, in promissione Evangelij apprehenditur, accipitur, nobisque applicatur: ideo particulæ istæ exclusivæ tanto studio tantaque cura a nobis urgentur et propugnantur. [...] *Sed dicas; Fidem constare notitia, assensu et Fiducia hominis in meritum Christi: quæ sunt virtutes homini inhærentes; ac eapropter hominem, qui fide iustificatur, virtutibus et qualitatibus inhærentibus iustificari.* Quæ quidem speciosa objecto est; sed non solida. Etenim Fides non iustificat, ut est opus a nobis prodiens, nec ut est qualitas nobis inhærens: sed universa fidei virtus et efficacia in solidum pendet a Christo, Fidei proprio Objecto. Licet enim nemo iustificatur, nisi qui in Christum credat; tamen iustitia illa, qua nos coram Deo consistimus, non ab ulla nostra actione, sed ab actione solius Dei et solo Christo in solidum pendet.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 474–76.

<sup>45</sup> Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 403, 471.

<sup>46</sup> “Concedimus etiam, qvòd *fiducia illa specialis de misericordia Dei hoc sensu sequatur justificationem, quòd in homine jam iustificato fide crescat specialis illa fiducia.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 424.

immediately followed by the declaration of having been justified.<sup>47</sup> This leads to addressing more directly the logical objection by Bellarmine that an object must be prior to the act of directing itself towards the object: “you say: from this opinion of our theologians it follows that the forgiveness of sin precedes faith, and thus faith is prior to the object of faith. For faith is trust, by which we believe that sins have been forgiven for us.”<sup>48</sup> Brochmand’s solution to the conundrum reveals an important distinction in their understanding of what faith does. For Brochmand, faith is not that which effects the forgiveness of sins, but it is through faith that it is received and applied to oneself.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, there is a specific order to be observed, which leads from general statements concerning the promises of forgiveness of sins for those who believe, over the specific application of the death of Christ to oneself, to finally taking the benefits of the death of Christ and making them one’s own.<sup>50</sup> In other words, the temporal relation between faith, forgiveness of sins, and the object of faith can be phrased in the following manner:

Faith, therefore, before the act of justification has as its object this proposition: sins will be forgiven for those who believe in Christ. And in the very act of justification, this proposition is the object of justifying faith: sins are forgiven for me. But after the

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<sup>47</sup> “Sed vero ex iis, quæ jam concessa sunt, nulla vel specie veri infertur thesis Pontificia: quod fides justificans non sit fiducia misericordiæ, sed eam sequatur. Nam in peccatore resipiscente, si non tempore, saltem ordine naturæ justificationem præcedit misericordiæ divinæ specialis fiducia. Qvod exemplo *Publicani* planissimum est: cujus justificationem descripturus Dei Spiritus, primo præmittit specialis misericordiæ fiduciam, hac verborum forma expressam: *Domine propitius est mihi peccatori*: deinde subjungit: *descendit justificatus domum suam*.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 424.

<sup>48</sup> “Dices. Ex ea nostrorum Theologorum sententia sequi, quod remissio peccatorum præcedat fidem, atque ita fides prior sit fidei objecto. Fides enim est fiducia, qua credimus remissa esse nobis peccata.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 424–25.

<sup>49</sup> “Primo: Per actum credendi non efficitur remissio peccatorum, quod censet schola Pontificia; sed accipitur, adplicatur.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 425.

<sup>50</sup> “Deinde: ut nodus de objecto fidei dissolvatur, observetur in fidei justificantis objecto hic ordo: Primo fertur fides in promissionem, his descriptam verbis: *Omnis qui credit in filium, non peribit, sed habebit vitam æternam Joh.3.v.16: dehinc tendit fides in ipsam mortem filii, eamque sibi particulatim adplicat, juxta illud Pauli Gal.2.v.20. Christus dilexit me et tradidit semetipsum pro me: tandem fertur fides in beneficia, morte Christi parta, eaque sibi appropriat, juxta illud Pauli 1.Tim.1.v.15.16. Certus est sermo et dignus modis omnibus qui recipiatur: Christum Jesus venisse in mundum, ut peccatores servaret: quorum primus ego sum. Verum ideo misertus est mei, ut in me primo ostenderet Christus Jesus omnem μακροθυμίαν, ut essem exemplar credituris in eum ad vitam æternam.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 425.

act of justification, this is the object of justifying faith: sins have been forgiven for me.<sup>51</sup>

## Doctrine and Application

When faced with the emphasis on appropriation or internalization in the systematic exposition of faith, one ought perhaps to reconsider the weight attributed to the cognitive aspect of faith, especially in the practical application found in the postil. This is not to say that the cognitive aspect should be neglected, for there is both a cognitive and volitional aspect in faith, namely *notitia* and *assensus* belonging to the intellect and *fiducia* belonging to the will.<sup>52</sup> However, there is an emphasis that is worth paying attention to. To the extent that the cognitive aspect is relevant for the purpose and function of the postil, it will be developed further in Chapter 4 of the thesis; yet it would be fitting to draw attention to it already in the context of faith.

Throughout the postil Brochmand frequently encourages the reader to seek erudition in scriptures, and there are occasions for thematic expositions of doctrinal topics, which provide a basis for religious instruction in core topics. Furthermore, in the invitation to partake in the eucharist, Brochmand establishes an expectation that the participants are both well informed and capable of examining themselves: “all of you who are baptized in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and are properly informed about your saviour Christ Jesus and have come to such an age that you could examine yourself.”<sup>53</sup> However, in spite of the emphasis placed thereon, Brochmand also provides consolation for those who might find it hard to understand. While

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<sup>51</sup> “Fides ergo ante justificationis actum, pro objecto habet hanc propositionem: *Credenti in Christum remittentur peccata*. At in ipso justificationis actu, hæc propositio est objectum justificantis fidei: *Mihi remittuntur peccata*. Post actum vero justificationis hoc est fidei justificantis objectum: *Mihi remissa sunt peccata*.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 425.

<sup>52</sup> “An fides sit tantum in intellectu, an vero etiam in voluntate hominis? Certa et expedita responsio est; Fidem et in intellectu et in voluntate esse. Cum enim Fides sit partim notitia et assensus, partim fiducia: nemo non videt, quod fides, qua notitia est et assensus, in intellectu sit; qua autem fiducia est, in voluntate inveniatur. Et quanquam valde assertio videatur; rem unam et eandem in diversis quasi collocare subjectis: nobis tamen quam certissimum est, fidem et in intellectu, et in voluntate existere. Fides enim, quæ est ἐλεγχος μὴ βλεπομένων Heb.11,1, in intellectu est; quatenus autem immota fiducia est, in corde est: juxta illud Pauli Rom.10,10. *Corde creditur ad justitiam*.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 405.

<sup>53</sup> “Alle J / som ere døbte udi vor Herris JEsu CHristi Naffn / oc ere ret oplærde om eders Frelsere CHristo JEsu / oc ere komne saa vjt til Aar oc Alder at J kunde præffue eder selff.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 761.



understanding such doctrinal matters as the trinity and the two natures of Christ are central to faith, it is important to establish that being learned is not a prerequisite for becoming a Christian. For those readers who worry that they are not very erudite, they are given the following consolation:

Are you unlearned, inexperienced, imperfect, do not therefore despair. Set before your eyes the apostles of Christ, of whom the people in Jerusalem said: see, are these who speak not from Galilee? How do each of us then hear the tongue that we were born to speak? The God who furnished the apostles, those unlearned and inerudite men, with speaking all languages, he will not deny you that which is necessary for your salvation. [...] This should be your comfort, you who are not so highly enlightened in the erudition of God. Your God is so good that he will well receive any little thing, which comes from faith and from a good heart.<sup>54</sup>

The first thing to notice is that God himself will furnish them with what they need, as was also the example from the apostles. Knowledge of doctrine is something that is given, as *notitia* as part of faith is a gift. Yet, secondly, there is also an interesting point in how, having received faith, God will receive ‘any little thing’ (*en ringe ting*) that they can produce from faith and a good heart. The narrower determination of this ‘little thing’ follows immediately thereafter, which provides for the unlearned who despair a condensed expression of the core of faith:

Learn everyone here from the apostles, what it is you ought to do, so that you can be pleasing to God. Do like the apostles did, about whom it is written: we heard them recount the great and wondrous deeds of God in our own tongues. What are then the great and wondrous deed about which we should speak? Each of you say: see the Lamb of God who carries the sin of the world. Each of you remember the words of Jesus: God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son so that all who believe in him should not perish but have eternal life. Each of you rejoice in this comforting speech of Jesus: come to me all who are laden with sin and I will refresh

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<sup>54</sup> ”Est du ulærd / uforfaren / ufuldkommen: Misztuiffel icke derfor. Set dig for Øyen Christi Apostle / om huileke de til Jerusalem met Forundring sige: **See ere icke disse som tale / af Galilæa? Huorledis høre vi da huer sit Maal / som vi ere fødte udi?** Den Gud som gjorde Apostlerne / de Wærde oc Vankundige Mænd / ferdige til at tale alle Sprock: hand skal icke necte dig det som til din Salighed kand være fornøden. [...] Dette være eders Trøst / J som icke ere saa høyt opliuste i Guds Kundskab. Eders Gud er saa god at hand tager en ringe ting / kommen aff Troen oc aff it got Hierte / saa vel til Tacke.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio*. *Sommer-Parten*, 426–27.

you. Each of you say with Isaiah: he was wounded for our transgressions and he was crushed for our misdeeds. Each of you teach yourselves and others with the words of St. Peter: there is given no other name under the heavens in which the human can be blessed except in the name of Jesus. Each of you say to your heart with Job: I know that my saviour lives and will raise me from the dust of the earth. Each of you say with St. Paul: who will accuse the elect of God? God is the one who justifies. Who will condemn? Christ is the one who has died and is risen and sits by the right hand of God and intercedes for us. To think and to speak in this way, that is rightly to speak of the great and wondrous deeds of God.<sup>55</sup>

In the midst of explicating the importance of religious instruction as a cognitive exercise, Brochmand nonetheless emphasizes that for those who struggle and thus despair there is a simple, yet concise exclamation of Jesus Christ as *their* saviour, which proves sufficient for God.

### Faith and Experience

While the cognitive aspect of faith in the postil should not be reduced to the exclamation of Christ as their personal saviour, such as the doctrinal digressions indicate, it is nonetheless useful as a transitional point to show the varying emphases. Appropriation or internalization concerns equally, or perhaps more importantly, the process by which the readers do not remain merely by faith as *notitia* and *assensus*. In correspondence with the progressive unfolding of *notitia*, *assensus*, and *fiducia* in the dogmatics, where neither *notitia* nor *assensus* are sufficient on their own, one also encounters in the postil a strong warning

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<sup>55</sup> “Lærer allene af Apostlene / huad det er J skulle giøre / at J kunde teckis Gud. Giører som Aostlerne her giorde / om huilcke der staar: **Vi høre dem tale Guds store underlige Gierninger met vore Tunger.** Huad ere de **store underlige Gierninger** som vi skulle tale? Sige huer aff eder: See det GVds Lam som bær Verdsens Synder. Huer ihukomme JESu Ord: Saa elskte Gud Verden / at hand gaff sin eenbaarne Søn / paa det / at alle de som tro paa hannem icke skulle fortabis / men haffde det evige Liff: Huer glæde sig udi denne trøstelige JESu Tale: Kommer til mig alle som ere beladne met Synden / jeg vil vederquege eder. Huer sige met Esaia: Hand er saargiort for vore Offuertrædelser / oc hand er knuset for vore Miszgierninger. Huer lære sig oc andre met disse S. Peders Ord: Der er intet andet Nafn giffuet under Himmelen / udi huilcket Menniskene bliffue salige / uden allene i JESu Naffn. Huer tale til sit Hierte met Job: Jeg veed at min Frelsere leffuer / oc skal opvække mig aff Jordens Støff. Huer sige met S. Povel til de Romere. Huo vil klage paa Guds Vdvalde? GVD er den som retferdig gjør. Huo vil fordømme? Christus er den som er død / oc opstanden: Huilcken som er udi Guds høyre Haand / som oc traader frem for os. Saaledis at tæncke oc tale / det er ret at **tale Guds store underlige Gierninger.**” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 427.

against considering the sufficiency of their faith as it rests on knowledge. In the epistle exposition for the 20th Sunday after Trinity, the ten virgins (Matt 25:1–13) are referenced in connection with Eph 5:15 from the pericope.<sup>56</sup> Brochmand uses this occasion to demonstrate for the reader, using the ten virgins as a mirror, that no matter the depth of their erudition and knowledge of doctrine, it is not sufficient if they do not also have faith and good deeds:

Look within a mirror at the five foolish virgins, who had lamps, but did not bring oil with them. It is not enough, that you have within the lamp of your mind and heart the word of God, talk a lot about it, are well read in it. Here must the oil of faith, there must the oil of love be added. Where they are not found, the lamp will be extinguished. In vain you think that you can enter the kingdom of God with the bridegroom Christ because you have known a lot about God and yet nothing done according to it. Such a delusion about the kingdom of heaven is a great folly. [...] You vain person, do you not know that faith without deeds is dead. Will you be considered as someone who walks prudently like the one who is wise, then you should with the five wise virgins always let the lamp of your heart, within which the knowledge of God is, burn with a true and blessed faith in God and the Lord Jesus Christ. You should let your heart burn deeply with a deep and righteous love of God and your neighbour.<sup>57</sup>

It is likely that when a contrast is established here between knowledge and faith, it is because Brochmand refers to faith in the narrower sense as justifying faith. Knowledge is part of faith, but to the extent that there is no affective response and personal application, this particular erudition remains *fides historica*, distinct from the justifying faith that expresses itself in a holy life. Beyond acknowledging the role of love and good deeds in connection with faith, it is also indicative of a broader trend where Brochmand works with a contrast between reason,

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<sup>56</sup> "See therefore, brethren, how you walk circumspectly: not as unwise." (Eph 5:15)

<sup>57</sup> "Seer eder udi Spegel paa de fem daarlige Jomfruer / huilcke haffde Lamper / med toge icke Olie med sig. Det er icke nock / at J haffue udi eders Sinds oc Hiertis Lampe GVds Ord: tale meget der om: ere vel der udi belæste. Her vil alt Troens Olie / her til alt Kierligheds Olie til. Huor de icke findis / der sluckis Lampen ud. Forgæffuis tencker du / at gaa ind udi Guds Rige med Brudgommen Christo / fordissaa du haffuer vist meget om Gud / oc dog intet giort der efter. Saadan Jndbilding om Himmerige / er en stor Galenskob. [...] Du forfengelige Menniske / veedst du icke / at Troen uden Gierninger er død. Vilt du actis at **vandre fornuffteligen som den der vijs er** / da skalt du med de fem vise Jomfruer / altid lade dit Hiertis Lampe / udi huilcket Guds Kundskab er / brende med en sand oc salig Tro til Gud og den HÆrre JEsu: Du skalt lade dit Hiertis Lampe inderligen brende med inderlig oc retsindig Kierlighed til GVD oc til din Næste." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 1195–96.

which is carnal, and the heart, which is both spiritual and the locus for the Christian experience. The two are in a struggle, where reason desires to reject Christian doctrine because it is contrary to nature. But here it is necessary to cast aside reason and instead grasp in the heart and with the affects what Christ has done for them and in them. In response to the difficulty of understanding how a person can be born again, they should not despair if they do not comprehend it, but should instead rely on the affects:

Thus it is proper that you confess the spiritual rebirth even though you could not with your reason grasp how it happens. How the blood of Jesus cleanses your heart of all sins. How Jesus by faith lives in your heart. How God thus for the sake of Jesus by the Holy Spirit transforms your mind, your will, your powers, so that you who knew nothing of God, now knows the will of God and does the will of God. This you cannot with your carnal reason comprehend. Should you therefore not believe, then let it be enough that you feel within your innermost heart, soul, and spirit, that God is with you, that Jesus is for you holiness, righteousness, and reconciliation, that the Holy Spirit your heart will bend and move towards all that is good, beneficial, and godly.<sup>58</sup>

One notices here the contrast between ‘believing’ and ‘feeling’. It reflects the complexity of the language of Brochmand, which is quite context dependent. When writing ‘to believe’ it ought to be understood in the context of and against a reduction of faith as comprehension (*fides historica*). The subsequent paragraphs are necessary to narrow down what Brochmand means by ‘feeling’, where he gives examples of what they should find if they conduct this self-examination of their heart:

When you find within you the love of God and of the word of God, so that you exclaim with David from the psalm: as the deer cries after fresh water, so my soul cries to you, God. See, then you will find the stirrings of the Holy Spirit within you. When you do not consider the world, but of the heart says with St. Paul: I consider all things to be a loss for the sake of the erudition of Christ Jesus my Lord, for whose

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<sup>58</sup> ”Saa er det jo billigt / at J bekiender den Aandelig Jgienfødelse / end dog J icke kunde met eders Fornufft begribe / huor der med tilgaar: Huordan JESV Blod toer dit Hierte aff alle Synder: Huordan JESVS ved Troen boer udi dit Hierte: Huordan GVD saaledis for JESu Christi skyld ved den Hellig Aand forandrer dit Sind / din Villie / dine Kraffter / at du som intet viste aff Gud / nu veed GVDs Villie / oc gjører GVDs Villie: Det kand du icke met din kiødelige Forstand fatte: Skulde du derfor det icke tro / Lad det være dig nock / at du føler udi inderste Hierte / Siæl oc Aand / at Gud er hos dig / at JESus er dig Hellighed / Retferdighed oc Jgienløsning / at den Hellig Aand dit Hierte til alt det som got / gaffnligt oc gudeligt er bøyer oc beveger.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 548.

sake I have suffered a loss of all things and consider them as dung so that I can gain Christ and be found in him, so that I do not have my righteousness, which comes from the law, but the one which comes because the faith of Christ<sup>59</sup>. See, then you have a certain testimony that you are born again. When you are pressed and cornered by sin and therefore long for deliverance while you say: who will save me, a miserable human being, from this mortal body. See, then will the Spirit of God bear witness in you about your rebirth. When you rejoice in the forgiveness of your sins, which you have in Christ, and say with David and St. Paul: blessed are those whose transgressions are forgiven, those for whom the sin is hidden. Blessed is the one whom the Lord does not impute the iniquity. Then you know that you are certainly reborn. When your members are the weapon of righteousness and you sacrifice yourself to God as a holy and pleasing offering: see, then you can say: I am reborn by God through the Holy Spirit. When your eyes fail, when your vision is lost, your tongue no longer manages to speak, and all your powers feel faint and you yet in the midst of death say: I shall not die, but live and proclaim the deeds of the Lord: see, then you will have an unwavering testimony of your rebirth.<sup>60</sup>

When they reach the limits of their reason to grasp the articles of faith, Brochmand instead provides a catalogue of experiences they can look for, encapsulating what is understood as

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<sup>59</sup> Translation of ‘faith of Christ’ is uncertain. The Danish original literally says ‘Christ’s faith’ and from the context it is not entirely clear how it should be rendered.

<sup>60</sup> ”Naar du finder udi dig Guds oc Guds Ords Kierlighed / saa at du raaber met David aff Psalmen: Ligesom Hiorten skriger effter fersk Vand / saa skriger min Siel til dig Gud: See da finder du den Hellig Aands Rørelser udi dig. Naar du acter intet Verden / men aff Hiertet siger met S. Povel: Jeg agter alle Ting at være skade for Christi JEsu min HErris Kundskabs skyld / for huis skyld jeg haffuer taalet Skade paa dem alle / oc acter dem skarn at være / at jeg kan vinde Christum oc findis i hannem / at jeg icke haffuer min Retferdighed som kommer aff Lowen / men den som kommer formedelst Christi Tro: See / da haffuer du et vist Vidnisbyrd / at du est fød paa nu igien. Naar du tryckis oc trengis aff Synden / oc derfor lengis effter Forløsning / sigende: Huo vil frelse mig elendige Menniske aff denne døds Legeme: See / da vidner Guds Aand i dig om din Jgienfødelse. Naar du fryder dig udi dine Synders Forladelse som du haffuer i Christo / oc siger met David oc S. Povel: salig er den som Offuertrædelserne er forladne / den Synden er skiult: saligt er det Menniske som HErren icke tilregner Miszgierningen: Saa / da veedst du / du est visseligen igienfødt. Naar dine Lemmer ere Retfærdigheds Vaaben / oc du dig offerer Gud til it helligt oc velbehageligt Offer: See / da kan du sige: Jeg er aff Gud ved den Hellig Aand igienfødt. Naar dine Øyne bryste / oc din Siun forgaar / oc din Tunge icke lenger at tale formaar / oc alle dine Kraffter vansmecter / oc du dog mit udi Døden siger: Jeg skal icke dø / men leffue oc forkynde HErrens Gierninger: See / da haffuer du uryggelig Vidnisbyrd om din Jgienfødelse.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 548–49.

faith. These range from inwardly identifying specific emotions, such as love, sorrow, and joy, to outwardly observing their reactions in specific situations, such as how they live a holy life, to whom they turn when they experience sin in their life, or their steadfastness in the moment of death. In this manner Brochmand emphasizes particular experiences as the effects of faith and objects for examination.

### Grasping Jesus in the Heart

The experiential aspect receives a different form when one pays attention to the act of grasping Jesus in the heart. The phrase ‘grasp and embrace’ (*fatte oc fauffne*) occurs 35 times in the postil and always in contexts that relate to different aspects of faith in their lives.<sup>61</sup> These phrases seem to provide a practical application of *Christus ipse* as the object of faith, which becomes apparent in the epistle exposition for the 12th Sunday after Trinity. Here the conversion of the hearts leading to a life in holiness is explained as a thing of possibility, when the reader grasps Christ and places him before God in their heart, and in this way forces the hand of God by pointing to the wounds of Christ:

This God will accomplish by the gospel because of Jesus Christ. When you embrace in the heart with a steady faith Jesus Christ and say with the prophet Isaiah: assuredly Jesus bore our sins, assuredly he was crushed for our transgressions, and you step forth before God with the wounds and blood of Jesus and admonish God that as truly as Jesus on his body has borne your sins, then God by the merit of the death of Jesus Christ will give you the power to dull and mortify the sin, which is in you. See, then God is immediately ready by his spirit because of Christ thus to force the sin in you so that it should no longer rule and govern in you. For thus are we taught by the spirit of God by St. Peter: Jesus sacrificed our sins on his body on the tree so that we, being dead to sin, should live in righteousness, because of his wounds you are healed. When you present yourself before God and keep by a holy faith in steady mind and heart Jesus Christ, risen for you to righteousness from the dead, and you admonish God sincerely and perpetually that as truly as Jesus is risen from the dead for your righteousness, then he will by the power of the resurrection of Jesus Christ give you capability to daily more and more walk before God in a holy life. Be certain that God

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<sup>61</sup> 27 times as ‘fatte oc fauffne’ and 8 times as ‘fauffne oc fatte’. There are more occurrences for each verb individually, but these are more difficult to assess, since they can occur in more contexts than when used as a word pair.

because of Christ, risen from the dead, shall give you that power by which you can rise from sin and walk before God in holiness.<sup>62</sup>

Grasping and embracing Jesus in the heart is a process by which an exchange takes place so that the human being is endowed with the power to walk in holiness. But even before this stage comes a recognition of their own sins followed by a confession of their sinful nature, through which they grasp Jesus in faith as they acknowledge him as the source of salvation. In the gospel exposition for the purification of Mary, Brochmand delineates these steps in explicating the conundrum of why it was necessary for Mary to bring the sacrifice according to the law even though the manner of conception was quite different since her child was without sin:

Come. Come you who are conceived in sin and grasp Jesus Christ by faith and say: Jesus, you let your mother purify herself according to the law because you wanted to free me from the law, which accuses me for being born of a sinful seed. As truly as you, Jesus, was without sin and yet let your mother purify herself as if she had not conceived in a different manner than other people, thus truly you shall not impute to me the sin that I have carried with me from my mother's womb. For thus I find written: God sent his own son in the shape of sinful flesh and for the sake of sin

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<sup>62</sup> ”Saadant udretter ved Evangelium **Gud formedelst JEsu Christum**. Naar du fauffner i Hierte / ved stadig Tro / **JEsu Christum** / oc siger med Propheten Esaia: Visseligen baar Jesus vore Synder / visseligen bleff hand knuset for voris Offuertrædelser: oc du traader frem til Gud med JEsu Saar oc Blod / oc formaner Gud / at saa sant som Jesus paa sit Legeme haffuer baaret dine Synder / Gud da ved JEsu Christi Døds Fortieniste / vil giffue dig Krafft at dempe oc døde Synden / som er i dig: See / saa er GVD strax redebon / ved sin Aand / **formedelst Christum** / saaledis at tuinge Synden i dig / at den icke meere skal herske oc regnere i dig. Thi saa lærer os Guds Aand ved S. Peder: JEsu opoffrede vore Synder paa sit Legeme paa Træet / paa det vi / døde fra Synden / skulle leffue i Retfærdighed: formedelst huis Saar J ere lægte. Naar du indstiller dig for GVD / oc haffuer ved hellig Tro / udi stadig Hu oc Hierte / JEsu Christum / opstanden dig til Retfærdighed fra de Døde / oc du formaner inderligen oc ideligen Gud / at saa sant JEsu er opstanden fra de Døde / dig til Retfærdighed / hand da vilt / ved JEsu Christi Opstandelsis Krafft / giffue dig Formue / dagligen jo meere oc meere at vandre for Gud i helligt Leffnet: vær vis paa / at Gud / formedelst Christum / opstanden fra de Døde / skal gifue dig den Kraft / ved huilcken du kan staa op aff Synden / oc vandre for Gud i ald Hellighed.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 982–83.

condemned sin in the flesh so that the demands of the law should be fulfilled in us, who do not walk according to the flesh, but according to the spirit.<sup>63</sup>

Even with the expectation that Jesus was sent to free them from sin, Brochmand continues by recounting how it is a struggle when they continually experience the resilience of sin in their lives. In that moment they should still embrace Christ as he is presented in the pericope as the first born:

When I experience that the sin I received from my mother's womb clings so strongly to me that I can not be rid of it so long as I live, but must say with St. Paul: I know that within me, that is in my flesh, there is nothing good, then I will not therefore despair, but I will go to Jesus, who lets his mother be placed under the law of the purification of the common woman and say: I thank God by Jesus Christ our Lord, who frees me from this mortal body. I will go forth and embrace the right first born, Jesus Christ, and say: Jesus Christ, you are the only begotten son of God.<sup>64</sup>

Here follows a longer exposition of the glory of Christ as the first born, followed again by the question of why a sacrifice was made for someone of such glory, leading to a consideration of how Christ was born under the law in order for those who believe in him to enter into the kingdom of God:

You are the first born of whom it is written in the psalm and to the Hebrews: when he brings the first born into the world he says: and all of God's angels will worship him. You are the first born, to whom the spirit of God gives this praise to the Colossians:

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<sup>63</sup> ”Kommer / kommer nu J som ere undfangne i Synd / oc fatter Jesum Christum med Troen / oc siger: JEsu du lader din Moder rense sig effter Lowen / at du vilde fri mig fra Lowen / som anklager mig / at jeg er fød aff syndige Sæd. Saa sandt som du JEsu vaar uden Synd / oc lod dog din Moder rense sig ligesom hun icke haffde anderledis end andre Mennsker undfangit: Saa sandt skalt du icke lade mig tilregnis den Synd / som jeg aff Moders Liff første med mig. Thi saaledis finder jeg skriffuet: Gud sende sin egen Søn udi det syndige Kiøds skickelse oc for Syndens skyld fordømte Synden i Kiødet / at Lowens Rettighed skulle fuldkommis i os / som icke vandre efter Kiødet / men effter Aanden.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 426.

<sup>64</sup> “Naar jeg nu mercker / at den Synd jeg fick aff Moders Liff henger saa hart ved mig / at jeg kand icke bliffue aff med den / saalenge jeg leffuer: Men maa sige med S. Povel: Jeg veed / at i mig / det er i mit Kiød / boer intet got: Saa vil jeg derfor icke mistuile / men jeg vil gaee til JEsu / som lader sin Moder giffue sig under den gemeene Qvinders Renselsis Low / oc sige: Jeg tacker GVD ved JEsu Christum vor HErre / som frjer mig aff dette Døds Legeme. Jeg vil gaee hen oc faffne den rette **første Fødde** / JEsu Christum / oc sige: JEsu Christe / du est den Eenbaarne Guds Søn.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 426.



Jesus Christ is the image of the invisible God, the first born of all creatures. For by him were all things made, which are in heaven and on earth, the visible and the invisible, be it thrones or dominions or principalities or powers, they are all created by him and in him. And he is before all things and everything subsist in him. Is Jesus Christ then such a first born, whom all angels should worship, who is the creator of all creatures, who has been before all things and in whom all things subsist, how does it then happen that Mary keeps her first born according to the law [...]. What is it then that there is made a sacrifice for Jesus Christ, who is the first born in whom all things are sanctified [...]. Open here, you children of God, your hearts and spirit, so that you grasp the secret council and great grace of God towards you. Jesus Christ lets a sacrifice be made here in the temple according to the law as a testimony that he is the one of whom it is written: in the fullness of time God sent his son born of a woman, given under the law, in order that he should save those who were under the law, so that we should receive election as children. He lets that sacrifice be sacrificed for him which is usually sacrificed for the poor, so that it should be fulfilled as has been said by St. Paul: you know, says the apostle, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ that he for your sake became poor, when he was rich, so that by his poverty you should become rich. Say each of you for yourselves: now I know where I should go when God says to me as he said to the indebted fellow: pay what you owe me. I will say with St. John: see Jesus, the lamb of God, who bears the sins of the world and of me. [...] Thus, whoever considers Jesus, who according to the law was lead to Jerusalem before the Lord, can be assured that he will be completely purified and rightly fit to enter into the kingdom of Jesus.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> “Du est den **første Fødde** / om huilcken der staar skreffuit i Psalmen oc til de Hebræer: Der hand indfører den første Fødde i Jorderige / siger hand: Oc alle GVds Engle tilbede hannem. Du est den **første fødde** / huilcken Guds Aand gifuer denne Berømmelse til de Colosser: Jesus Christus er den wsiunlige Guds Billede / alle Creatures første Fødde. Thi ved hannem ere alle Ting skabte / de som ere i Himmelen / oc de som ere paa Jorden / de siunlige og wsiunlige / være sig Throner eller Herredømme / eller Førstedømme eller Mact / de ere alle skabte formedelst hannem oc til hannem. Oc hand er for alle Ting / oc Alting bestaar i hannem. Er da Jesus Christus saadan en **første fødde** / huilcken alle Engle skulle tilbede / huilcken der er alle Creatures Skabere: Huilcken hafuer været for alle Ting / oc udi huilcken alle Ting bestaar: Huor gaar det da til at Maria holder sig hermed hendis første Fødde effter Lowen [...]. Huad er det at der skal giøris Offer for JEsu Christo / som er den første Fødde / udi huilcken alle Ting helligis [...]. Aabner her i Guds Børn Hierter oc Aand / at fatte Guds hiemmelige Raad oc store Naade imod eder. JEsus Christus lader her i Templen giøre Offer sig effter Lowen / til it Vidnisbyrd at hand er den om huilcken skreffuit staar: Vdi Tidens fuldkommenhed sende Guds sin Søn fød aff en Qvinde / Lowen undergiffuen: Paa det at hand skal frelse dem som vaare under Lowen / at vi skulle faae Børnenis Vdkaarelse. Hand lader offre for sig det Offer som pleyer at offris for de Fattige / at det skulle

In these various ways Brochmand finds expressions of faith that place at their centre the person of Christ, *Christus ipse*. Faith recognizes the promises of forgiveness for sins extended in scripture, but the actualization of it takes place in the exchange of poverty and richness, so that the person who believes receives the richness of Christ, who in return assumes their poverty. It is through faith that Christ makes his dwelling in the person who believes. As already indicated, the resurrection of Christ is more than a promise of their own resurrection or a fulfillment of the promises of the forgiveness of sins, but as the person believes they become a participant in the death and resurrection of Christ, it has an impact on them in effecting a transformation, such as a resurrection to a life in holiness. These concretizations of the union with Christ through faith<sup>66</sup> and the effect on the person who believes adds a significant dimension to the understanding of *Christus ipse* as the object of faith, whereby it is not merely a recognition of what the merits of Christ entails, but also the reception of Christ in their hearts and an application of the death and resurrection of Christ to their own lives.

## Conclusion

It seems then that the sharp distinction between faith as knowledge of the work of salvation and the expression of a life of faith is not clearly present in Brochmand's work, neither in the dogmatics nor in the postil. Of course, since faith resides in both intellect and will there is a cognitive aspect to faith, which includes knowledge of doctrine as well as giving assent to doctrine. In the course of exposition of controversies and in producing the postil as a tool for religious instruction, the importance of doctrine should not be neglected. However, it is

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fuldkommis som S. Povel haffuer sagd: J kiende / siger Apostlen / vor HErris JEsu Christi Naade / at hand for eders skyld er blefuen fattig / der hand vaar rijg / at J ved hans Fattigdom skulle bliffue rijge. Sige nu huer aff eder for sig: Nu veed jeg huort jeg skal gaae hen / naar GVd siger til mig / som hand sagde til den Gieldslagne Svend: Betal mig det du est mig skyldig. Jeg vil gaa til JEsu: Jeg vil sige med S. Hans: See JEsu / Guds Lam / som bær Verdens oc mine Synder. [...] Saaledis huo der anseer JEsu / som effter Lowen fører til Jerusalem for HErren / hand kand være vis paa / at hand bliffuer fuldkommelig rensit / oc ret beqvem til at indgaae udi JEsu Rijge." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 426–28.

<sup>66</sup> Regarding this point see the article On the Union of the Faithful with Christ, which is summarized with the following definition: "*Union Fidelium cum Christo est [1.] admiranda et arctissima, universumque naturæ ordinem supergressa conjunctio, [2.] qua peccatores quidem, sed fideles, [3.] per verbi auditionem, sacramentorum usurpationem, veram fidem et Dei spiritum, [4.] insiti Christo et cum ipso unum facti, unum fiunt cum Deo, [5.] atque ita in communionem mortis et vitæ Christi admissi, [6.] vitam obtinent æternam.*" Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 790.

significant that not only does he work with a dual designation of faith as residing in both intellect and will, but he also introduces an internal prioritization when stating that it is *not only* knowledge and assent, *but especially* trust. The distinctions within the object of faith support this internal emphasis. Brochmand acknowledges the revelation of God in scripture as the object of faith, however only in the broadest sense as *objectum adaequatum*. In a movement towards a more centered understanding of the object of faith, Brochmand first comes to *objectum primum* as the doctrine of Christ before arriving at *objectum proprium et proximum*, which is Christ himself in so far as he has died and risen. While these distinctions on the object of faith relate to doctrinal points and that an understanding of the promises of the merits of Christ precede any appreciation of them, it is quite clear that the personal appropriation and application of these promises to the individual is the most important function of faith. This is emphasized typographically by capitalizing the first-person singular pronouns in scriptural passages relating to faith in order to show the individual aspect.

The systematic elucidation of the internal emphasis in the concept of faith subsequently finds an external expression in the postil as it serves the function of providing occasions for internalization and personal application. While expositions on doctrinal topics are included as part of the religious instruction, Brochmand emphasizes that the cognitive aspect of doctrine is not sufficient for salvation, and for those who seem rationally incapable of grasping the intricacies of theology, the postil serves first of all as consolation that their salvation is not dependent on their cognitive apprehension, but on the more central activity of grasping and embracing Jesus in the heart. Furthermore, it is in this central activity that the act of faith becomes a *nexus* for recognition and forgiveness of sins and letting the power of Christ lead them to a holy life, which approaches the mystical language of union with Christ. As a theme in the postil, this shows practically what is expounded systematically concerning the proper object of faith, which concerns the fundamental trust that the merits of Christ applies not only to others but also to the individual reader who has faith. Through the act of embracing Jesus in the heart, faith is thus deeply connected to the life of faith that follows that transformative effect of being united with Christ.

## Chapter 3: Activity and Passivity

### Penitential Piety

The expression piety in early 17th century Denmark-Norway has frequently been characterized with reference to an emphasis on passivity when identifying key characteristics in the movement of ‘penitential piety’ (*bodsfromhed*). Penitential piety is usually associated with a change in attitude after 1620 – likely associated with natural disasters, plagues, and the involvement in the Thirty Years’ War – where an almost apocalyptic atmosphere resulted in a kingdom-wide cry for penitence in order to avoid the wrath of God. Prominent religious figures identified three main causes for their present perils: negligence in hearing the word of God, lack of receiving the sacraments, and unrepentant hearts that revealed themselves though immoral lives.<sup>1</sup> The necessary remedies for such maladies were of course a revival of piety through church attendance, prayer, and private devotion. Penitential piety is accordingly associated with certain systematized efforts for this purpose. These included the ordinary and extraordinary days of prayer and penitence, which were public rituals intended to ward off the consequences of the wrath of God through displays of repentance. The extraordinary days of prayer and penitence most commonly took place during times of war, plagues, or famine, and usually lasted three days with lectionaries being distributed throughout the kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, a series of ordinances in the early 17th century were implemented in order to regulate church life and morals. These included the 1617 ordinance against blasphemy and witchcraft, 1623 ordinance against swearing, and the extensive 1629 ordinance implementing church discipline.<sup>3</sup> Finally, efforts were made for the implementation in praxis of piety through a noticeable increase in the production of devotional writings such as catechisms, prayer books, postils, and similar genres for use in the household or privately.<sup>4</sup>

Historians have in more recent decades rightly pointed out that practices and publications representative of penitential piety were widespread already from the 1550s and could in some

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<sup>1</sup> Andersen, *Dansk Syn paa Fromhed og "Gudfrygtigheds Øvelse" i ældre Luthersk Tid*, XXXV-XXXVI; Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark*, 123–26.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Damgaard, “Ekstraordinære bededage i Danmark 1551–1686,” *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (2006): 101–35.

<sup>3</sup> Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark*, 126–27; Kornerup and Schrøder, *Det lærde Tidsrum og Enevældens første Aar*, 251–56.

<sup>4</sup> For statistics on book production in Denmark 1580-1719 see the 2nd appendix in Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark*, 854–98.

cases (e.g., extraordinary days of prayer and penitence) be considered an early modern heir to medieval practices of penitence and absolution.<sup>5</sup> It should also be considered that the idea of a crisis around the turn of the century as the driving factor in the developments in the 17th century has long since been challenged, which should lend a certain scepticism to the suggested causes for the ‘rise’ of penitential piety in the early 17th century.<sup>6</sup>

The interest for this chapter concerns the dynamics involved in the specific type of piety and its consequences, especially concerning Brochmand. While the proponents of early 17th-century penitential piety had their differences,<sup>7</sup> they were united in establishing a clear separation between the world and the children of God, the true Christians who had been reborn through the work of the Holy Spirit resulting in a life of daily penitence involving sorrow over sin and a holy life.<sup>8</sup> According to J. Oskar Andersen, this specific form for piety became the dominant expression throughout 17th-century Denmark-Norway, yet at the same time he estimates that it failed to have had the transformative impact that was so central to its self-conception. A major cause was even to be found in the form itself, which included a deep pessimism concerning the activity of the human being in the Christian life.<sup>9</sup>

This general characteristic finds echoes in Brochmand’s writings, as will be established in the following, especially concerning the freedom of the will and the role of penitence in the Christian life, as well as in basic definitions, for example concerning grace, which is:

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<sup>5</sup> Mikkel Kruse Nielsen, “Sorg over synden: En følelseshistorisk undersøgelse af bodsfromhed: 1560–1610,” Unpublished master’s thesis (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2024); Louise Nyholm Kallestrup, “Midlertidighed og Evighed: Repræsentationer af Dommedag i det 16. århundredes Folkelige Medier,” *Temp - Tidsskrift for Historie* 11, no. 22 (2021): 62–80; Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, “Krigens viser – pønitense, patriotisme og ironi i Trediveårskrigens danske skillingsviser,” in *Krig fra først til sidst: Festskrift til Knud J.V. Jespersen*, ed. Lars Bisgaard (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2006), 99–121.

<sup>6</sup> Markus Matthias, “Gab es eine Frömmigkeitskrise um 1600?” in *Frömmigkeit oder Theologie. Johann Arndt und die “Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum”*, ed. Hans Otte and Hans Schneider (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2007), 27–43. See also Sträter’s critique of crisis theories, although he does end up suggesting his own alternative crisis theory as a ‘crisis of church going or preaching’, Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform*, 9–33.

<sup>7</sup> In addition to Brochmand, Andersen lists Hans Poulsen Resen (1561-1638), Holger Rosenkrantz (1574-1642), Caspar Bartholin (1585-1629), and Jens Dinesen Jersin (1588-1634) as the main proponents, Andersen, *Dansk Syn paa Fromhed og “Gudfrygtigheds Øvelse” i ældre Luthersk Tid*, XXXVII.

<sup>8</sup> Andersen, *Dansk Syn paa Fromhed og “Gudfrygtigheds Øvelse” i ældre Luthersk Tid*, XXXVII-XXXVIII.

<sup>9</sup> Andersen, *Dansk Syn paa Fromhed og “Gudfrygtigheds Øvelse” i ældre Luthersk Tid*, L; Kornerup and Helk, *Biskop Hans Poulsen Resen II*, 19.

(1) the voluntary benevolence of God, by which he considers us beloved in Christ Jesus, and (3) pardons sin for us and after the Holy Spirit has been sent into our hearts restores the lost gifts of righteousness and holiness, and after the course of this life has been completed will bless us with the felicity of eternal life.<sup>10</sup>

And while good works are indeed necessary, Brochmand makes an exceedingly clear point that they are not necessary *for salvation*.<sup>11</sup> Good works are not able to acquire any merit in the judgement of God, not least due to the imperfections of the works of a Christian, which is due to the persistent struggle of spirit against flesh and the lingering concupiscence, which characterizes the entirety of the present mortal life.<sup>12</sup> If in this imperfection good works are still possible, it is because of the work of the Holy Spirit in them, which Brochmand also indicates in the definition of what makes a work ‘good’. In addition to the prescriptions of God and justifying faith, Brochmand writes: “The second thing, which is required for a work that is truly good is this: that works that are truly good are not of our flesh or our powers, but

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<sup>10</sup> “Ad definitionem Gratiae ut accedamus: Ea est (1) *ultronea Dei benevolentia*, (2) *qua nos habet charos in Christo Jesu*, et (3) *condonat nobis peccata, et immisso in corda nostra Spiritu sancto amissa justitiae et sanctitatis dona in nobis restaurat, et finito vitae hujus cursu, vitae aeternae felicitate nos beat.*” Brochmand, *Universae Theologiae Systema I*, 549.

<sup>11</sup> “Porro, quanquam bona sint necessaria modis jam enumeratis: tamen *periculosum est dicere, Bona opera ad salutem esse necessaria.*” Brochmand, *Universae Theologiae Systema II*, 586. The first two reasons are based in scriptural arguments referring to the role of faith and grace in justification (Acts 15:1-4; Gal 2-3; Rom 4:6; Eph 2:8-9), but do note the third reason which is based in pastoral care that they do not lose the consolation of the gospel: “*Tertio: Si individuo adeo nexu salus et bona opera cohærent, ut bona opera ad salutem omnino necessaria sint: non paucis vera Evangelii consolatio eripietur, saltem his, qui in extremo mortis agone poenitudine anteaetæ vitæ ducuntur, et ad Deum convertuntur, prærepta ipsis, interventu subitanæ mortis, commoditate omni testandi fidem bonis operibus. Et urgemus exemplum Latronis: quem, licet bonorum operum extreme inopem, salvatum esse constat Luc.23.v.43.*” Brochmand, *Universae Theologiae Systema II*, 586.

<sup>12</sup> “*Opera, etiam lauditissima hominum renatorum et fidelium, non possunt istam mereri perfectionis laudem, qua coram tribunali rigidi judicij Dei consistere possunt. [...] Cæterum si quæris, qui fiat, quod renatorum opera in hac vita sint imperfecta: Ejus rei tres afferimus causas. Prima est Regenerationis conditio, quæ talis est, ut nova quotidie capiat incrementa, nec justam consummationem obtineat, antequam anima egrediatur e corpore, et mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem. [...] Secunda causa imperfectionis operum, etiam a sanctissimis profectorum, sunt reliquiae pravæ concupiscentia, quæ vitio carnis corruptæ adherent sanctissimis quibusque. [...] Tertia denique causa imperfectionis operum bonorum, quæ a renatis eduntur, lucta illa est quæ intercedit spiritui cum carne, et non raro impedit, ne id boni, quod volumus, actu impleamus.*” Brochmand, *Universae Theologiae Systema II*, 587–88.

are works of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>13</sup> The same point is repeatedly put forth in the postil, not always as a direct, core message, but frequently as an adjacent qualifier to the main point of an exposition. In the gospel exposition for the 9th Sunday after Trinity there is a clearly established theme of the importance of charity, yet at the very end the reader is asked to declare of themselves that their own efforts are not sufficient for salvation. Drawing upon the example of Simon Magus (Acts 8:9–24), they declare: “I know that I can never with my poor charity, which I have received by your hand in order to distribute out, acquire the kingdom of heaven and the eternal dwellings in the kingdom of God. [...] I know that the eternal life is the gift of the grace of God in Christ Jesus our lord.”<sup>14</sup>

### Distinctions of Grace

To the extent that the insistence on the mercy of God, the merits of Christ, and the work of the Holy Spirit as the basis for salvation leads to an understanding of the human being as essentially passive, while awaiting God’s activity in them, it is instructive to take a look at Brochmand’s distinctions of grace, especially ordinary and extraordinary grace, which are two ways that God enacts his grace. Extraordinary grace is characterized by the exercise of God’s absolute power whereby a person is called out from the kingdom of darkness and becomes children of the light. When God enacts his extraordinary grace it will always obtain the desired result, i.e. it is not possible to resist God’s extraordinary grace. Although the transfer from the kingdom of darkness to a status of children of light is also a general descriptor of a human being that is converted and receives faith, it seems here that the extraordinary grace is rather associated with a particular calling or vocation. The scriptural examples given refer to the calling of Abraham and the disciples as well as the conversion of Paul on the way to Damascus.<sup>15</sup> Outside of this extraordinary calling, ordinary grace works through the ordinary

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<sup>13</sup> “*Secundum quod requiritur ad opus vere bonum, est hoc; quod opera vere bona non sint carnis nostræ aut virium nostrarum, sed Spiritus sancti opera.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 583. See also the fourth point in the definition of good works, the formal cause: “(1) *Opera post lapsum vere bona sunt* (2) *hominum renatorum* (3) *actiones internæ et externæ*, (4) *a Deo in lege præscriptæ et mandata, virtute Spiritus sancti, et ex fide per Charitatem efficaci factæ, ut Deus glorificetur, et gratitudo nostra ipsi probetur, et nosmetipsi proximusque noster exædificetur.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 582.

<sup>14</sup> “Vel veed jeg / at jeg kand icke med min ringe Almisse / som jeg haffuer aff din Haand bekommet at uddeele / forhuærffue mig Himmerige oc de ævige Bolige i Guds Rige. [...] Jeg veed at / det ævige Liff er Guds Naades Gaffue i Christo JEsu vor HErre.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 922.

<sup>15</sup> “*Hæc vero est qua absoluta Dei potentia, et miraculis, ut plurimi illustri, evocantur certi homines e regno tenebrarum lucis dilecti filij.* [...] *Hæc et similia exempla abunde docent, ad Gratiam Dei Extraordinariam, hæc tria concurrere. Primo adest absoluta quædam Dei potentia. Secundo, miracula, quibus fit fides vocationi. Tertio*

ministry of the word, whereby every human being is called to become part of the kingdom of God. Ordinary grace is distinguished from extraordinary because it is possible to be resisted and does therefore not always achieve its intended outcome, such as demonstrated by the parable of the Sower (Luke 8:1–15).<sup>16</sup>

Ways of resisting ordinary grace are later enumerated in a *casus conscientiae*: 1) despising or being negligent in hearing the Word of God; 2) hearing or reading the divine mysteries with prejudice; 3) possessing a misguided zeal; 4) having an excessive care for worldly things; 5) having an excessive love for themselves or an insatiable lust for the glory of the world; and finally, 6) the Devil can place obstacles to the divine grace in many, and various ways.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, Brochmand makes a distinction between sufficient and effectual grace (*divisio gratiae in sufficientem et efficacem*). Importantly, in a similar manner to the distinction between *fides perseverans* and *fides temporaria*, this is not a distinction of kind, but refers to one and the same grace. However, the same grace can be either sufficient or ineffectual, depending on whether it is resisted by the human being, so that it does not bear fruit. Only when grace bears fruit can it be considered effectual.<sup>18</sup> These distinctions indicate that there is a space for human agency in matters relating to grace, which leads to the question of what type of agency this entails. This concerns in particular the discussion on free will.

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hæc Gratia semper sortitur optatum eventum. Nam in quorum conversionem Deus hac Gratia incumbit, illi convertuntur et e regno Satanæ in regnum Christi necessario transferuntur.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 552–53. One notices the use of *potentia absoluta*, but there is not space here to delve into the possible nominalist implications

<sup>16</sup> “Illa est, qua homines omnes ad regnum Dei, vitam et salutem ordinatio Evangelii ministerio vocantur. [...] Notæ igitur et indicia Ordinariæ Gratiae sunt: 1. quod peragatur ordinatio verbi ministerio, juxta dicta superius adducta. 2. quod tali Dei operatione expediatur, cui homines resistere possunt. [...] 3. quod non sortiatur semper optatum eventum. Homines enim variis modis ponunt obicem huic gratiæ.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 552–53.

<sup>17</sup> Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 624–25.

<sup>18</sup> “Tertio dispescitur Gratia Dei in sufficientem et efficacem. Illa est, quæ quanquam ad hominem convertendum abunde sufficiat, eventum tamen optatum non sortitur, sed inefficax est, ac infructuosa, idque sola hominis culpa, utpote qui jam vocatus et ad salutarem conversionem sufficienter præparatus, gratiæ divinæ resistit illique obicem ponit. Hæc vero est quæ veluti ad hominis conversionem sufficit, ita fructuosa est et optatum eventum sortitur.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 555.



## Freedom of the Will

A summary of Brochmand's anthropology and view of the freedom of the will highlights a pessimistic evaluation of the powers of the human being:

Any talk of Brochmand's orthodoxy as "lifeless" is completely foolish; all his thoughts are borne by a deep, sincere piety and a zeal for serving the life. But they are, however, affected by the most definite mistrust in the spiritual powers of the human being. It has absolutely *none* of these and it goes for the Christian that he lives spiritually *only* on what is *given* him by God. The question is only: how does he receive these gifts and in what measure? Of course, Brochmand speaks a lot and thoroughly about conversion; but the question is exclusively treated with respect to the "natural human being". With regards to this, any activity and spiritual power is out of the question, or rather, it is limited to *hearing* the word of God and *waiting* the hour of God, when the Holy Spirit vivifies the word in the heart. For by nature the human being is fully evil and ruled by the Devil.<sup>19</sup>

This concept of 'spiritual matters' is a recurring topic in the article on free will and is a broadly encompassing term containing everything that pertains to salvation and worship of God. Together with natural, civil, and moral matters, spiritual matters are considered part of a fourfold object to which the freedom of the will pertains.<sup>20</sup> Spiritual matters (or sacred

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<sup>19</sup> "Enhver Tale om Brochmands Ortodoksi som "livløs" er ganske taabelig; alle hans Tanker bæres af en inderlig, oprigtig Fromhed og en Iver efter at tjene Livet. Men de præges ganske vist af den mest afgjorte Mistillid til Menneskets aandelige Kræfter. Dette har overhovedet *ingen* saadanne, og om den Kristne gælder det, at han lever aandelig talt *kun* paa, hvad der *gives* ham fra Gud. Spørgsmaalet er alene: hvorledes faar han disse Gaver og i hvilket Maal? Brochmand taler selvfølgelig meget og indgaaende om Omvendelse; men Spørgsmaalet behandles udelukkende for det "naturlige Menneskes" Vedkommende. Hvad dette angaar, er enhver Aktivitet og aandelig Kraft udelukket, eller rettere, den er indskrænket til at *høre* Guds Ord og *vente* Guds Time, da Helligaanden gør Ordet levende i Hjærtet. Ti af Natur er Mennesket helt igennem ondt og behersket af Djævelen." Andersen, *Dansk Syn paa Fromhed og "Gudfrygtigheds Øvelse" i ældre Luthersk Tid*, XLII.

<sup>20</sup> "Venimus ad *Objecta, circa versatur et occupatur Arbitrij libertas*, et sunt in *quadruplici* potissimum *differentia*. Dantur enim *Bona Naturalia; et sunt ea, quæ vitam hanc naturalem spectant*, qualia sunt, ambulare, sedere, dormire, edere, bibere. Dantur bona *Civilia atque Oeconomica; et sunt quæ civilem atque oeconomicam conversationem respiciunt*: qualia, emere, vendere, jus dicere, bella gerere, opificia certa exercere, familiam regere, et si quæ sunt ejusdem census alia. Dantur *bona Moralia*, et sunt quæ virtutis vitiorumque exercitium concernunt: in quo bonorum numero sunt, honeste vivere, suum cuique tribuere, alterum non lædere,

matters) concern everything that has to do with true religion and is divided into internal and external matters. The external spiritual matters are concerned with religious praxis (*religionis exercitium*), which consists of hearing, reading, and considering the word of God and frequently being part of the church assembly, while the internal spiritual matters concern assent to the gospel, having faith in Jesus Christ, and living according to the spirit.<sup>21</sup> These distinctions are significant for Brochmand's explication of the powers of the free will in four states of the human being, ranging from before the fall, to the present life, and leading into the next.

### *State of Purity*

The free will in the original state of purity ties in directly with the attribution of the image of God to the first created humans. By virtue of being created in the image of God, the first humans also possessed a free will, whereby they were fully capable of exercising the faculty of reason to judge between good and evil, had the will to choose either, and had the strength to act in accordance with the exercise of their will.<sup>22</sup> In this state, their exercise of the free will possessed an openness for choosing both good and evil, which is what results in the fall. This exercise of the free will is designated as the efficient and proximate cause of the fall, while Satan and the serpent are considered the remote and mediate and the instrumental

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eleemosynas erogare, jejunare; et contra, furari, scortari, et ejusdem generis alia.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 337.

<sup>21</sup> “Dantur denique *Bona sacra, et sunt quæ veram Religionem spectant: suntque vel Interna, vel Externa. Externa sunt quæ externum Religionis exercitium concernunt; qualia; Verbum Dei audire, legere, meditari, in externo Ecclesiæ coetu se frequenter sistere. Interna sunt coelestia Spiritus exercitia, Deo singulariter placentia: ut sunt: Evangelio assentiri, in Jesum Christum credere, vivere secundum spiritum, et si quæ sunt aliæ actiones internæ, coelestes et spirituales.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 337–38. These are also explicated further later in the same article: “*Actiones mere spirituales quando nomino, eas intelligo, quæ proprie spectant ad Dei cultum, Religionis puritatem et æternam animarum salutem: quales sunt, assensum præbere verbo prædicato, ad Deum toto corde converti, in Jesum Christum indubitata cordis fiducia recumbere, peccatum serio detestari, in vitæ emendationem fervido studio incumbere, Deum in Spiritu et veritate invocare, crucem æquo animo ferre, in duris adversitatibus auxilium Dei patienter sperare, secundum spiritum vivere, ad vitam æternam, rebus hujus mundi alto animo spretis, jugiter adspirare: et si quæ sunt ejusdem census internarum, coelestium et mere spiritualium actionum complures aliæ,*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 347.

<sup>22</sup> “*A statu Integritatis primævæ, ut ordiamur; Homini in hoc statu constituto tributum fuit divinitus, et quidem modo maxime eximio, Liberum Arbitrium; adeo ut homo, ad imaginem Dei conditus, plene instructus fuerit facultate rationis ad dijudicandum bonum et malum; voluntatis ad utrumvis eligendum; virium denique omnium ad utrumlibet præstandum.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 338.

causes, respectively.<sup>23</sup> It is in this sense that Brochmand can say that the human being was created in such a way that it was able to fall. God desired the voluntary reverence of creation, and thus did not impede their ability to sin in such a way that it placed limits on their free will by not being able to perform the forbidden deed, but created the first humans with sufficient strength to withstand the temptation, had they so desired.<sup>24</sup> The consequence of their misuse of the will was a loss of the image of God and a privation of the original righteousness and holiness.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, in the fall there was also added a positive quality in the soul,

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<sup>23</sup> “(2) *Efficiens peccati hujus causa, eaque proxima*, est homo, qui libera sua voluntate, citra ullam necessitatem, legem sibi propositam, ac comminatione sancitam, observatuque possibilem, transgressus est. [...] (4) *Causa peccati remota et mediate*, est Satanas, qui invidens gloriæ divinæ et saluti hominum, hominem ad mandati divini transgressionem nequiter sollicitavit. [...] (5) *Instrumentalem lapsus primorum parentum causam* fuisse serpentem, cujus lingua abusus est Diabolus, ad proponendum argumenta, quibus defectionem a Deo blaspheme suadebat [...]” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 425–26.

<sup>24</sup> “(1) Homo conditus est talis, qui labi posset: non ut laberetur *Gen.2.v.17*; sed ut tanquam creatura rationalis, et libero arbitrio prædita, spontaneum cultum Deo præstaret [...]. (2) Deum potuisse initio confirmare in bono non nego: sed hoc non placuisse Deo, e literis sacris est. Causam autem ejus rei, qui affert hanc; voluisse Deum ut laberetur homo; falsam affert causam: Nam Deus non vult peccatum *Psalms.5.v.5*. Lapsus autem primorum parentum gravissimum peccatum fuit. Sufficit, instruxisse Deum hominem viribus ad vincendum quamvis viribus sufficientibus. (3) Deum non impedivisse peccatum primorum parentum, et vere et falso dicitur. Impedivit omnino Deus peccatum certa legislatione, qua vires creaturæ ita circumscripsit, ut fructum arboris vetite sine peccato gustare non posset, *Genes.2.v.17*. Impedivit etiam Deus peccatum primi hominis, instruendo hominem sufficientibus viribus ad vincendum quamvis tentationem. Impedivit denique Deus peccatum primum proponendo primo homini talia argumenta, quæ plane apta erant retrahere hominem ab esu arboris vetitæ. Hoc interim certum est, non impeditam fuisse ipsam creaturæ potentiam, adeo ut homo actum istum prohibitum, ad quem obeundum sufficientes vires habebat, edere non posset. Quomodo impeditur Eliæ ad Regem Achazim adductio *3.Reg.1*: quomodo etiam impeditur Jeroboam ne Prophetam Dei comprehendat, manu miraculose arefacta *3.Reg.vers.4*. Nec talis impeditio peccati in primo homine fieri potuit, nisi aut homo penitus destrueretur, aut arbitrij libertas tolleretur.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 432.

<sup>25</sup> Listed among the effects of original sin in both the definition and its explication: “(6) *hominem amissa Dei imagine, in offensam et iram Dei, mortemque corporalem et spiritualem, justo Dei judicio incidisse*. [...] (6) *Tristes hujus peccati effectus sunt: 1. Numinis cælestis offensa et fuga Genes.3.v.8*: 2. *Privatio primævæ istius sanctitatis et justitiæ Gen.3.v.7.Ephes.2.v.1.2.3.seq.:Luc.19.v.12.13.14.seq.* 3. *Mors temporaria pariter ac spiritualis Gen.2.v.17.Rom.6.v.23*. 4. *Ejectio e Paradiso Genes.3.v.23*. 5. *Laboriosa viri vita, et mulieris cum dolore parturitio Genes.3.v.16.17.18*.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 425–26. Compare with the explication of what the image of God consists of: “(1) *In Dei rerumque non tantum naturalium, sed inprimis ad æternam salutem pertinentium plena et perfecta notitia*. (2) *In rectitudine et sanctimonia voluntatis, qua apta erat et prompta sequi id quod intellectus recte jubeat faciendum et monstrabat desiderandum*. (3) *In sensuum*

expressed as original sin, which created an inclination towards evil. From this follows the complete corruption of the human nature.<sup>26</sup>

### *State of Corruption*

The corruption of human nature after the fall has a great impact on the extent to which the will relates to its fourfold object. Regarding the first two, there remains for the human being a free will in natural and civil matters, so that the human being can exercise both intellect and will and is also able to follow through with what they have thought.<sup>27</sup> Brochmand also admits a free will in moral matters for human beings that are not yet reborn.<sup>28</sup> He proves it with

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*et membrorum expedita promptitudine ad sequendum et exsequendum omne bonum, quod mens præscribat, et voluntas affectabat. (4) In totius hominis immortalitate. (5) In dominio in omnia animantia concesso; denique (6) In vita a metu mortis et periculorum libera.”* Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 289. See also “*Num imago divina lapsu primorum parentum amissa sit?*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 313–14.

<sup>26</sup> “*Num peccatum originale sit mera quædam privatio, an vero positiva quædam qualitas? Hoc est; An præter carentiam originalis justitiæ, contraria aliqua qualitas constituenda sit, tanquam peccati originalis pars altera? [...] Et scriptura, descriptura peccatum originale, menti non tantum tribuit cæcitatem, ignorantiam, tenebras; sed etiam errores, mendacia, vanitatem: voluntati assignat non tantum aversionem a bono, sed etiam malitiam, fraudulentiam, inimicitias contra Deum: appetitui denique et membris corporis non modo adscribit impotentiam volendi et exequendi bonum, sed etiam efficaciam alacritatemque volendi id quod malum est. [...] Secundo: Scriptura ideo verbis, ut ita dicam, positivum quiddam significantibus exprimit peccatum originale, ut sciamus; peccato originali non tantum ademptam homini facultatem intelligendi veram, volendi bona, efficiendi justa et sancta Psalm.14.v.2.3.Rom.3.v.12.1.Cor.2.v.14.2.Cor.3.v.5.; sed una introductam velut esse et positam in homine fervidam pronitatem, ad arripiendum mente errores, mendacia, vanitates; ad sectandum voluntate turpia et pessima quæque ad efficiendum membris detestabilia et abominanda quæque. [...] Hoc ergo sensu negari nec potest, nec debet peccatum originale esse positivum quoddam: Hoc est, quod peccatum vere in nobis ponat fervidam et furentem quasi ad pessima quæque perpetranda proclivitatem atque propensionem. Originale idcirco peccatum non est nuda justitiæ originalis privatio, quod censent Pontificij; sed est totius naturæ relictæ penitissima corruptio.”* Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 470–71.

<sup>27</sup> “*Aphorismus primus. In rebus quæ vitam naturalem et civilem respiciunt, quæque sensui et rationi subjectæ sunt, liberum Arbitrium, etiam post lapsum, homini superest: adeo ut homo res naturales et civiles, non modo mente intelligere, sed etiam voluntate deligere, affectu expetere, et viribus prosequi possit.”* Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 339–40. This exercise of their own faculties does not exclude the need for the general aid of God (*generale auxilium*) by which God sustains the whole of creation, Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 365ff

<sup>28</sup> “*Aphorismus secundus. Homini non renato haud ademptum est penitus Liberum Arbitrium, circa bonum*

reference to Rom 1:19–32 and Rom 2:14–15, as well as a catena of examples from both scripture and general history that virtues can be found even among people who are not yet reborn.<sup>29</sup> However, the nature of these moral matters refers only to their external characteristics. In order for a good deed to be truly good in itself (*opus vere bonum in se*), it is necessary that in addition to falling under what God has commanded in his word it must be a work of the Holy Spirit in a person having justifying faith.<sup>30</sup> In other words, the special aid of God (*speciale auxilium*) is required in order to produce truly good works, which are also good before God. It falls within the natural capacities of human beings that are not yet reborn to control the members of their body to such an extent that they are capable of restraining their hand from committing murder, but due to the corrupted nature they can only manage this with great difficulty and within political boundaries such that it is not within their power to affect the interior motions of the heart.<sup>31</sup> From this it follows that in natural, civil, and moral matters there is a free will, but it is nonetheless a broken will, which is impeded in many ways, by both a native defect (original sin) and by external factors (by the Devil or God).<sup>32</sup> The native

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*morale.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 341.

<sup>29</sup> The Egyptian midwives (Ex 1:16–17), the Pharisees (Rom 9:51; 10:2, Phil 3:6), Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 4:24), Cornelius (Acts 10:2). Among historical examples are referenced the temperance of Socrates, the justice of Aristides, the chastity of Lucretia, the strength of Julius Caesar, the restraint of Alexander the Great, Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 341.

<sup>30</sup> “*Forma bonorum in hisce IV. consistit: quorum primum est, quod ea tantum opera sint opera vere bona, quæ Deus in verbo suo præcepit et facienda imperavit. [...] Secundum quod requiritur ad opus vere bonum, est hoc; quod opera vere bona non sint carnis nostræ aut virium nostrarum, sed Spiritus sancti opera. [...] Tertium quod requiritur ad opus vere bonum, Fides justificans est. [...] Quartum et ultimum, quod requiritur, ut opera sint vere bona, Finis est, qui in omnibus operibus flectari debet.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 583–84.

<sup>31</sup> “*De viribus enim liberi arbitrij hominis non renati circa bonum morale, tria docent Lutherani. Unum; Non renatos posse externa legis opera aliquo modo viribus naturæ obire. [...] Secundum est; Tantum esse naturæ corruptæ ad hoc ipsum bonum languorem, et ad oppositum malum fervidam pronitatem, ut homo non renatus non nisi summa cum difficultate ab externa legis violatione abstineat, et intra justi rectique politici limites se contineat. [...] Tertium est; Non esse in potestate hominis non renati, interiores cordis concupiscentias pravas cohibere, Deum timere, justa fiducia in Deum recumbere,*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 375. See also Quæstio XV: *An homines nondum renati, solis naturæ viribus, absque speciali Dei auxilio, bonum morale ita perficere possint, ut in eo nullum omnino sit peccatum, saltem ubi a gravioribus tentationibus immunitas est? Hoc est: An opera bona Gentilium, et virtutis exercitia ab ipsis præstita, vere bona sint; adeo ut peccatis annumerari nec possint nec debeant?* Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 377–82.

<sup>32</sup> “*Aphorismus tertius. Quanquam homini nondum regenito, nec in naturalibus, nec in civilibus, nec in moralibus penitus ademptum est liberum Arbitrium: fractum tamen est et languidum, atque impeditur jam ab*

defect concerns three characteristics that in their negative statement mirrors the positive characteristics of the image of God as it pertains to mind, will, and body: “A weakness of mind, a will inclined towards evil, and wicked affects.”<sup>33</sup>

The treatment of the fourth object of the will (spiritual matters) is divided into a consideration of the external and internal matters. In a differentiation similar to that of moral matters, there is granted a free will in external spiritual matters to the extent that they encompass the external acts of hearing, considering, or studying the word of God or taking part in the public assemblies in the church, and that they possess the freedom to choose to take part in those acts or not to do so.<sup>34</sup> However, the freedom granted is limited to these external acts themselves, with the emphasis that the acts in and of themselves are not able to effect conversion. Thus the conclusion on the first aphorism is a reflection on why so many theologians, professors, and pastors can study scripture diligently day and night and yet not be truly pious or reborn.<sup>35</sup> The reflection is followed by the second aphorism, which states conclusively that although the external hearing of the word is within the power of the human being not yet reborn, and although God does not effect conversion without the external zeal for hearing the word, it is not the external hearing of the word, but the work of the Spirit, that effects faith and conversion, and it is only through the grace of God working in them that it is possible to give assent to the word and lead a life conforming to the word.<sup>36</sup>

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*infirmirate, quæ nobiscum nascitur; jam ab externis objectis; jam a Diabolo; jam ab ipso Deo.” Brochmand, Universæ Theologiæ Systema I, 342.*

<sup>33</sup> “(1) in ἀδυναμία mentis [...], (2) in voluntatis in malum inclinatione [...], (3) in vitiosis affectibus.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 342.

<sup>34</sup> “Aphorismus primus. *Homini non est adempta penitus libertas circa res sacras, saltem externas, sed adhuc reliqua est ipsi facultas audiendi verbum Dei, vel non audiendi; meditandi, discendi verbum, vel non meditandi, non discendi; accendendi ad publicos cætus Ecclesiasticos, vel non accedendi.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 344.

<sup>35</sup> “Quot quoque inveniuntur et Theologi et Professores et verbi divini ministri, et rerum sacrarum studiosi, qui licet noctu et interdiu in lectione sacra sudent, inque controversiis Theologicis expediendis laboriose occupentur; tamen vere pii, vere renati non sunt?” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 345.

<sup>36</sup> “Aphorismus secundus. *Quanquam externus verbi auditus, in hominis non renati arbitrio et potestate positus sit: quanquam etiam Deus salutem et conversionem hominum sine studio isto externo audiendi verbum operari nolit: tamen externus iste auditus verbi divini, fidem et conversionem a se et per se non operatur, sed totum hoc divini Spiritus opus est; nec auditu nostro operantem Deum prævenimus, ejusve gratiam antevertimus: multo minus in nostra positum est potestate, verbo audito assentiri, vitamve verbo conformem traducere.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 345.

The hard distinctions between the external acts themselves and the (lack of) efficacy inherent in them culminate when Brochmand turns to the internal spiritual matters. In this area the free will is not given even the slightest possibility of acting. The loss of the image of God is so penetrating that it has left the will so weakened that there remains so little strength to turn towards God by themselves. Any conversion can only and always be attributed entirely to the grace of God.<sup>37</sup> The ultimate consequence is that the human being can contribute not even the slightest to either the beginning or the completion of their conversion.<sup>38</sup> The conclusion then follows that free will in spiritual matters must rightly be called bound.<sup>39</sup> However, it is therefore not to say that the human being not yet reborn is under any exterior compulsion. Quite the contrary, in fact, for they sin willingly and joyfully, but to the extent that the will has been sold under and is bound by sin, they possess no faculty for doing good or avoiding evil and are free *to sin* and free *from righteousness*.<sup>40</sup>

### *State of Regeneration and Conversion*

Before considering the free will in the state of grace, there is an important note to make concerning the image of God. Brochmand does not seem to express directly in which manner and to what extent the image of God might be restored in the human being having been reborn. The strongest statement is in a *casus conscientiae* that concerns how to encourage those who doubt the certainty of their renewal and regeneration when they consider that they

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<sup>37</sup> “Aphorismus primus. *Liberum hominis arbitrium in actionibus mere spiritualibus non modo vulneratum, fauciatum, informatum, inclinatum et attenuatum est; sed et perditum atque amissum, viresque ejus non tantum debilitatae et attritae, sed et nullae: adeo ut mens sit caeca, affectus perversi, cor pravam et fraudulentum, totusque homo in peccatis prorsus mortuus, ademptaque sit homini omnis prorsus agendi vis, δόναμις et ἰκανότης, qua se ad Deum convertat, ita ut hominis conversio divinae gratiae unice et in solidum adscribenda sit.*” Brochmand, *Universae Theologiae Systema I*, 347.

<sup>38</sup> “Aphorismus secundus. *Homo in ipso conversionis actu ne tantillum confert ad sui conversionem, vel inchoandam, vel efficiendam, sed ita extinctae sunt vires hominis, ut nulla prorsus ἰκανότης, qua opus conversionis promoveat, remanserit.*” Brochmand, *Universae Theologiae Systema I*, 350.

<sup>39</sup> “Aphorismus tertius. *Liberum hominis non renati arbitrium in spiritualibus jure justo dici potest Servum.*” Brochmand, *Universae Theologiae Systema I*, 351.

<sup>40</sup> “Cujus Aphorismi hic non est sensus, hominem non renatum ad peccandum exterius cogi: Homo enim in statu suae corruptionis relictus, cum lubentia ad peccatum vergit: Et idcirco ad peccandum liber est *Jacob. I. v. 14. Proverb. 2. v. 14.*: Sed hoc volumus appellatione servi arbitrii quod homini non regenito tribuimus in Spiritualibus: Hominem non regentem, quippe sub peccato venundatum, non pollere facultate faciendi bonum et vitandi malum, sed servum peccati esse, ac eapropter a justitia liberum.” Brochmand, *Universae Theologiae Systema I*, 351.

are not able to rise up to the perfection of the image of God.<sup>41</sup> At first they should be aware that it is not the intention that they should achieve that perfection in this present life, but only in the next.<sup>42</sup> Then they should be instructed in the consolation God gives to those who are in despair, and finally, after feeling sorrow over their imperfection, they should desire to leave this life while working daily on progressing in piety.<sup>43</sup> This *casus conscientiae* seems to indicate that there is a partial restoration of the image of God associated with the renewal and regeneration of the human being. This seems to be supported by the article “On Justification, Renewal, and Regeneration.” As already seen, the native post-lapsarian defect consists of “a weakness of mind, a will inclined towards evil, and wicked affects.”<sup>44</sup> These parts correspond directly to the elements of the image of God that pertain to the soul.<sup>45</sup> When explicating the nature and distinctions of justification, regeneration, and renewal of the human being, the same three parts are referenced, first as an effect of the regeneration whereby the mind, heart, and faculties of the soul are changed,<sup>46</sup> and they then constitute the form of renewal through an illumination of the mind, a correction of the will, a repression of the wicked affects, and

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<sup>41</sup> “*Quomodo juvandi et firmandi sint, qui dubitant et prope desperant de suæ renovationis et regenerationis certitudine, quod ad eam imaginis divinæ perfectionem, ad quam primus homo conditus fuit, se assurgere non posse dolenter animadvertunt?*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 328.

<sup>42</sup> “*Hi Primo sciunt, non placere Deo, ut in hac vita assurgamus ad istam perfectionem, quam primi Parentes, ad imaginem Dei recens conditi, obtinuerant.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 328.

<sup>43</sup> “*Secundo: Qui hac imperfectione suæ regenerationis et renovationis graviter affliguntur, his sedulo inculcandum est, Deum adesse fractis animo, contritos corde servare [...]. Tertio: Tentato sedulo inculca, ut imperfectionem suam ex animo defleat, ex hac vita ob hanc imperfectionem migrare optet, in pietate indies proficere allaboret, pro fidei incremento Deum in nomine Jesu nullo non tempore sollicitet.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 329–30.

<sup>44</sup> “*(1) in ἀδυναμία mentis [...], (2) in voluntatis in malum inclinatione [...], (3) in vitiosis affectibus.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 342.

<sup>45</sup> “*(1) In Dei rerumque non tantum naturalium, sed inprimis ad æternam salutem pertinentium plena et perfecta notitia. (2) In rectitudine et sanctimonia voluntatis, qua apta erat et prompta sequi id quod intellectus recte jubebat faciendum et monstrabat desiderandum. (3) In sensuum et membrorum expedita promptitudine ad sequendum et exsequendum omne bonum, quod mens præscribebat, et voluntas affectabat.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 289.

<sup>46</sup> “*(2) Regeneratio est actio Dei, in hac vita incepta, in altera autem plane consummanda. Regeneratio in hac vita incepta, consistit in spirituali illa e Deo nativitate, qua homo mente, corde et facultatibus animæ omnibus it immutatur, ut abjurato peccati dominio, se totum justitiæ consecret.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 482.



that the body becomes an instrument for justice.<sup>47</sup>

Because of this transformation of the faculties of the human being having been reborn, their situation is quite different from those in the state of corruption. In the state of grace there is attributed to them a free will to do good and avoid evil.<sup>48</sup> The arguments provided here seem to be rather demonstrative in describing the particular characteristics of the human being having been reborn,<sup>49</sup> but to the extent that the brokenness of the will in the state of corruption was tied to the effects of the loss of the image of God, it seems likely that the restoration of the gifts of righteousness and holiness is an underlying cause of the freedom in the state of grace. However, in spite of the freedom attributed to the human being having been reborn, there are two important qualifiers. The first concerns the merit associated with good works, where it is made clear that whatever good thing they do, it ought not to be attributed to their own powers, for it is the work of the Holy Spirit in them.<sup>50</sup> The second concerns the condition that even after having been reborn there is still a remnant of sin in them. Sin will not be rooted out entirely until they pass on to the next life. Therefore even the regenerate will live in an inner conflict resulting in a paradoxical statement of being both free and captive depending on how the human being is perceived. To the extent that they are reborn, the human being is free in spiritual matters. But to the extent that there is a remnant of sin in them, the human being is captive and not in control of themselves.<sup>51</sup> The explication is one of Brochmand's ways of framing the *simul justus et peccator*, but a remarkable aspect is the

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<sup>47</sup> "(1) *Renovatio seu sanctificatio est* (2) *actio Spiritus sancti qua* (3) *hominem veterem* (4) *virtute meriti Jesu Christi, ita immutat,* (5) *ut pulsus erroribus mens illuminetur, voluntas corrigatur, affectus vitiosi in corde reprimantur, membra arma justitiæ fiant,* (6) *ad gloriam ipsius Dei conditoris et redemptoris.*" Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 485.

<sup>48</sup> "Aphorismus primus. *Homo gratia divina conversus, omnino præditus est libertate tum faciendi bonum, tum deflectendi ad contrarium malum.*" Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 352.

<sup>49</sup> 1) They will bear good fruits (Matt 12:35;7:17, Rom 8:45, Gal 5:25). 2) They are described as possessing freedom (John 8:36, Rom 6:18). 3) The regenerate are admonished to persevere in good works and progress daily (John 15:1-3ff, Rom 10:8, 1 Cor 10:31ff, Luc 18:1ff, 2 Cor 4:16-17ff, Gal 6:8-9, James 1:12;2:26;4:15, 2 Pet 1:8-9, etc.), Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 352.

<sup>50</sup> "Aphorismus secundus. *Quanquam homo renatus gaudet in spiritualibus libertate faciendi bonum et vitandi malum: tamen quicquid facit rei bonæ id ex se non facit aut suis viribus, sed virtute Spiritu sancti, quo regitur et agitur.*" Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 352.

<sup>51</sup> "[D]iligenter notandum est, non ita regenerari hominem in hac vita, quin reliquiæ peccati homini inhæreant, quæ hominem subinde a recto pietatis et sanctitatis tramite vel invitum abducant. Unde homo qua renatus est, liber est spiritualibus: Quatenus autem reliquiæ peccati adhuc in ipso hærent, eatenus captivus est, nec sui juris." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 353.

aphorism itself, wherein it is indicated that the freedom in spiritual matters *hinges* on the recognition and confession that they in their freedom are captive under sin in the rather paradoxical statement: “The human being having been reborn is thus not free in spiritual matters, unless they immediately consider it necessary to confess that they are captive.”<sup>52</sup>

### *State of consummate restoration after this life*

Finally, after the resurrection there is the expectation of a free will in consummate perfection. The manner in which the free will exhibits itself provides a complete mirror of the final and perfect restoration of the image of God and the way that it impacts the human faculties, since in that state the mind will fully be understanding, the will will be steadily loving, and every power will tirelessly follow through.<sup>53</sup>

### **Freely, but Conditioned**

As an interesting counterpart to the pessimistic anthropology of the proponents of penitential piety, one also finds the idea that the grace of God is not without conditions.<sup>54</sup> Such ideas are also found in Brochmand’s postil, although the forcefulness of the language of conditionality can at times seem surprising. Even when he insists that the human being acting on their free will in the state of regeneration must attribute any good thing they do to the Holy Spirit working through them, he also not infrequently introduces an ‘if’ into the equation, which establishes the responsibility of the individual. In the epistle exposition for the 2nd Sunday of Advent, Brochmand speaks of the patience that every Christian must have in persecution, which allows them to suffer for the sake of Christ:

This is the right patience, which is a certain sign that a child of God have rightly learned the word of God. For when it happens that you are either imprisoned or sacrifice your life or even forsake Christ then it is said: Here is the faith and patience of the holy. When you now, you child of God, have learned this patience from scripture, then you should first in mind and heart find the comfort of scripture. Look at

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<sup>52</sup> “Aphorismus tertius. *Homo renatus ita liber non est in Spiritualibus, quin subinde se captivum fateri necesse habeat.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 353.

<sup>53</sup> “Superest jam explicandum, *quale sit hominis liberum arbitrium post resurrectionem in consummata alterius seculi perfectione.* Erit autem liberum arbitrium in hoc statu plane perfectum, adeo ut Deum resque divinas mens plene intellectura, voluntas constanter amatura, vires omnes indefesse persequuturæ sint.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 353.

<sup>54</sup> Andersen, *Dansk Syn paa Fromhed og “Gudfrygtigheds Øvelse” i ældre Luthersk Tid*, XXXVIII.

your saviour Christ, how he when had with the greatest patience endured the fire of the wrath of God, so that he exclaimed: my God, my God, why have you forsaken me? Then he is afterwards comforted so that he says: father, in your hands I commend my spirit. [...] Look also at St. Paul, how he is also comforted, when he has learned patience. For after he has said: for your sake, Lord, we are put to death all day long, we are considered as sheep for slaughter, then he immediately puts forth: but in all things we will overcome by Jesus Christ who loved us [...].<sup>55</sup>

This comfort is given by God and cannot be acquired by anyone by themselves: “This is the right comfort that we should seek in Scripture. This comfort can no one acquire, unless God himself, by his holy Word, through the Holy Spirit, for the sake of the merit of Jesus Christ, gives it to him.”<sup>56</sup> God alone can give that comfort, but experience shows that both patience and comfort can be lost during hardship. Brochmand draws upon the examples of Job and David (Job 3:3.11–13; Ps 77:8–10) to demonstrate that when God is hidden, impatience and misery resurfaces. Therefore, perpetual prayer and supplication is necessary to remain patient and comforted during the hardships brought upon them:

Prayer is here necessary for the God of patience and consolation, so that you can become patient and consoled in adversity, which is placed upon you by the Devil, the world, sin, death, and your own heart. [...] Who therefore who will have patience and consolation from the word of God, he shall seek it by perpetual prayer and supplication to the God of patience and consolation.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> “Dette er den rette **Taalmodighed** / huilcken er it vist Tegn / at it Guds Barn / haffuer rettelig lært Guds Ord. Thi naar det gaar saa til / at du enten skalt før is i Fengsel / sette Liffuet til / eller oc forsage JEsu: Da heder det: her er de Helliges Troe oc Taalmodighed. Naar du nu / du Guds Barn / haffuer aff Skrifften lært denne Taalmodighed / da skalt du først udi / Hue oc Hierte finde **Skrifftens Trøst**. See mig til din Frelsere Christum / huorledis der hand haffde med største Taalmodighed ustandet Guds Vredis Jld / saa at hand raabte: Min Gud / min Gud / huorfor haffuer du forlat mig: Da bliffuer hand der effter trøstet / saa at hand siger: Fader udi din Haand / befaler jeg min Aand. [...] See mig ocsaa til S. Povel / huorledis hand ocsaa trøstis / der hand haffde lært Taalmodighed. Thi effter at hand haffde sagd: For din skyld / HERRE / dræbis vi den gandske Dag / vi ere regnede som slacte Faar: Sætter hand strax hos: Men udi Alleting offuervinde vi ved JEsu Christum som os elskte [...]” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 29.

<sup>56</sup> “Dette er dend rette Trøst som vi skulle søge udi Skriften. Denne Trøst kand icke nogen bekomme / uden Gud selff ved sit hellige Ord formedelst dend hellig Aand / for JEsu Christi Fortienestes skyld / hannem den giffuer.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 30.

<sup>57</sup> “Bøn er her fornøden til Taalmodigheds oc Trøstens Gud / at du kandst bliffue taalmodig oc trøstig udi Modgang / som Dieffuelen / Verden / Synden / Døden oc dit eget Hierte dig paafører. [...] Huo derfor vil haffue

However, instead of remaining with the expectation that they will receive this comfort through prayer and awaiting God's acting upon them, he immediately goes one step further and states that this patience and comfort is contingent upon their moral behaviour: "But take note, you child of God, that your God will never give you patience or comfort, no matter how much you read the Word of God and how much you pray for it, unless you conduct yourself with your brother peacefully and indulge his weakness."<sup>58</sup> The paragraphs here concern the imitation of Christ, referring to Rom 15:5, that they should be of one mind according to Christ. There are certain examples given,<sup>59</sup> but what is notable is the contingency thereof, where Brochmand goes as far as saying that their hope in both spiritual and bodily aid from God is *in vain*, if they do not live in such a way that everyone can see that they are minded against others in the same way that Christ was minded against them:

Open your eyes and heart, you child of God, so that you can rightly learn how you should conduct yourself that you could always presume to receive help and aid in any suffering, spiritual or bodily, in life or death, from the God of patience and consolation. In vain you will presume this for you unless you like a child of peace and patience conduct yourself against others so that anyone can see that there is the same mind in you against your fellow Christians that Christ had towards you.<sup>60</sup>

In broader terms, Brochmand also notes in the epistle exposition on the 1st Sunday of Lent (1 Thess 4) that the reader should consider the blessings that God will give them both in this life and the next if they live a holy and virtuous life.<sup>61</sup>

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Taalmodighed oc Trøst aff Guds Ord / hand skal søge den ved idelig Bøn oc Paakaldelse hos Taalmodighedens oc Trøstens Gud." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 30.

<sup>58</sup> "Men merck du Guds Barn / her hos / at din Gud vil aldrig giffue dig Taalmodighed / oc Trøst / i huor meget du læs Guds Ord / oc huor flittig du beder der om / med mindre du omgaaes med din Broder fredsommeligen / oc føyer dig effter hans Skrøbelighed." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 30.

<sup>59</sup> They should not agree with or be silent when others sin (1 Cor 5:11); they should work zealously to turn others away from their sinful path onto the path of salvation (Luke 7:34; James 5:20); they should take the form of a servant and be humble (John 13:13-17; Phil 2:6-8; Matt 5:40-45), Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 31–32.

<sup>60</sup> "Aabne her du Guds Barn Ørne oc Hierte / at du kandst ret lære / huorledis du dig saaledis kand skaae oc skicke / at du altid kand vist formode dig Hielp oc Bistand udi all Nød / Aandelig oc Legemlig / i Liff oc Død / aff Taalmodighedens oc Trøstens Gud. Forgiefues formoder du dig dette / med mindre du som it Fredsens oc Taalmodighedsens Barn saaledis skicker dig imod andre / at huer kand see / at der er lige saadant it Sind i dig imod din Jeffn Christen / som Christus haffde imod dig." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 31.

On other occasions we find similar expressions, but few as strongly as in the epistle exposition on Easter (1 Cor 5), where even the sacrifice of Christ seems to become subject to these conditions. The pericope contains an admonition to cleanse out the old leaven. Brochmand first describes the various means by which the reader is moved to turn away from their sinful life (cleansing out the old leaven), culminating in the consideration of Jesus in Gethsemane and his suffering expressed in bloody sweat.<sup>62</sup> In the following paragraph Brochmand writes that having faith that Jesus was sacrificed for sin and living a life according to the will of God are intrinsically connected: “For you are a liar before God if you say that you believe that Jesus has been sacrificed for you and you yet remain in the old leaven of your sin.”<sup>63</sup> Thus far, however, that connection is merely one of the simultaneity that a living faith requires. It is not particularly surprising that there is an expectation of the fruits of faith. Even when claiming to feel sorrow for sin, having faith in God and trusting in Christ, the veracity of the claims becomes dependent on demonstrating their faith in a holy life:

When you have thus of the innermost heart mournfully sighed and grieved because of your sins, when you in a steady faith have so trusted your father in heaven that you are in mind and heart assured by the spirit of God that God holds you dearer in Christ than the most pious father can hold its dearest child, then you shall prove your sorrow over sin and your faith and trust in God by Jesus with a holy life. For never will your sorrow over sin be a true sorrow, never will your faith in God and your saviour Jesus be a living faith, unless you with greatest diligence apply yourself to holy and good deeds.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> “Setter eder for øyne den store Velsignelse J haffue i dette lifff oc effter dette Liff at formode / dersom J et helligt oc tuctigt Leffnet fremdrager.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 593.

<sup>62</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 11.

<sup>63</sup> “Thi du est en Løgnere for Gud dersom du siger / at du troer / at JEsus er offret for dig / oc du dog bliffuer beliggende udi din Synds gamle Surdey.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 12.

<sup>64</sup> “Naar du saaledis haffuer aff inderste Hierte veemodeligen sucket oc sørget for dine Synder: Naar du der hos udi stadige Tro forlader dig saa got til din Fader udi Himmelen / at du est udi Hu oc Hierte forsickret ved Guds Aand / at Gud haffuer dig kierere udi Christo / end den frommiste Fader kand haffue sit kieriste Barn: Da skalt du din Sorig for Synden / oc din Tro oc Tillijd til GVD ved JEsus / bevijsse met it helligt Leffnet. Thi aldrig er din Sorig for Synden en sand sorig / Aldrig er din Tro til Gud / oc til din Frelsere JEsus en leffuende Tro / med mindre / du med allerstørste Flijd legger dig effter hellige oc gode Gierninger.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 118.

Brochmand also goes further and stretches his plea to the extent that the benefit of the sacrifice of Christ is contingent upon the cleansing out of the old leaven: “You therefore who desires to enjoy the sacred suffering and death of Jesus, cleanse out the old leaven and turn away from sin. If you do that, then Jesus, sacrificed for you, will become an Easter lamb for you.”<sup>65</sup> Many of these pleas are also found in the introductory sections of the expositions. Brochmand often uses the first few paragraphs to set the theme for the exposition by connecting it to a different scripture passage. For the epistle exposition on the 1st Sunday of Lent (1 Thess 4), the introductory section takes its point of departure in Matt 7:24–27 concerning the parable of the two men building their houses on rock and sand. In introducing the theme Brochmand emphasizes the great importance of conforming their lives to the word of God, unless their hope in God would be in vain:

Here our lord and saviour Jesus teaches us that it is not enough that we have the word of God and hear it and read it. But if it is such that we want to be proper Christians, then we should accord our lives and lifestyle after the word, which God and our Lord Jesus has prescribed for us. In vain you will expect the comfort and solace from the word of God in either life or death unless you by the aid of the Holy Spirit work for it, so that you accord your life and lifestyle after the word. It is even not enough that you begin to live after the word and finally tires of it and does not diligently persist until the end. But you should day after day more and more progress in holiness.<sup>66</sup>

## Activity and Conversion

It is perhaps a banal suggestion (and one suggested not infrequently) that when exhortations place a responsibility and expectation on the receiver, it would be an act of bad faith communication to not expect the receiver to be able to live up to this responsibility, to have the agency to act according to the exhortations. Put quite simplistically, this could lead one to

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<sup>65</sup> “I derfor / som ville nyde JEsu hellige Pijne oc død got ad / udrenser den gamle Surdey / oc afflegger Synden. Gjør i det[ / da skal JEsus / offret for eder / bliffue eder til it **Paaskelam**.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio*. *Sommer-Parten*, 12.

<sup>66</sup> “Her lærer os voris HERre oc Frelsere JEsus / at det er icke nock / at vi haffue Guds Ord / oc høre det oc læse det: Men huis saa er / vi ville være rette Christne / da skulle vi føye voris Liff oc Leffnet effter det Ord / som Gud oc vor HERre JEsus haffuer os ladet foreskriffue. Forgiefuis venter du Trøst oc Husvalselse aff Guds Ord / enten i Liff eller Død / med mindre du ved den hellig Aands Bistand der paa arbeyder / at du skaar oc skicker dit Liff oc Leffnet effter Ordet. Det er icke enda nock / at du begynder at leffue efter Ordet oc omsider blifuer keed der aff oc icke holder flitteligen ud til Enden: Men du skalt dag effter dag / jo meere oc meere / i ald Hellighed dig forfremme.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio*. *Vinter-Parten*, 585.

expect that the intended target group of the postil were those who were already in the state of regeneration. Otherwise, the readers would not have had any chance of acting according to any of the exhortations to living a moral life and doing good deeds, such as one finds in the postil. However, as indicated, this *is* put too simply. In parts of the postil Brochmand addresses quite directly the concern of the transformation of the will and the necessity that the word of God must illumine the mind and heart of the human being, as exemplified by his explication of Is 60:1:

For thus says the Lord: Your light comes and the glory of the Lord rises upon you. See, here is it brought forth, the glorious and holy light of the gospel, in which the good God offers that he will thus illumine your blind and darkened mind, which so far has not grasped and understood rightly the good and pleasing will of God, so that you shall be mindful that the Lord have rightly completed his promise and assurance, which he made by the prophet, when he says: then shall no one any longer teach their neighbour or anyone their brother, saying: know the Lord. For they shall all know me, both their little ones and their great ones. See, within the very same holy gospel, which is rightly a lantern and a light for your feet, God lets you know that if you will hear, learn, and receive it, then he will be a light for you, which will thus illumine and transform your evil and ill-tempered will, so that hereafter it shall be willing to obey, serve, and give thanks to God. Hear what the Lord says by the prophet Jeremiah and by Saint Paul: See, the time comes, says the Lord, and I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah. I will give my law within them and write it in their hearts and I will be their God and they will be my people. See, here comes God forth and lets you know that if you want to receive the holy gospel, believe it, and conduct yourself after it, then God, who is the true light, and Jesus Christ, who is the light that illumines every human being that comes to the world, will go into you and stay with you, rule and govern you, guard and protect you.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> **Thi** / saa siger HERren: **Dit Lius kommer / oc HERrens Herlighed gaar op offuer dig.** See / her føris frem / det herlige oc hellige Evangelij **Lius** / udi huilcket den gode Gud erbiuder sig / at hand vil saaledis opliuse dit blinde oc formørkede Sind / som hidtil icke haffuer fattet oc forstaaet ret GVDS gode oc velbehagelige Vilie / at du skalt besinde / at HERren haffuer ret fuldkommet sit Løffte oc Tilsagn / som hand haffuer giord dig hos Propheten der hand siger: Der skal icke meere lære nogen sin Næste / eller nogen sin Broder sigendis: Kiender Herren: Thi de skulle alle kiende mig / baade deris smaa oc deris store. See udi dette selffsamme hellige Evangelio / som er ret en Lycte / oc it Lius for dine Føder / lader Gud dig tilkiendegiffue / at huis du det vil høre / lære oc annamme / da vil hand være dig et **Lius** / som saaledis skal opliuse / oc forandre din onde / oc arrige Villie / at den her effter / skal være villig til at adliude tiene oc tacke Gud. Hør huad HERren siger hos Propheten Jeremiam / oc hos S. Povel. See Tiden kommer siger HERren / oc jeg vil giøre med Jsraels Huus oc Juda Huus en

Since even in the state of corruption there is a free will to expose themselves to the word of God (through hearing and reading), then it could seem that the above paragraph from the postil has been written for the sake of those who are in the state of corruption. The temporal clauses indicated by the ‘so far’ and ‘hereafter’ suggest that the need to have their mind and will transformed according to the will of God is also a need for the reader, especially when Brochmand presents that *if* they desire to hear the word of God, believe it, and live according to it, *then* God will transform their mind and will. Although the conditionality of it is slightly more emphasized, this seems to be quite congruent with the statement that God does not effect salvation and conversion without a zeal for the word of God expressed in the external hearing of the word.<sup>68</sup>

However, at the same time we find 801 occurrences where Brochmand addresses the reader as a ‘child of God’.<sup>69</sup> Being a child of God (in the systematic sense) is an effect of justification, whereby they are assumed under the law of the children of God.<sup>70</sup> The article on justification is structured as a threefold article with justification being one section, followed by sections on both regeneration and renovation. While they are distinct from each other in various ways, they are also inseparable. Looking aside for a moment the obvious semantic overlap between ‘regeneration’ in close connection to justification and renovation, and the designation of the third state of the free will as a ‘state of regeneration and conversion’, there is also a very clear direct correspondence between the freedom ascribed to the will in the state of regeneration and the effect of regeneration in the human being. Regeneration (in the

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ny Pact: Jeg vil giffue min Low inden i dem / oc skriffue den i deris Hierter: Oc jeg vil være deris Gud / oc de skal være mit Folck. See / her kommer Gud frem / oc lader eder forstaa / at huis i ville det hellige Evangelium antage / det troe oc der efter skaae oc skicke eder / da vil Gud som er det sande Lius / oc JEsus Christus som er det Lius / som opliuser huert Menniske der kommer til Verden / indgaa til eder / oc bliffue hos eder / raade oc regiere / beskytte oc beskerme eder.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 253–54.

<sup>68</sup> “Aphorismus secundus. *Quanquam externus verbi auditus, in hominis non renati arbitrio et potestate positus sit: quanquam etiam Deus salutem et conversionem hominum sine studio isto externo audiendi verbum operari nolit.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 345.

<sup>69</sup> 287 times in the singular ‘Guds barn’ and 514 in the plural ‘Guds børn’, see appendix.

<sup>70</sup> “*Primum Justificationis effectum est adoptio in jus filiorum Dei. Nam simulac homo judicio Dei absolutus est a peccatis, in numerum filiorum Dei adsciscitur, et vitæ æternæ hæres scribitur.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 479. Note also that although regeneration concerns rebirth, Brochmand considers it properly ‘spiritual rebirth’, not adoption. Understood as adoption, both justification and regeneration overlap in signification: “*Regeneratio nonnumquam idem quod peccatorum gratuita remissio et in filio Dei adoptio. Quo sensu justificatio et Regeneratio coincidunt.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 485.



context of justification and renovation) involves a spiritual rebirth whereby the mind, heart, and faculties are transformed so that the subject of regeneration, the carnal human (bound by sin and not led by the Holy Spirit), as opposed to the spiritual human, is freed from the dominion of sin and can dedicate themselves to righteousness.<sup>71</sup> This *actio Dei* must then be exactly that *translatio in statum gratiae* that characterizes the transition between the second and third state with respect to the powers of the will, and must then be understood implicitly in Brochmand addressing the reader as a ‘child of God.’

What seems to remain unclear is that this transition is described as a ‘conversion’, but it also seems that Brochmand uses the same word to designate different things. In the context of the article on free will he distinguishes between two senses in which one can talk of *conversio*. One is the conversion that takes place in the human being not yet reborn:

But it concerns the faculties and powers in the work of conversion of those, who have never been reborn by God, so that by conversion here is understood the transferring of the irregenerate human being from the state of extreme corruption to the state of grace, through which the human being by the power of the Holy Spirit through the word whether preached or read is first converted from sins to holiness, from Devil to God, from errors to truth, from unbelief to faith, from death to life.<sup>72</sup>

It is concerning this conversion that the human being possesses no powers at all to either begin or complete, as already seen. The other is distinguished in the sense that once a human being has been reborn through baptism and inserted unto Christ, they can fall out of grace

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<sup>71</sup> “(2) *Regeneratio est actio Dei, in hac vita incepta, in altera autem plane consummanda. Regeneratio in hac vita incepta, consistit in spirituali illa e Deo nativitate, qua homo mente, corde et facultatibus animæ omnibus ita immutatur, ut abjurato peccati dominio, se totum justitiæ conscret. [...]* (3) *Causa materialis seu subjectum Regenerationis est homo, qui est caro e carne. [...]* Nomine autem carnis non intelligitur carnea hominis moles, corpus vocari solita, animæ, tanquam substantiæ spirituali, opposita, sed voce *carnis* significatur homo natus e peccatoribus peccator, Spiritu Dei destitutus. Frequens enim et familiare est scripturæ, *hominem carnalem*, seu qui non ducitur a Dei Spiritu, sed peccato emancipatus, injustitiæ servit et morti obnoxius est, insignire nomenclatione *carnis*; et contra, hominem renatum vocare *spiritum*.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 482.

<sup>72</sup> “Sed de horum facultate et viribus in conversionis opere agitur, qui nunquam a Deo regeniti fuerunt; ita ut *conversionis voce hic intelligatur hominis irrogeniti e statu extremæ corruptionis in statum gratiæ translatio, qua homo virtute spiritus sancti per verbum sive prædicatum sive lectum a peccatis ad sanctitatem, a Diabolo ad Deum, ab erroribus ad veritatem, ab incredulitate ad fidem, a morte ad vitam primo convertitur.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 350.

through sin. To the extent that they obstinately persevere in sin, they are said to be unworthy of conversion.<sup>73</sup> In the article “On Sin” Brochmand establishes very clearly that it is possible to lose grace, faith, and the Holy Spirit through sin,<sup>74</sup> but the state of being considered ‘unworthy of conversion’ should be understood as the distinction between remissible and non-remissible sin. Non-remissible sin, sin against the Holy Spirit, presupposes full knowledge and conviction of the truth of the gospel and the remedies of forgiveness concurrent with obstinately fighting against and incessantly rejecting the very same remedies of forgiveness.<sup>75</sup>

The third context in which Brochmand talks about conversion is in the article on penitence. Placed semantically as fully synonymous with repentance and conversion, penitence is understood as the complete conversion of the human being through sorrow over sins, faith in Jesus, and an improvement of their life in a new obedience.<sup>76</sup> Even though Brochmand

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<sup>73</sup> “Sermonem notandum esse, non de illorum conversione, qui de baptismum Christo semel infiniti atque ita renati, gratia Dei per peccata exciderunt, ac eapropter conversionis indigni sunt: Tales enim gratia et foedere Dei penitus non exciderunt, nisi in peccatis contumaciter perseverent,” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 350.

<sup>74</sup> Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 495–99.

<sup>75</sup> “*Ultimo dividitur peccatum actuale in (1) remissibile et non remissibile. Peccatum remissibile est cujus venia et remissio impetrari potest. Peccatum autem non remissibile seu (2) peccatum in Spiritum sanctum, D. Johanni 1.Epistl.c.5.v.16. dictum peccatum ad mortem, est quod veniam consequi non potest, quia remedia omnia, per quæ venia obtinetur, pertinaciter repellit. Et (3) definiti solet peccatum spiritum sanctum, veritatis, et quidem Evangelicæ, talis abnegatio, qua homo id, quod convictus a Dei spiritu novit longe verissimum et sanctissimum et unice salutare, maligne et contumaciter oppugnat, non alio fine, quam ut Deo ægre faciat et sua desideria adimpleat, et in hac contumacia vitam finit atque claudit.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 481.

<sup>76</sup> “*Quarto et ultimo vox Pænitentiae designat universam hominis conversionem, qua peccator, dolore serio affectus ob peccata, priorem vitam ex animo detestatur, et ne doloris magnitudini succumbat, fide in Jesum se erigit, atque errata sua, vita in melius mutata, emendat. [...] Quo etiam sensu sumitur a Nobis hoc articulo. Quanquam et tutius et aptius usurpari posset vox Resipiscentiae et conversionis.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 300. See also the explication of the essential parts of repentance: “*Essentiales Poenitentiae partes sunt duæ: videlicet contritio et Fides: quibus accedit tamquam poenitentiae fructus, nova obedientia. [...] (1) Contritio est serius (2) sanctus et salutaris dolor (3) cordis, (4) a Spiritu sancto excitatus, quo (5) agnitus a lege Dei peccatis, ad iram Dei et poenas promeritas expavescimus, (6) peccata toto pectore detestantes, et ab illis liberationem optantes. [...] Fides, (1) altera Resipiscentiae pars, est (2) indubitata cordis fiducia, (3) qua peccator, et artubus omnibus et anima tota tremens ob peccata, (4) certo statuit, Deum non solum aliis, sed etiam ipsi, quantumvis peccatori maximo, velit peccata propter filium Jesum condonare, nec eorum unquam meminisse. [...] Nova obedientia, (1) individuus veræ resipiscentiae fructus, est (2) studium*

alternates between them throughout the article, the structure of their definition emphasizes the complete correspondence, as penitence, repentance, and conversion are all listed in a row. There are several indications that when Brochmand speaks of conversion as penitence and repentance, he is indeed referring to the conversion in the absolute sense that characterizes the *translatio in statum gratiae*. Firstly, because the definition establishes that as necessary requirements for conversion the intellect must be illumined, the will be turned from sin and carnal desires, and also the body included in a transformation of the full human being.<sup>77</sup> Secondly, the instrumental causes of conversion are not only the divine word, expressed in the ministry of law and gospel, but also baptism.<sup>78</sup> Since baptism is a sacrament that is unable to be repeated, is an effectual medium for regeneration and renewal, and confers adoption through faith, here also understood as the entry into the covenant with God, it seems that conversion through baptism also refers to a singular *translatio in statum gratiae*.<sup>79</sup> Thirdly, in describing the material cause, the subject, of conversion Brochmand describes the human being in such a state where it is denied any power of themselves to convert to God, neither to begin, progress, or complete their conversion, except for the fact that they possess the external faculty for hearing the word. The material cause of penitence corresponds completely with the human being in the state of corruption, which is further emphasized by Brochmand's

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*indefessum vivendi ad præscriptum voluntatis divinae, in verbo revelatae, conjunctum cum (3) conatu jugi, actu ipso implendi mandata divina.*" Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 303–6.

<sup>77</sup> "Poenitentia, Resipiscentia, Conversio est (1) intellectus per salutarem Dei agnitionem illustratio, et (2) voluntatis a peccato desideriisque carnalibus aversio, omniumque virium reformatio, adeoque (3) totius hominis mutatio, (4) profecta in solidum a Spiritu Sancto, (5) per ministerium legis et Evangelii, qua (6) homo de admissis peccatis serio dolet, nec tamen dolori succumbit, sed vera fide promissiones, de gratuita peccatorum propter Christum remissione, amplectitur, sibi applicat, (7) vitæque emendat." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 301. These are also explicated as the formal cause of conversion, Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 310.

<sup>78</sup> Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 308.

<sup>79</sup> "(1) Baptismus est (2) prius Novi Testamenti Sacramentum, in quo, (3) Deo mandante (4) homo vivus et in hanc lucem editus, (5) ab ordinario Verbi ministerio (6) in aquam immergitur, aut aqua affunditur, (7) in nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus sancti, (8) ut fides, et per fidem adoptio, et regeneratio, vel conferatur vel confirmetur et obsignetur, homine vicissem se ad obsequium Deo præstandum obligante." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 2003. "(8) Fines Baptismi sunt varii. Primo: In Baptismo nobiscum fædus init Deus, in tutelam suam nos recipiens. [...] Secundo: Baptismus organon est, quo utitur Deus in Fide conferenda. [...] Tertio: Baptismus efficax regenerationis et renovationis medium est." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 2010–11.

frequent textual references to the article on free will.<sup>80</sup> Finally, as part of the final cause, conversion concerns the reception of the human being into grace and a transfer into the kingdom of God (*translatio in regnum Dei*), which again corresponds directly with the *translatio in statum gratiae*.<sup>81</sup> However, at the same time that conversion and penitence so clearly refer to an absolute transfer, whereby the human being, having been converted, is adorned with a free will to do good, Brochmand also establishes equally clearly that repentance (fully synonymous with conversion and penitence) is not a singular event. Rather, it is necessary that repentance, penitence, and conversion must daily be continued and renewed, especially with reference to the weakness of their nature.<sup>82</sup>

### Activity and Confession

If indeed it is possible to fall out of the state of grace through sin, and if a daily conversion is a necessary remedy, then it is understandable if a Christian seems to find themselves in a rather precarious situation, where, on the one hand, they receive grave exhortations to leading a moral life, and the other are instructed that they themselves are incapable of fulfilling these instructions. Several *casus conscientiae* underscore how the experience of this duality might lead to a base level of anxiety. What then is the consolation offered those who despair?

In the first place it seems that the confession stands at the center of how they consider and place themselves in the exchange between states. In the article on free will in those who have been converted, it is noteworthy that there is an almost paradoxical relationship between the

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<sup>80</sup> “*Materialis Conversionis Causa est ipse homo convertendus: (1) in cuius potestate quanquam sit, externis auribus verbum Dei audire; tamen (2) ipsi penitus adempta est omni vis, δύναμις et ἰκανότης, qua se ad Deum convertat, adeo ut Conversionis initium, progressus, successus denique omnis, nulla parte homini, sed soli Deo et Spiritus sancti operationi adscribi debeat. Quocirca (3) licet homo conversus, vere quod bonum est agat, et agere possit; tamen (4) homo convertendus in conversionis negotio, non causæ efficientis, sed tantum materialis rationem sustinet.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 309.

<sup>81</sup> “*Superest Resipiscentiæ seu Conversionis Finis, qui est ex parte Dei (1) ipsius gloria: ex parte autem hominum, (2) in gratiam receptio, (3) poenarum impendentium averruncatio aut mitigatio, (4) in regnum Dei translatio, et (5) æternæ vitæ collatio.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 310.

<sup>82</sup> “*An opus sit continuatione et renovatione resipiscentiæ, et quibus de causis? Tres inprimis sunt causæ, ob quas continuata opus sit resipiscentia. Primo opus est continuatione et renovatione poenitentiae, quia non sufficit semel deflevisse admissa peccata, sed par est, ut præteritorum peccatorum crebra animum subeat recordatio. [...] Secundo jugem poenitentiam et continuatam resipiscentiam suadet naturæ infirmitas, qua tanta est, ut quotidie labamur. [...] Tertio, ad perennem resipiscentiæ continuationem facile nos invitabunt varia continuatæ resipiscentiæ commoda.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 390–91.

freedom and servitude of the will. In establishing that the human being, having been reborn, has a free will even in spiritual matters, it is equally emphasized that the very same reborn human is *not* free in spiritual matters *unless* they consider it necessary to immediately confess that they are held captive under sin.<sup>83</sup> The importance of confessing their captivity is supported by the *casus conscientiae* concerning how a person can be certain that their will has been restored to freedom. There are two signs of this, where the first is a confession of the weakness of their will, which involves the two components of acknowledging the powerlessness of their own powers and an affective response in mourning it, and the second being a firm trust in the merits of Christ followed by an effort to conform their lives to his commandments.<sup>84</sup>

In the second place the confession of their state is closely connected to how they relate to sin. Several distinctions of *peccatum actuale* emphasize that the distinctions do not refer to the nature of the sin committed, but how one relates to the sin after sinning. Already the distinction between remissible and non-remissible sin has indicated this, but the same applies to the distinction between mortal and venial sin. The major difference being whether or not the sin is accounted for in the judgement of God, and the cause of this difference is how one approaches the remedies for sin; whether with serious contrition through repentance they seek forgiveness in Christ and work on improving their lives for the better.<sup>85</sup> This is the

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<sup>83</sup> “Aphorismus tertius. *Homo renatus ita liber non est in Spiritualibus, quin subinde se captivum fateri necesse habeat.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 353.

<sup>84</sup> “Undenam certus esse homo, liberum arbitrium, post lapsum corruptum, et natura servum, in veram libertatem restitutum esse? Pluscula sunt quæ hoc doceant; potissimum vero *duo*. Unum est, *Ingenua imbecillitatis naturalium virium liberi arbitrij confessio*. Vix enim quidquam, quod certiori est indicio et documento, eluctam esse Te e servitute illa peccati, in qua arbitrium tuum detinebatur captivum, quam quod virium tuarum ἀδυναμίαν et οὐδενότητα ipse tum agnoscas, tum defleas. [...] Alterum est; *Certa fiducia in meritum Jesu Christi pariter ac vita mandatis Christi conformis*. Nam qui in Christum totus recumbit, inque vita ad monita Christi conformanda sedulo soliciteque occupatur, hic a servitute peccati in libertatem veram certo assertus est.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 407.

<sup>85</sup> “Tertio dividuntur peccata actualia in *Mortalia et venialia*. Illa sunt quæ Deus homini, etiam fidei et renato, imputat ad mortem; Hæc quæ Deus homini fidei non imputat ad mortem. Quæ *peccati divisio non ex ipsius peccati natura deducta est*: omne enim peccatum natura mortale est *Rom.6.v.16.23. 1.Cor.15.v.16. Gal.3.v.10. veluti cap.2.quæst.2.* fuse demonstravimus: *sed e gratiosa Dei æstimatione desumpta est*. Cum enim tanta sit ipsorum etiam renatorum infirmitas, ut sine labe non sint *1. Joh. 1.v.8*: ita statuit Deus, non quidem juxta *legis rigorem*, qui tantus est, ut qui vel tantillum delinquit, omnino ipsi moriendum sit *Deut.28.v.36. Jac.2.v.10*; sed *juxta gratiam Evangelij æstimationem*, ne quævis peccata fideles morti obnoxios faciant; sed ea tantum, in quæ homo sciens et volens ruit, inque sine seria resipiscentia perdurat. [...] Quæ dictorum scripturæ collatio satis

consolation offered to those who despair that they might have lost the Holy Spirit and faith through committing a serious sin. They should be mindful that God has a fatherly mind and will receive into grace again those who repent, that it is dangerous to indulge in fleshly desires, but that only those who are deaf to admonitions pave their way to eternal damnation.<sup>86</sup>

To the extent, then, that confession of sins and the sinful state and the daily repentance using the divinely prescribed remedies for forgiveness stand at the centre of the dynamic between the state of corruption and the state of grace, it seems more reasonable that a postil addressed to the children of God details the wickedness of their will. Even though the will is free in spiritual matters for the children of God, their freedom is intrinsically connected to and dependent upon the confession of their wicked will. While it is easily recognized that Brochmand in the postil presents numerous exhortation to refrain from sin and to lead a moral life, while also pointing out their incapability of doing so, it seems that when speaking of ‘activity’ in the Christian life, it is perhaps more proper to consider the role of the confession and repentance in establishing and producing a reader in the state of grace and with a free will in spiritual matters precisely through the language that the postil provides for confession and repentance. It is not by chance that a preferred scriptural reference by Brochmand is Luke 17:10,<sup>87</sup> where even in the full completion of faith in Christ and a holy life, there remains for them to bring the confession that they are unworthy servants who have done merely what they ought to:

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docet; ea tantum peccata juxta gratiosam Dei æstimationem censeri mortalia, in quæ homo scienter et contumaciter ruit, et quidem ita, ut de his peccatis non doleat, ab illis liberari non optet, peccatorum horum veniam in Christo non quærat, vitam in melius mutare non adlaboret. Hæc enim qui facit, ei peccata, juxta Evangelicam doctrinam, non sunt mortalia, sed venialia.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 478.

<sup>86</sup> “*Quomodo instituendi sint, qui desperationi proximi sunt, quod aut peccatis, quibus Spiritus Sanctus et fides amittitur, se polluerint; aut in peccata gravia, quorum condonationem semel impetrarunt, iterum prolapsi sint? Qui talibus tentationibus duriter urgentur: his primo instillari debet paternus Dei animus, in missione unigeniti filij luculenter et liberaliter declaratus. [...] Secundo: Affer istas promissiones, quæ diserte testantur, quod Deus homini, etiam in gravia peccata relabenti, parcere et in gratia recipere velit, modo serio resipiscat. [...] Tertio: ubi homo desperationi antea vicinus, ad se nonnihil redierit, moneri ipsum oportet, quam periculi plena res sit, hominem regnitum concupiscentiis carnis indulgere et acceptam semel gratiam non digne usurpare. [...] Quarto: Serio inculcari debet quod ad damnationem æternam sternant sibi viam, qui prolapsi in gravia peccata obsurdescunt ad monitiones, quibus ad maturam resipiscentiam sollicitantur.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 509–10.

<sup>87</sup> “I think not. So you also, when you shall have done all these things that are commanded you, say: We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which we ought to do.” (Luke 17:10)

Whoever are then rightly said to have kept the word of Jesus, he shall with a holy life prove his faith. But here is yet a word, that you shall keep, if you want it to be said of you that you keep the word of Christ, which is that there should finally be found love of your neighbour within you. Boast of your faith as much as you want. Live without punishment as much as you can. It is all in vain, if your heart does not burn with deep love for your neighbour. [...] And we have received this commandment that whoever loves God, he shall love his brother. When you, child of God, have fulfilled all of this, then there is yet another word that you shall keep, thus presented by Jesus Christ in the gospel: When you have done all of these things, which have been commanded you, then say: we are unworthy servants, for we did what we ought to do. Then you should know what the word is that Jesus wants you to keep. Each of you should say: I will keep the word of Jesus. I will of my heart believe in him. I will know of nothing for my salvation except for Jesus. I will with a holy life prove my faith. I will of my heart love my neighbour and voluntarily forgive him all his flaws. I will confess myself to be the greatest sinner and an unworthy servant. You who will keep yourself in such a way, to you will Jesus say: my father shall love you.<sup>88</sup>

## Conclusion

There is a complex relationship between the active and the passive in the Christian life in Brochmand's thought. Previous scholarship has often focused on the negative and pessimistic anthropology of Brochmand with the emphasis on the self-limiting form of this expression of piety. The weight attributed to the word of God, scripture, as the medium of grace meant that

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<sup>88</sup> "Huo der vil da retteligen sigis at **holde JESu Ord** / hand skal met helligt Leffnet bevijse Troen. Men her er endnu **it Ord** / som du skalt effterkomme / om du vilt sigis at **holde Christi Ord**: Som er at her skal endeligen findis Kierlighed hos dig til din Næste. Rose dig aff Troen / saa meget som du vilt: Leff saa ustraffeligen / som du allermest kand: Forgiefuis er det altsammen / saafremt at dit Hierte icke brender aff inderlig Kierlighed til din Næste. [...] Oc dette Bud haffue vi aff hannem / at huø som elsker Gud / hand skal oc elske sin Broder. Naar du Guds Barn haffuer effterkommet alt dette / saa er der enda **it Ord** tilbage / som du skalt holde / saaledis aff JESu Christo andragen udi Evangelio: Naar J haffue giort alle Ting / som eder ere befalede / da siger: Vi ere unyttige Tienere: Thi vi gjorde det vi vaar plictige at giøre. Saa vijde J da huad det Ord er / som JESus vil J skal **holde**. Huer sige: Jeg vil holde JESu Ord: Jeg vil aff Hiertet tro paa JESum: Jeg vil intet andet vijde til Salighed end JESum: Jeg vil met it helligt Leffnet bevijse min Tro: Jeg vil af Hiertet elske min Næste / oc all hans Brøst hannem godvilligen tilgiffue: Jeg vil bekiende mig for den største Syndere / oc for en unyttig Tienere. Du som dig saaledis forholder / til dig siger JESus: **Min Fader skal elske dig**." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio*. *Sommer-Parten*, 432–33.

the activity of the human being was reduced to the passive reception of the word through hearing while awaiting God's work in them. While Brochmand's anthropology did suggest in no uncertain terms that the human being can contribute absolutely nothing to their own salvation, it is a far too simplistic conclusion.

Both systematically and practically, Brochmand establishes that while the human being receives everything from God, they are of their own capacity able to produce obstacles for the efficacy of grace. While the human being in their state of corruption is weakened in mind, heart, and body so that it can contribute nothing to their conversion, there still remains a free will for exposing themselves to the medium of conversion: hearing the word of God, whether by participating in public assemblies or by private devotion. To the extent that they are capable of producing obstacles and expose themselves to the word of God, there is a proscribed activity to which they shall be driven. In this sense Brochmand can encourage them to work diligently on their salvation and introduce conditions in the postil, which almost give the impression that their salvation is dependent on their pious lives, even while carefully balancing it with considerations on grace as the sovereign gift of God.

Without establishing any contradictions between exhortations to action and emphasis on passive reception, the examination shows that they are united in the paradoxical relationship of freedom and boundness in the act of confession. As the third step in describing the conditions of the human being in the state of grace, one finds the marvellous exclamation that their freedom in spiritual matters is directly tied to the confession that they are bound by sin. In the very moment of confessing their boundness, they are demonstrating their freedom. For the same reason, Brochmand redefines the distinction between mortal and venial sins, so that it concerns the question of whether they seek their forgiveness by using the remedies provided for them. The daily confession of their sinful nature as found in the postil is therefore intrinsically connected to the holy life, for it is in that confession that they find themselves in the state of grace, regeneration, and renewal, whereby Christ lives in them and and through them. The postil as a medium and instrument for confession thus becomes an indispensable tool in the praxis of piety.



## Chapter 4: Meditation as Praxis of Piety

### Early Modern Lutheran Homiletics

When the Church Ordinance (1537/9) took form during the reformation in Denmark-Norway, it included the stipulation that if the rural pastors were not able to preach the Lutheran faith, then they were permitted to read aloud from a postil from the pulpit.<sup>1</sup> This allowance was intended to facilitate the dissemination of the new faith through preaching tools for the clergy as well as assisting in their religious instruction. One such tool was the postil of Hans Tausen (1494–1561), where he explicitly states in the preface to the reader that his postil has been written for the sake of those who are not well educated, especially the pastors, who needed to be trained in order to be able to remain in their offices and still be able to teach the laity. For this reason the pastors were encouraged to use the postil to teach themselves during the week, so that they would be able to teach the congregations during Sunday service.<sup>2</sup> This allowance was later retracted on two different occasions, both in 1546 and in 1555, since it was now expected that the pastors could show exegetical and homiletical independence and the postils ought only serve as homiletical tools.<sup>3</sup> Lutheran homiletics after the reformation seems to have initially been shaped by this need for doctrinal instruction. An early instance of such an attention is Melanchthon's *Institutiones rhetoricae* from 1521, where he introduces the *genus didascalicum* as an addition to the three classical *genera* of rhetoric: *judiciale*, *deliberativum*, and *demonstrativum*. This *genus* is particularly useful for the church, since the sermon cannot

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<sup>1</sup> "Et si qui ex praesentibus parochis pie praedicare nequeant, tantisper dum id addiscant ex danicis postillis ad verbum suis praelegant et Euangelii enarrationem et catechismi explicationem, sed tamen vt cum tempore assuescant per se praedicare," *Kirkeordinansen 1537/39*, ed. Martin Schwarz Lausten (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1989), 106.

<sup>2</sup> Hans Tausen, *Winterdelen aff Postillen berid aff M. Hanss Tausen / Predickere y Kjøbenhaffn* (Magdeburg: Hanss Walther, 1539), fols. A 7 r - A 8 v.

<sup>3</sup> Johansen, "Preacher and Audience: Scandinavia," 309; Mary Jane Haemig and Robert Kolb, "Preaching in Lutheran Pulpits in the Age of Confessionalization," in *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675*, vol. 11, ed. Robert Kolb, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition Series, vol. 11 (Boston: Brill, 2008), 126–27. On a broader European scale this development is also noted in the occurrence of the role of the 'Postillenreiter', the rider of postils, a derogatory term for a preacher who was too lazy to write their own sermons and thus would read from a postil instead, John M. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 196.

only consist of persuasion or dissuasion, but must also consist of instruction in doctrine.<sup>4</sup> While we do find other theoreticians who valued persuasion above or next to teaching, such as Erasmus in his *Ecclesiastes* from 1535, Melanchthon's groundwork did have a significant impact on preaching theory in the following generations.<sup>5</sup> One way in which this influence manifests itself can be traced in the connection between homiletics and the *loci* method. This was a method of preaching recommended by Melanchthon that ensures that the *loci* of Christian doctrine are related to the exposition of the pericope. In this way the *loci* provides a way for the preacher to focus their exegesis on that which is particularly important for their listeners.<sup>6</sup> At the tail end of the 16th century, and on the way into the 17th century, the *loci* method is visibly present in homiletical treatises and manuals as a way of structuring how to communicate the contents of faith (broadly speaking) throughout the liturgical year. Aegidius Hunnius (1550–1603) covers the first part of the liturgical year in *Methodus concionandi* when providing suggestions for *loci* that are particularly relevant for each pericope, and in *Concionator* Nicolaus Rebhan (1571–1626) presents 80 *loci* that are assigned to a selection of Sundays and feast days for the entire liturgical year, when it would be particularly suitable to preach on that topic.<sup>7</sup> Parallel to the methodological developments, one also finds an increased focus on the polemical functions of the sermon. Borne out of the confessional controversies, the pastors also saw a need to use the sermon to establish the boundaries of the confessions, instruct in true doctrine while warning against false doctrine, and draw out the visible markers of confessional identity.<sup>8</sup> In the introduction to his sermon collection, the superintendent of Saxony, Polycarp Leyser (1552–1610), states as the occasion for the publication:

Es ist ein hohe wichtige Frag / und fleissiger betrachtung wol wirdig / da man fragt / wie es komme / dieweil jetziger Zeit im heiligen Römuchen Reich / fürnehmlich drey

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<sup>4</sup> Beth Kreitzer, "The Lutheran Sermon," in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor, A New History of the Sermon Series, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 49–50.

<sup>5</sup> Amy Burnett, "How to Preach a Lutheran Sermon: A Comparison of Lutheran and Reformed Homiletics," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 63, no. 2 (2007): 110–12; Kreitzer, "The Lutheran Sermon," 50–52; Haemig and Kolb, "Preaching in Lutheran Pulpits," 136–37.

<sup>6</sup> Krēsliņš, *Dominus Narrabit in Scriptura Populorum*, 48.

<sup>7</sup> Krēsliņš, *Dominus Narrabit in Scriptura Populorum*, 50; Aegidius Hunnius, *Methodus concionandi, praeceptis et exemplis dominicalium quorundam evangeliorum comprehensa* (Frankfurt: Johannes Spies, 1595); Nicolaus Rebhan, *Concionator quomodo comparatus esse, quaque ratione conciones suas instituere debeat, ut Ecclesiam Christi aedificet [...] (Jena: Tobias Steinmann, 1625)*, 334–44.

<sup>8</sup> Bodo Nischan, "Demarcating Boundaries: Lutheran Pericopic Sermons in the Age of Confessionalization," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 88 (1997): 200–202. doi:10.14315/arg-1997-jg07.

unterschiedliche unnd sehr hefftig wieder einander streitende *Religiones* gefunden werden / Als eine der Evangelischen / die man die Lutherischen nennet / Die ander der Calvinisten / die sich die Reformierten / Unnd die dritte der Papisten / die sich selbs die Catholischen nennen.<sup>9</sup>

While the didactic function was impactful, it should also not be overstated, as if the early modern sermon could be reduced to knowledge dissemination. Later generations of preachers realized that knowledge of faith is not enough, but that the personal appropriation is a necessary element, which is traceable both in the homiletical treatises and postils.<sup>10</sup> The highly significant homiletical textbook by Andreas Hyperius (1511–1564), *De formandis concionibus*, shows a manifold approach to the function of the sermon.<sup>11</sup> In addition to teaching, the formal characteristics of the sermon were also to delight and to influence (*docere, delectare, flectere*). Continuing the work already begun by Melanchthon and Erasmus in expanding and transforming the conception of *genus* in the context of ecclesiastical rhetoric, Hyperius sets out to develop a new theory based on scripture. The starting point is 2 Tim 3:16 and Romans 15:4, which leads to a five-fold categorization of the function of scripture, and by extension also what the preacher is bound by when explicating the pericopes for the sermon. The five *genera* are doctrinal, refutative, institutive, corrective, and consolatory (*doctrinale, redargutivum, institutivum, correctorium, consolatorium*).<sup>12</sup> While these categories generally refer to specific types of sermons, Hyperius also adds a *genus mixtum* to account for sermons that do not neatly fit into these categories.<sup>13</sup>

In the 17th century one also finds an increased interest in the role of emotions and experience in homiletics, especially as the function shifts to a focus on personal reform. In Paul Tarnow's preaching manual, *De sacrosancto ministerio*,<sup>14</sup> he makes the connection between the

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<sup>9</sup> Polycarp Leyser, *Christianismus, Papismus et Calvinismus. Das ist / Drey unterschiedliche Auslegung des Catechismi Lutheri* (Wittenberg: Johann Gormann, 1610), fol. A ii r.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Kaufmann, *Universität und lutherische Konfessionalisierung: die Rostocker Theologieprofessoren und ihr Beitrag zur theologischen Bildung und kirchlichen Gestaltung im Herzogtum Mecklenburg zwischen 1550 und 1675* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1997), 611–12.

<sup>11</sup> Andreas Hyperius, *De formandis concionibus sacris, seu de interpretatione scripturarum populari. Libri II* (Marburg, 1553).

<sup>12</sup> Kreitzer, "The Lutheran Sermon," 51–52; Krēsliņš, *Dominus Narrabit in Scriptura Populorum*, 56–57; Hyperius, *De formandis concionibus*, fol. 77r.

<sup>13</sup> Krēsliņš, *Dominus Narrabit in Scriptura Populorum*, 58; Haemig and Kolb, "Preaching in Lutheran Pulpits," 138.

<sup>14</sup> Paul Tarnow, *De sacrosancto ministerio* (Rostock: Johann Hallervord, 1625).

meditation as a private praxis of piety and the sermon. Not only when the purpose of meditation on sermons is explicated in a twofold manner as teaching and moving, but also when it is expected that part of the sermon preparation on the part of the preacher consists, in addition to prayer, of intense text-meditation and the use of visual imagery to stimulate the senses and the imagination in order to move their own affects, for only when the preacher has a burning desire for God can they instill the same in others.<sup>15</sup> Later homiletics also reflect more directly the increased individualization of piety as it pertains to the role of the preacher. Heinrich Müller in his *Orator Ecclesiasticus* makes the distinction that the trustworthiness of the preacher and their message is directly dependent on their own personal experience.<sup>16</sup>

## Doctrine and Cognition

While Brochmand does not have a fleshed out homiletics, in *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* he does argue that one of the chief functions of a pastor is to instruct the congregation in true doctrine, which he understands as catechetical instruction and teaching sacred scripture.<sup>17</sup> The latter is further separated into preaching and explication of scripture more generally understood. With recourse to 2 Tim 3:16,<sup>18</sup> Brochmand lists four ends of this activity, which provides a fourfold purpose of the sermon: instructing in doctrine, disproving false opinions, correcting vices, and teaching righteousness, which align well with the didactic function of contemporary Lutheran homiletics.<sup>19</sup> For this reason it is also not surprising that Koch identifies a close relationship between the dogmatics and the postil, with the latter being a popular, vernacular exposition of the former. He argues that Brochmand builds upon a foundation of Lutheran dogmatics in order to give an exposition of scripture as interpreted by

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<sup>15</sup> Krēslis, *Dominus Narrabit in Scriptura Populorum*, 64–74.

<sup>16</sup> Kaufmann, *Universität und lutherische Konfessionalisierung*, 505–6.

<sup>17</sup> “*Primum officium Sacerdotale est, oves Christi sana doctrina veluti spirituali cibo pascere. Sanam autem doctrinam, quando nominamus: Catechesin et ipsam scripturam sacram intelligimus.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 887. Similar ideas are presented in a more practical manner in the admonition to the pastors of the bishopric of Zealand, Brochmand, *Formaning til Geistligheden vdi Sielands Stict*.

<sup>18</sup> “All scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice.” (2 Tim 3:16)

<sup>19</sup> “*Primus finis, ad quem in concionibus attendere oporteat Concionatorem, διδασκαλία est. [...] Secundus finis, ad quem in concionibus et scripturarum explicatione collimare oporteat verbi divini ministrum, ἔλεγχος est, seu falsarum sententiarum et cælesto vertati adversarium libera atque nervosa refutatio. [...] Tertius finis, spectandus ab homine Dei in scripturarum interpretatione ἐπανόρθωσις est seu corruptorum morum correctio. [...] Quartus et ultimus finis, spectandus a verbi divini ministro in scripturarum explicatione, παιδεία est ἐν δικαιοσύνη.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 888–90.

the church in a fruitful application in the Christian life and accordingly considers the postil as representative of the Lutheran sermon at the time.<sup>20</sup> Initially, the the conception of the postil as didactic reflects its language quite well. In the 145 sermons ‘doctrine ‘ or ‘erudition’ (*lærdom*) occurs 558 times, while ‘teaching’ occurs 237 times as a verb (*undervise*) and 65 times as a noun (*undervisning*), and knowledge (*kundskab*) 139 times.

Many of these instances concern exhortations to seek the erudition of Jesus (*Jesu kundskab* or *Jesu lærdom*), but they also reflect an attention in the sermons to thematic doctrinal expositions. Most sermons do not have clear and distinct themes, but in cases where the pericope allows it Brochmand does tend to structure the exposition of the pericope thematically. Some of these themes are doctrinal, such as baptism on The Last Sunday after Epiphany, eucharist on Maundy Thursday, the Holy Spirit on Pentecost, the signs of the church on the 3rd Day of Pentecost, justification on the 4th Sunday of Lent, and angels on Michaelmas. Other times the thematic sermons are more exhortatory, such as charity on the 9th Sunday after Trinity, but nonetheless still didactic in their form. In addition to the sermons that have an explicit theme, Brochmand also includes a range of shorter digressions that find their proper place through the course of the exposition of the pericope, while deviating from the main theme (when there is one). Some of them are of a distinctly doctrinal nature, dealing with topics such as the two natures of Christ,<sup>21</sup> the ubiquity of Christ,<sup>22</sup> the power and sufficiency of scripture,<sup>23</sup> what it means that the Son is lesser than the Father,<sup>24</sup> and the practice of the laying on of hands.<sup>25</sup> Others are exhortatory, not primarily in the sense of encouraging a particular course of action, but rather didactic in explaining the proper disposition for feeling sorrow over their sins and providing examples of the proper expression

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<sup>20</sup> E.F. Koch, “En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent,” 709–11. See also Johansen’s conclusion (derived from Nørager Pedersen) concerning Brochmand’s understanding of the sermon: “The true meaning of the sermon is not to reproduce the incident in the text, but to display the doctrines or ethics of the same. As a matter of fact the sermon does not intend to bring Christ together with his redemption near to the congregation: the aim is fulfilled by the mere fact that it supports the truth of the Gospel so that they remain unwaveringly firm.” Johansen, “Preacher and Audience: Scandinavia,” 319.

<sup>21</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 28–29; Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 1189–91.

<sup>22</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 555.

<sup>23</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 532.

<sup>24</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 444.

<sup>25</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 497–99.

of a holy life.<sup>26</sup> However, Koch's conclusion still needs to be nuanced, for two reasons in particular, which concern the form and the function of the postil.

## Dispositions and Layout

In his analysis, Koch recognizes that the expositions of *Sabbati Sanctificatio* are not sermons in the proper sense. There are no sources to suggest that they were ever held for a congregation before their publication, such as manuscripts or sources for Brochmand's preaching practices as a professor. Furthermore, the dedications in both volumes indicate that the intended setting for the postil was not primarily the church, but religious instruction in the household. Brochmand does not specify this directly, but merely presents that the postil has been published as a testimony to the piety in which the noblewomen Barbara Wittrop (1591–1653) and Anne Lunge (1610–52) raised their children and household; especially the summer part, which contains a short treatise on the blessings that God will give to those parents who teach their children and household knowledge, will, and fear of God.<sup>27</sup> A few years after the publication of *Sabbati Sanctificatio* we see further evidence of Brochmand's particular attention to the catechetical instruction of especially the youth. In the first diocesan convention after his ordination to bishop of Zealand in 1639, Brochmand presented a programme for catechetical instruction that included not only the catechism but also a collection of scriptural passages organised around the articles of faith.<sup>28</sup> The work continued the following years with increasingly stricter decrees concerning the examination of young people in the catechism during episcopal visitations, and a missive in 1643 declared that young people should not be betrothed before they had proven that they knew their catechism.<sup>29</sup> Even then, because the expositions of *Sabbati Sanctificatio* resemble those

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<sup>26</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 90–91; Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 349–51; Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 665–66; Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 1064–66.

<sup>27</sup> “Til et Vidnisbyrd paa saadan Guds Fryct / oc til et ringe Tegn / for mange oc store Velgierninger / Jeg oc Mine hafue aff Eders Velbyrdige Herre oc Hosbond / Her Hoffmester / saa oc aff Eder self oppebaaren / da hafuer jeg mig tilfordriftet / eders Gunstige / gode oc Velbyrdige Fru Anne Lunge / Her Just Høgs / dette lille Arbejde tienstvilligen at tilskrifue: Ynskende aff Gud / udi vor HErris JEsu Naffn / at Guds Naade oc Velsignelse maa forblifue offuer Eders kiere Herre oc Hosbond / den gode Velbyrdige Her Hoffmester / saa oc offuer Eder / oc offuer eders elskelige Adelige Børn / oc offuer eders gandske Hus / nu oc evindeligen / Amen.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, fol. iiiii v.

<sup>28</sup> See also Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Sententzer / Aff den Hellige Skriff / Til Troens Bestyrckelse / for de Enfoldige / Samlet til Menighedens store Nytte* (Copenhagen: Jørgen Lamprecht, 1644), which was possibly a resource intended to assist in fulfilling this obligation.

published sermons of Brochmand that do exist, and because of the impact that Brochmand had on the following period in Danish preaching history, Koch still approaches *Sabbati Sanctificatio* as if it was a collection of published sermons.<sup>30</sup> This approach is likely to have impacted his evaluation of the expositions, particularly when it comes to their function and structure.

Looking at the external structuring features of the postil, they differ from contemporary postils in some plain, but important areas. First in the lack distinguishable paragraphs. The pericopes and prayers are separated from the body of the exposition, but the exposition itself is always only a single continuous stream of text. This has the consequence that it becomes more difficult to use Brochmand's postil for sermon preparation. There is no easily accessible overview of the individual exposition and the only way to have such an overview is to read through it in its entirety. This was remedied somewhat in the subsequent editions of the postil, since the 1655 edition renders the expositions in a two-column format with clearly marked paragraphs that match the flow of the exposition. There is also no index of the expositions, neither topical, nor scriptural.

The impact of the layout choice is enhanced by the second observation, which is that the postil only utilizes dispositions to a very minimal extent. A common feature of contemporary postils would be to divide the sermon into manageable paragraphs and then use the marginalia to provide an external structure to the sermon in the form of a disposition. These were often connected to the practice of sermon writing, where the pastors were encouraged in their preparations for the Sunday sermon to design a disposition, write out the sermon in its entirety as a mnemonic practice, but then only bring the disposition with them to the pulpit. As the pastor became more experienced, they might not need to write out the sermon for themselves anymore, and for that reason the subsequent publication of the sermons would often rely more on the mere dispositions rather than any sermon manuscripts. In *Sabbati Sanctificatio*, Brochmand does occasionally use dispositions as part of the body of the exposition, though their prevalence seems to have been slightly exaggerated by Nørager Pedersen, who sees the statement of the theme and the following division of the text into a disposition as the default approach.<sup>31</sup> However, dispositions in the body of the expositions are almost nonexistent in the winter part, and although the summer part initially has such divisions after the *exordium*, they are not used with regularity. Furthermore, the marginalia is

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<sup>29</sup> Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark*, 148–53.

<sup>30</sup> E.F. Koch, "En Skildring af Biskop Jesper Brochmand som theologisk og asketisk Skribent," 702; Johansen, "Preacher and Audience: Scandinavia," 318.

<sup>31</sup> Nørager Pedersen, *Prædikenens Idéhistorie*, 219–21.

never used to provide this external structure in the form of a disposition and is only used for scriptural references. When Koch compares *Sabbati Sanctificatio* to other sermons by Brochmand, he is likely referring to Brochmand's extensive praxis of funeral sermons. It is interesting to note that in the funeral sermons Brochmand does furnish the marginalia with dispositions in addition to scriptural references. While it is likely that there was a general relation between Brochmand's preaching as a professor and the expositions published in the postil, these external features seem to indicate that Brochmand did not base *Sabbati Sanctificatio* on existing sermon manuscripts, but that he wrote the expositions for the occasion of the publication, and that the intended use was not primarily as an instrument for the pastors' sermon preparation.<sup>32</sup>

### **Application of Faith**

The second problem concerns the function of the postil, specifically the question of what it is trying to solve. What is the problem of the human condition? While there are doctrinal and exhortatory digressions to support the function of religious instruction, as well as exhortations to believe and trust the word of God, these are commonly overshadowed by even stronger exhortations that knowledge of the articles of faith and scripture is insufficient if it is not accompanied by a living faith and a holy life.<sup>33</sup> These exhortations take many different shapes. There are 79 occurrences of sentences that begin with 'it is not enough' (*det er icke nock*) and then initiate a section that places certain conditions on their salvific status. In some cases this is merely a way of bridging paragraphs in order to give exposure to equally valid parts, but in the majority of cases it is directed at preventing a false security that comes when formal criteria for salvation are specified and then fulfilled. Participation in church services is essential in order to hear the preaching of the word and receive the sacraments, but it is imperative for Brochmand to state that this praxis in itself is of no benefit to the congregation if they do not act upon it in working daily on demonstrating their faith in active love. Their confession that Christ died for them will be rendered naught if they do not mortify their sins daily.

Here you have briefly and clearly described what the right deeds of the Sabbath could be. It is not enough that you on the Sabbath hear the word of God. It is not enough that you read the word of God and pray to God. Do you want to suitably keep the Sabbath, then do as Jesus does here: Visit the ill, help the sinner, take care of the poor, invite

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<sup>32</sup> For a visual comparison of paragraph structure and marginalia, see Appendix C.

<sup>33</sup> See also Chapter 2 concerning the relationship between instruction and application.



the lame, the cripples, and the blind. Give them something to eat and to drink. That is the right way to keep the Sabbath.<sup>34</sup>

It is not enough to be called a true Christian, that you with your mouth confess: Christ has died for me. Christ has risen for me. If you truly want to say that you believe this out of your heart, then use the death of Christ in such a way that you daily mortify the sin which is in you. Use the resurrection of Christ in such a way that you daily arise in a new life.<sup>35</sup>

The same is extended beyond the church praxis itself to the erudition of faith. Here it is not enough to know a lot about God if a holy life in outward expression of love does not follow. This exhortation is directed not only at the congregation, but also as an admonishment to the preachers that their office is not limited to teaching about God and Christ. They should also instruct their congregation in righteousness.

It is not enough for you to truly be said to be in the Christian church if you know of no other doctrine than that of Jesus Christ and that you boast of faith. You must finally be adorned with wedding clothes and prove your Christianity and your faith with a holy life.<sup>36</sup>

Look as if in a mirror on the five foolish virgins, who had lamps, but did not bring oil with them. It is not enough that you have the word of God in the lamp of your mind and heart, speak a lot about it, are well read in it. Here must the oil of faith, here must the oil of love be added. Where they are not found, there will the lamp die out. In vain

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<sup>34</sup> ”Her haffue J korteligen oc klarligen beskreffuet / huad de rette Sabbaths Gierninger monne være. Det er icke nock / du paa Sabbathen hører GVDS Ord: Det er icke nock / at du læser Guds Ord / oc gjør din Bøn til Gud: Vilt du tilbørligen holde din Sabbath: Da gjør som JESus her gjør: Besøg den Siuge: hielp den syndige: Haff Omsorg for den Fattige. Biud ind til dig halte / Krøblinge / Blinde / giff dennem at æde / gif dennem at dricke: Det er ret at holde Sabbath.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 1147.

<sup>35</sup> ”Det er icke nock at du kand sigis en sand Christen / at du met Munden bekiender: Christus er død for mig: Christus er opstanden for mig. Vilt du i Sandhed sigis at du dette aff Hiertet troer / da brug saaledis Christi Død / at du dagligen døder Synden som er udi dig: Brug saaledis Christi Opstandelse fra de Døde / at du huer Dag udi eet nyt Leffnet opstaar.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 529.

<sup>36</sup> ”Det er icke nock / at du kand sigis sandferdeligen / at du est i den Christne Kircke / at du kiender dig icke til anden Lærdom / end Jesu Christi / oc at du roser dig aff Troen: Du maat endeligen prydis met Bryllups Klæder / oc din Christendom oc din Tro met helligt Leffnet bevijse.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 507–8.

will you think that you can enter the kingdom of God with Christ the groom because you have known a lot about God, and yet not acted according to it. Such a delusion about the kingdom of heaven is a great insanity.<sup>37</sup>

It is not enough, you servants of the word of God, that you teach your audience about the boundless mercy in Christ. You should also keep in mind to admonish them, who have been entrusted to you, that they lead a life that is worthy and proper for Christian people.<sup>38</sup>

These passages correspond well with Nørager Pedersen's observation that there is a very fine interplay between explication and application in Brochmand's postil and that the explication of doctrine does not take place for doctrine's sake,<sup>39</sup> which is also increasingly recognized as a characteristic of 16th and early 17th-century Lutheran preaching.<sup>40</sup> It seems then that the main problem of Brochmand's postil is not primarily a lack of knowledge of doctrine, although instruction in matters of faith is still an important part of it. Rather, the lack of personal appropriation and the demonstration of faith in a holy life is the central problem. There is a false sense of security that comes from thinking that agreeing to the right doctrine, participating in institutional worship, and living a life without major faults could be sufficient.<sup>41</sup>

In order to upset their false security, Brochmand instils an element of conditionality in the readers, as was already pointed out in the preceding discussions in Chapters 2 and 3. The

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<sup>37</sup> "See eder udi Spegel paa de fem daarlige Jomfruer / huilcke haffde Lamper / men toge icke Olie med sig. Det er icke nock / at J haffue udi eders Sinds oc Hiertis Lampe GVds Ord: tale meget der om: ere vel der udi belæste. Her vil alt Troens Olie / her vil alt Kierligheds Olie til. Huor de icke findis / der sluckis Lampen ud. Forgæffuis tencker du / at gaa ind udi Guds Rige med Brudgommen Christo / fordisaa du haffuer vist meget om Gud / oc dog intet giort der effter. Saadan Jndbildning om Himmerige er en stor Galenskob." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 1195.

<sup>38</sup> "Det er icke nock / i GVds Ords Tienere / at J lære vel eders Tilhørere om Guds grundløse Barmhiertighed i Christo: J skulle oc tencke til at formane dennem / som eder er betroet / at de føre it Leffnet / som Christne Mennsker eigner oc vel anstaar." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 306.

<sup>39</sup> Nørager Pedersen, *Prædikenens Idéhistorie*, 217.

<sup>40</sup> Kreitzer, "The Lutheran Sermon," 53–54. See also Albrecht Beutel, "Lehre und Leben in der Predigt der lutherischen Orthodoxie. Dargestellt am Beispiel des Tübinger Kontroverstheologen und Universitätskanzlers Tobias Wagner (1598–1680)," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 93 (1996): 419–49.

<sup>41</sup> See for example Andersen, *Dansk Syn paa Fromhed og "Gudfrygtigheds Øvelse" i ældre Luthersk Tid*, XXXIX.

readers should be admonished that mere knowledge is insufficient, but they should also work on their salvation. This conditionality does of course not alter the foundation for justification, for only the grace of God given by the Holy Spirit on account of Jesus Christ can be that basis, and Brochmand's treatment of the will also shows that only through the same grace are they made capable of living a holy life in so far as Christ lives in and through them. For this purpose, God depends on certain media: word and sacrament. In the distinction between *gratia ordinaria* and *gratia extraordinaria*, the ministry of the gospel is the means through which all human beings are called<sup>42</sup> and in the article "On the Union of the Faithful with Christ", Brochmand lists four media through which this union is accomplished: hearing and considering the divine word, a proper administration of the sacraments, faith, and the imparting of the Holy Spirit.<sup>43</sup> This ministry of the word is then closely connected to Brochmand's recognition that the human being has a passive fitness for conversion, on account of which God can enact conversion through hearing, preaching, and meditation upon the word.<sup>44</sup> Private devotion, in particular private reading and meditation of the word, is a highly valuable praxis, which is encouraged on multiple occasions, although Brochmand also makes it quite clear that private devotion cannot replace participation in the public church services.<sup>45</sup> In the explication of the third commandment, keeping the Sabbath, which has given name to the postil, there are both things to be avoided and to be done in order to fulfill this commandment. Those that should be avoided are the tasks that are "servile, mechanical, laborious, profitable, daily, and ordinary", with exceptions for the use of fire and tasks that are necessary.<sup>46</sup> Concerning the things to be done, one should participate in the church service

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<sup>42</sup> Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 552.

<sup>43</sup> "Media, quibus peragitur hæc unio, sunt quatuor. Primum est verbi divini auscultatio et observatio [John 14:24]. Secundum est Sacramentorum decens administratio [Gal 3:27; John 6:56]. Tertium est Fides [John 17:20-21]. Quartum est Spiritus sancti communicatio [1 John 4:13]." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 788

<sup>44</sup> "Homo itaque habet passivam *ικανότητα* ad conversionem, quæ in res inanimes aut brutas non cadit. Quare etiam Deus conversionis opus expedit verbi auditione, predicatione, meditatione." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 350–51.

<sup>45</sup> "Casus conscientiæ IV. An suffecerit homini Christiano, accupari assidue in verbi divini privata lectione, intermissa penitus publica verbi divini auditione." Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema I*, 96–97.

<sup>46</sup> "Prohibetur ergo quodvis opus, servile, mechanicum, laboriosum, quæstuosum, quotidianum & ordinarium; adeo ut interdicat etiam spiritu Dei [Ex 16:22; Num 15:32; Ex 35:3; Ex 16:14, Ex 34:21; Neh 13:15; Jer 17:20-22; Neh 13:15-16]. Hic tamen *duæ cautiones* observandæ sunt. Una est; *de ignis accensione, Sabbatho prohibita, non agi nisi in extructione tabernaculi, qua Deus docere voluit, operam istam non esse tam sanctam, quin die Sabbathi possit ac debeat intermitteri. Neque prohibitio apparatus cibi videtur extendenda ultra tempus miraculosæ cibationis per panem cælitus missum. [...]* Altera est; *Opera servilia, Sabbatho interdicta, concedi &*

with hearing the word and receiving the sacraments, do works of charity, and prepare oneself by avoiding shameful deeds and instead set aside time for a holy life and spiritual exercises. However, the most interesting point in this context is that, while the ideal is that they should dedicate the entire day to the practices of the public assembly of the church, an allowance is given that if this is not possible, then they should spend the day in private meditation on the divine word and the divine works.<sup>47</sup> Hearing the word in public and reading scripture in the home are presented as parallel practices. Domestic devotion is essential, as already indicated by the dedications to Anne Lunge and Barbara Wittrup, and the postil also includes exhortations that describe the ideal practices in the household:

What, then, is said of the holy apostles, of which the holy angels often so diligently took care? The Spirit of God gives this testimony that they not only taught in the temples during the day, but even also preached the gospel about Jesus Christ in the homes. Do you then wish to have the holy angels with you, then teach your children and servants about the fear of God, sing in your house the holy hymns, read at home the most honorable word of God, pray the godly prayers. If you do that, then God and the holy angels will live and stay with you.<sup>48</sup>

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*licita esse, ubi urgens necessitas id poscit.*” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 94–95

<sup>47</sup> “Porro quod attinet opera, quibus Sabbathum sanctificatur, ea potissimum sunt; (1) In publico Ecclesiæ cætu verbum divinum audire Actor.15.v.21., preces cum reliqua Ecclesiæ fundere 1.Tim.2.v.1.seq., sacramenta usurpare, aut sacramentorum usurpationem devote aspicere 1.Cor.11.v.18.19.seq. (2) Totum diem impendere sacris exercitiis, quæ in publico cætu celebrantur Psalm.92.v.2.seq. Actor.20.v.7., aut si hoc non conceditur, saltem insumere totum diem, privatæ verbi divinæ et operum divinorum meditationi Deut.6.v.6 7.Psal.1.v.1.seq. Coloss.3.v.16. Esa.58.v.13. (3) Opera charitatis exercere: qualia imprimis sunt: stipem in usum pauperum colligere aut conferre 1.Coring.16.v.2. Hebr.13.v.16.; animas salvare Marc.3.v.4. ægrotos visitare et curare Luc.14.v.4.seq., et ut in uno verbo absolvam, ἐνεργεσίαν in quosvis exercere Matth.12.v.12.seq.: (4) A quibusvis flagitiis sibi cavere, et vitæ sanctimoniam, et spiritualibus exercitiis ita vacare, ut hac de devotione apti efficiamur, qui reliquam septimanam pie et sancte transigamus Esa.1.v.15.seq. et 58.v.13.seq. Amos 5.v.21.Exod.31.v.13. Esa.56.v.2.” Brochmand, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema II*, 95.

<sup>48</sup> “Huad staar der om de hellige Apostle / paa huilcke de hellige Engle saa flitteligen altid toge vare? Dette Vidnesbyrd giffuer dennem Guds Aand / at de icke alleeniste lærde i Templen om Dagen / Men end ocsaa udi Husene prædickede Evangelium om JEsu Christo. Vilt du da haffue de hellige Engle hos dig / da lær dine Børn oc Tiunde Guds Fryct: siung udi dit Hus de hellige Psalmer: læs hiemme det høyværdige Guds: bed de Gudelige Bønner. Giører du det / saa skal hos dig bo oc blifue Gud oc de hellige Engle.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 1127.

The close connection to keeping the Sabbath is reinforced when Brochmand repeats to the readers the main points from *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* about the deeds that are to be done, which is participating in the church service with sacraments, sermon, and prayer, as well as reading the word of God in the homes.<sup>49</sup> These two zones of church and household are repeated when the reader is encouraged to remember that even if they do not see Christ with their physical eyes, he is yet present no matter where they find themselves: “When I come to the house of God, when I am home by myself, even though I do not see you, Lord Jesus, with these exterior eyes, yet I believe that you are present.”<sup>50</sup> Considering the exhortations to private meditation and household devotion, it becomes relevant to consider the postil in the context of meditation.

### Meditation and Brochmand

The scholarly tradition of treating *Sabbati Sanctificatio* as a collection of sermons did not come out of nowhere, but is a reflection of both publication practices and practical use. Beyond the historical examples of the public reading of Brochmand’s expositions as part of church assemblies, one ought to pay attention to the title change in the 1719 edition, where *Sabbati Sanctificatio* was replaced with ‘House Postil’ (*Huus-Postill*); a change that persisted in all subsequent editions. However, during the first almost hundred years the subtitle to *Sabbati Sanctificatio* is perhaps a more accurate reflection of how Brochmand conceived of his publication: “Godly Consideration and Brief Explanation of all Gospels and Epistles, which on Sundays and all Holy Days in the Congregation of God throughout the entire year are commonly set forth and treated” (*Gudelig Betenckning oc Kort Forklaring offuer alle Evangelier oc Epistler, som paa Søndage oc alle hellige Dage, udi Guds Meenighed det gandske Aar igiennem pleyer at fremsettis oc forhandlis*). The translation of *Betenckning* to ‘consideration’ is not a simple choice to make. The semantic field of both the noun itself and its equivalent verb was quite broad in Brochmand’s time, which is also indicated by Matthias Moth’s dictionary from around 1700. For Moth’s entry on *betenke* he includes, but does not limit the possible translations to, *pensitare*, *meminisse*, *contemplari*, *cogitare*, *considerare*,

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<sup>49</sup> “Der tuifle icke paa / at mand jo maa forrette om Sabbathen / alt huis der kand tiene til Sielens salige Gode oc Gaffn. Huo vil necte / at mand jo maa / oc endelige bør / om Sabbathen at høre Guds Ord / at bruge Sacramenterne / at indstille sig med Guds Meenighed til Bøn oc Paakaldelse at giøre til Gud / hiemme at læse Guds hellige Ord. Herudi kunde J icke, ville icke heller sige imod.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 1145–46.

<sup>50</sup> “Naar jeg gaar udi Guds Huus: Naar jeg er hiemme hos mig selff: Endog jeg icke med disse udvortis Øyne seer dig HERre JEsu: Saa troer jeg dog / at du est tilstede.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 78.

and *meditari*.<sup>51</sup> Here we find a significant overlap with the use of the German *Betrachtung*, which had come to be the preferred vernacular term for meditation in the early modern period.<sup>52</sup> A glimpse at both Moth and also Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch shows a similar semantic field for the Danish *betragtning* and *betragte* as well as the German *Bedenkung*.<sup>53</sup>

Although only a small sample is accessible, the contemporary German-Danish translation practices for meditation literature seems to support the dictionary entries. In the translation of Martin Moller's devotional writings, *Soliloquia de passione Jesu Christi* demonstrates the equivalence of *betrachten* and *betracte*,<sup>54</sup> while in the translation of the title to *Manuale de praeparatione ad mortem*, *Betrachtung* is first translated as the noun *Betractelse*, but then secondly specified as the act associated with it using the verb *betencke*.<sup>55</sup> Additionally,

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<sup>51</sup> "Beténke, b," Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, accessed July 12th, 2025, <https://mothsordbog.dk/ordbog?select=Betenke,b&query=betenke>; "Beténkning, b," Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, accessed July 12th, 2025, <https://mothsordbog.dk/ordbog?select=Betenkning,b&query=betenkning>

<sup>52</sup> Gerhard Kurz, "Zur Bedeutung der 'Betrachtung' in der deutschen Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Meditation und Erinnerung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Gerhard Kurz, Formen der Erinnerung, vol. 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 226 and "Betrachtung," Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch, accessed July 12th [http://fwb-online.de/go/betrachtung.s.1f\\_1732127979](http://fwb-online.de/go/betrachtung.s.1f_1732127979)

<sup>53</sup> "Betragtning, b," Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, accessed July 12th, 2025, <https://mothsordbog.dk/ordbog?select=Betragtning,b&query=betragtning>; "Betragte, b," Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, accessed July 12th, 2025, <https://mothsordbog.dk/ordbog?select=Betragte,b&query=betragte>; "Bedenkung," Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch, accessed July 12th, 2025, [http://fwb-online.de/go/bedenkung.s.1f\\_1732958981](http://fwb-online.de/go/bedenkung.s.1f_1732958981)

<sup>54</sup> Martin Moller, *Soliloquia de passione Jesu Christi. Wie ein jeder Christen Mensch das allerheyligste Leyden vnd Sterben vnsers Herrn Jesu Christi in seinem Herten bey sich selbst betrachten, Allerley Schöne Lehren, vnd heylsamen trost darauß schöpfen, vnd zu einem christlichen Leben, vnd seligen Sterben, in täglichem Gebet vnd Seuffzen, nützlich gebrauchen sol. Aus heiliger Göttlicher Schrift, vnd den alten Vätern, mit fleiß zusammen getragen* (Görlitz, 1587); Martin Moller, *Soliloquia de passione Jesu Christi. Hvorledis ethvert christet Menniske vor Herris Jesu Christi allerhelligste Lidelse oc Død i sit Hierte eller hos sig self skal betracte.. tilsammendragen ved Martinum Mollerum.. aff Tydsken udsat paa Danske Tungemaal ved Herman Holstein* (Copenhagen: Peter Hake, 1647).

<sup>55</sup> Martin Moller, *Manuale de Præparatione ad Mortem. Heylsame vnd sehr Nützliche Betrachtung, wie ein Mensch Christlich leben vnd Seliglich sterben sol* (Görlitz, 1593); Martin Moller, *Manuale de præparatione ad mortem. Det er: en skøn oc meget nyttelig Betractelse ideligen at betencke, hvorledis it Menniske skal christeligen leffue oc saligen dø Tilsammenskreffuen paa høy Tydske aff Martino Mollero oc nu nyligen fordansket [af Hans Oldeland]* (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartor, 1613).

Johann Gerhard's *Meditationes Sacrae*, a classic among Lutherans devotional treatises, was given the translated title *hellige Betænckelser*.<sup>56</sup> Finally, although it is a later work and the Danish translation belongs to the 18th century, Christian Scriver's *Gottholds zufällige Andachten* received a Danish in translation in 1730 where the phrase *zufällige Andachten* was separated into the pair *andægtige indfald og Aandelige betænkninger*.<sup>57</sup> Considering the structure for the meditations, *Sabbati Sanctificatio* differs from the aforementioned works by utilizing the pericopes for the liturgical year, and is in this respect closer to Balthasar Meisner's *Meditationes Sacrae* and Matthias Winckelmann's *Manna Spirituale*.<sup>58</sup> Irrespective of the choices made in how to structure the works around particular objects of meditations (liturgical pericopes, passion narratives, psalms, prayers, nature, everyday objects, etc.), the contemporary translation practices help narrow down the semantic field for Brochmand's use of *betenckning* and place him in a tradition of genres concerned with meditative devotional practices.

### Rhetorical Strategies in *Sabbati Sanctificatio*

As outlined in the introduction, Günter Butzer's understanding of meditation as part of a broader praxis of psychagogy seems helpful in approaching the meditative aspects of Brochmand's postil. In the following, *Sabbati Sanctificatio* will be examined through the lens of psychagogical praxis with a focus on rhetorical strategies, specifically visual language and

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<sup>56</sup> Johann Gerhard, *Quinquaginta Meditationes Sacrae ad veram pietatem excitandam, & inferioris hominis profectum promovendum accomodatae* (Jena: C. Lippold, 1606); Johann Gerhard, *Siælens Klenode som indeholder It oc halffrediesindstive Hiertens hellige Betænckelser, udi den salige Religions atskillige Artickle : udaff den H. Scrifft kortelig sammenscreffne : alle fromme Christne til en sand Gudfryctigheds oc det indvortis Menniskis forfremmelse, saare tienlige ved Johannem Gerhardum ; oc nu aff Latinen paa Danske udsæt: Af Christen Christenssøn Winter* (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartor, 1614).

<sup>57</sup> Christian Scriver, *Gottholds Zufälliger Andachten Vier Hundert / Bey Betrachtung mancherley Dinge der Kunst und Natur / in unterschiedenen Veranlassungen zur Ehre GOTTes / Besserung desz Gemüths / und Übung der Gottseligkeit[...]* (Leipzig: Johann-Erich Hagnen, 1679); Christian Scriver, *Gottholds andægtige Indfald og aandelige Betænkninger : to Hundrede i Tallet : ved mange adskillige Tings Betragtelse, og udi Kunsten og Naturens givne Anledninger : til Guds [re, Sindets Forbedring, Sjælens Opmuntring, og Gudsfrøgtighedens Øvelse* (Gottholds andægtige Indfald: Salomon Hieronymus, 1730).

<sup>58</sup> Balthasar Meisner, *Meditationes Sacrae In Evangelia Dominicalia* (Wittenberg: Job Wilhelm Finzel, 1622); Matthias Winckelmann, *Manna Spirituale, Das ist: Geistliche Himmel-Speise : Aus Gottes heiligen Worte/ I. In Morgen- und Abendsegen/ II. In Fest- und Sonntags-Andachten/ III. In Catechismus-Gebete / Also zusammen geles* (Leipzig: Thorhell, 1675).

affective qualities (*tristitia/laetitia*), culminating in the implementation of dialogical characteristics with a formative intent.

### *Visual language*

Brochmand utilizes a variety of visual language, which serves to involve the reader in using their imagination. For the gospel exposition on the 9th Sunday after Trinity, Brochmand invites the reader to participate in an imaginary exercise that is intended to support the theme of the exposition, which is charity. The readers are supposed to envision themselves at their deathbed and think back on their lives and what they have done. Here, as they imagine this, they are not actually asked the question of whether or not they were charitable towards the poor. Rather, the reader is asked to consider what a great thing it would be, if they could declare with confidence on that day, that they had indeed acted with charity as had been proscribed in the exposition until that point:

Was it not well that you could on your day of death say and sing from the psalm: Blessed am I, who have considered the poor: The Lord will save me in this evil time. The Lord shall keep me and keep me alive if it is to his glory and for my blessedness. The Lord will refresh me on my bed of illness. He will help me get rid of all my sickness. What could be more joyous than in the time and hour of death to be able to say: Lord Jesus, I have kept your commandments, which say: Give and to you shall be given. Give to me, who is now leaving this life, that life which will never end. I have, according to your word, made friends with the unrighteous mammon, when I have clothed the naked, fed the hungry, given lodging to the poor, visited the prisoner. Let me now, according to your promise and holy commitment, be received in the eternal dwellings. Of course I know that I can never with my poor alms, which I have received from your hands, acquire for me the kingdom of heaven and the eternal dwellings in the kingdom of God. I know the answer Simon received when he wanted to purchase the Holy Spirit and the kingdom of God with money. Thus St. Peter says to him: Your money will be your condemnation, when you think that you can receive the gift of God because of money. I know that the eternal life is the gracious gift of God in Christ Jesus our Lord. But that I do believe, that if I believe in Christ Jesus of all my heart and daily cleanse myself from sin by his blood, and of all effort aid the poor, then after this life I will certainly be received in the eternal dwellings.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> “Vaar det icke got / at du kunde paa Dødsens Dag sige oc siunge aff Psalmen: Salig er jeg / som hafuer taget mig den Nødtørffte til: HERren skal frelse mig i denne onde Tid. HERren skal bevare mig / oc skal holde mig ved Liffuet / om det er hannem til ære / oc mig til Salighed. HERren skal vederquege mig paa min Sotteseng:



Invoking the imagination is part of a rhetorical strategy that places the visual element in the forefront. In a directly meditative exercise, the readers are asked to look at each of their own limbs and use those as an occasion for an intense examination of each limb and their own sinfulness. Going through both eyes, ears, mouth, hands, and feet, the reader should consider whether they are clear of the sins associated with each body part and the moral misuse of their body:

Look to your limbs, to your external deeds, and let them teach you whose servants you are. Pay attention to your eyes, that they are not like the kind of which Solomon speaks: that they gladly look at foreign women. [...] Look to your ears, that they are not like the kind of which David speaks in the psalm: their madness is like the viper's madness, like a deaf lizard, who stops their ears so that they will not hear the voice of the charmer or the wizard that charms well. [...] Look to your mouth and tongue, that it is not counted among those people, which is described in the psalm: in their mouth is nothing true. [...] Turn your eyes to your hands and diligently take notice that they are not counted among those people about whom the Lord says by the prophet Isaiah: your hands are full of blood. Look to your hands that they are not among those, about whom there is written in the psalm: they are in the company of falsehood and fraud. They willingly receive gifts. Pay attention to your feet, that they are not like St. Paul drawing from the psalm: they are quick to shed blood. Examine your body and limbs and consider that you do not take the limbs of Christ and turn them into the limbs of a whore. Examine well, that you do not give your limbs as weapons of unrighteousness

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Hand skal hielpe mig aff ald min Siugdom? Huad kand være glædeligere / end paa Dødsens Tid oc Time at kunde sige: HERre JESu / jeg haffuer effter dit Bud holt mig / som saa liuder: Gifuer / oc eder skal giffuis. Giff du mig / som nu drager aff dette Liff / det Liff / som aldrig faar Ende. Jeg haffuer / effter dit Ord / giort mig Venner aff den wretfærdige Mammon / i det jeg haffuer klædt den Nøgne / spiset den Hungrige / annammet til Herberg den Fattige / besøgt den Fangne. Lad nu mig / effter dit Løffte oc hellige Tilsagn / indtagis i de ævige Bolige. Vel veed jeg / at jeg kand icke med min ringe Almissee / som jeg haffuer aff din Haand bekommet at uddeele / forhuærfue mig Himmerige oc de ævige Bolige i Guds Rige. Jeg veed huad suar Simon fick / som vilde kiøbe den Hellig Aand oc Guds Rige til for Pendinge. Saa siger til hannem S. PEder: Dine Pendinge bliffue hos dig til Fordærffuelse / at du acter mand kan bekomme Guds Gaffue formedelst Pendinge. Jeg veed / at det ævige Liff er Guds Naades Gaffue i Christo JESu vor HERre. Men det troer jeg / at huis jeg troer aff Hiertet paa JESum Christum / oc dagligen renser mig aff Synden ved hans Blod / oc jeg aff yderste Formue bistaar den Fattige / da skal effter dette Liff jeg visseligen annammi i de ævige Bolige.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 921–22.

for sin. If you do this and serve sin with your limbs, then you should never think that you are the servants of God or Jesus Christ.<sup>60</sup>

This self-examination of their limbs is closely tied to the concluding statement of identity. The purpose is guided by an understanding of a correspondence between the internal and the external, that there are visible signs to identify to whom they belong: God or the devil/world. The praxis contains within it a warning by giving examples of concrete sins that the reader must hope that they do not find through the self-examination, and the examples of Adam and Eve and Achitophel demonstrate the severity of the warning.<sup>61</sup> However, the expectation is not that the self-examination should lead to despair. In a structurally similar passage, the starting point is exactly that the result of their self-examination is that they observe the many great sins that their hands and feet have committed. However, instead of despairing, they should turn their eyes away from their own physical bodies and look instead at the hands, feet, and body of Christ, remembering his merits of the cross. There is a direct correspondence between the human limbs as weapons of unrighteousness and the limbs of Christ as holiness, which gives comfort when they are confronted with their own faults. This takes place not only in the sense that the holiness of Christ becomes theirs against their own unrighteousness, but also in the sense that by considering Christ with the eyes of faith, in this

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<sup>60</sup> “Seer til eders **Lemmer** / til eders udvortis Gierninger / oc aff dennem lader eder undervijse / huis Tienere J ere. Giffuer act paa eders Øyne / om de icke ere aff de slags / som Salomon omtaler: At de gierne see til de fremmede Quinder. [...] Seer til eders Ørne / om de icke ere aff de slags / om huilcke David taler udi Psalmen: Deris Galenskab er ligesom en Hugorms Galenskab / som en døff Øgle / som tilstopper sit Øre / at hun icke skal høre Troldkarlens Røst / oc den Maneris / som vel kand mane. [...] Seer til eders Mund oc Tunge / om den icke er iblant det Folekis Antall / saaledis udi Psalmen beskreffuen: J deris Mund er intet vist. [...] Vender eders Øyen til eders Hænder / oc med fljd anmercker / om de icke ere aff de Menniskers antall / om huileke HErren siger hos Propheten Esaia: Eders Hænder ere fulde aff Blod. Seer til / at eders Hænder ere icke iblant dem / om huilcke der staar i Psalmen: De omgaaes med Falsk oc Suig / oc tage gierne Gaffuer. Giffuer act paa eders Fødder / om de icke ere som S. Povel siger aff Psalmen: Deris ere snare til at udøse Blod. Beskuer eders Legeme oc Lemmer / oc seer der effter / om J icke tage Christi Lemmer / oc giøre dennem til Skøge Lemmer. Seer vel til / om J icke giffue eders Lemmer Synden til wretfærdigheds Vaaben. Giøre J dette / oc J med eders Lemmer tiene Synden / da tør J aldrig tenecke / at J ere Guds oc JEsu CHristi Tienere.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 844–45.

<sup>61</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 847. “And when they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in paradise at the afternoon air, Adam and his wife hid themselves from the face of the Lord God, amidst the trees of paradise.” (Gen 3:8) “But Achitophel seeing that his counsel was not followed, saddled his ass, and arose and went home to his house and to his city, and putting his house in order, hanged himself, and was buried in the sepulchre of his father.” (2 Sam 17:23)

manner God will give them strength through Christ so that their limbs will once again be capable of walking in holiness, such as is demonstrated by this longer passage:

There is not a single thing, which in dismay, which in temptation or disturbance, however it might arise, that can comfort more strongly than considering in a godly manner that Jesus, true God and the only begotten son of God, has become a true and yet holy human being and has borne on his body your sins and for your righteousness with the very same body arisen from the dead. Here is comfort, here is joy, here is council against all offences. When such thoughts arise in your heart: see, these hands have done much evil, these feet have walked many a sinful path, these members have been the weapon of injustice. Do not despair, but turn the eyes of your faith and of your attentive heart to the hands of Jesus, to the feet of Jesus and say: Lord, I have sinned a lot against you. I have not, as I ought, sacrificed my members to you in holiness. I find no council and salvation within me against such misery. But when I in mind and heart in persistent faith and trust embrace and grasp the holy body of Jesus, then I will receive and find comfort and with greatest trust place the holiness of the life of Jesus against all accusations that can be brought against me because of everything that I have done with hands and feet and other members. [...] When you thus consider the hands of Jesus, the feet of Jesus, the body of Jesus, then God for the sake of Jesus Christ will give you strength so that you can use your members in holiness. When you feel that you in this fragile and mortal life cannot get so far that sin will be entirely mortified in your members, then turn to the hands of Jesus, the feet of Jesus, the holy body of Jesus, given for you in death, and say: although I cannot come so far in perfection in this life, that my members could be entirely free from sin, then I will not therefore fall into despair, but I will consider the hands of Jesus, the feet of Jesus, pierced for my sins, the side of Jesus, opened for my transgressions, the entire body of Jesus, from head to toe, pitifully worn out for me. [...] Whoever in this way and manner considers why Jesus is dead, he will properly consider the hands and feet of Jesus, which Jesus here presents. And when it reaches such a point with temptation of a human being that he does not find any comfort at all anywhere, then he should go to Jesus and in a persistent faith consider the hands of Jesus, the feet of Jesus, now risen from the dead. For the Jesus, whose body death could not hold, so that he would rise from the grave with the very same body, that had hung on the cross, which he also shows to the disciples as he commands that they should grab it and feel it, considering that a spirit does not have flesh and bones. The same Jesus will

powerfully drive out all temptation. Thus have all Christians and blessed children of God comforted themselves by resurrection of Christ and themselves.<sup>62</sup>

### *Eyes of Faith*

Beyond the meditative exercises of self-observation and -reflection, Brochmand also reflects on the manner in which the readers should see. He utilizes the concept of the ‘eyes of faith’ as well as the interchangeable expression ‘eyes of the heart’ to refer to a particular mode of seeing that is transformed through faith. These eyes are contrasted in two ways: the eyes of flesh and the eyes of reason. Brochmand understands the challenge that is presented to his

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<sup>62</sup> ”Jngen ting er der / som i Forfærdelse / som i Anfectning oc Forstyrning / ihuoraff den monne komme / kan kraffteligere trøste / end at mand Gudeligen betencker / at JEsus / en sand Gud / oc Guds eenbaarne Søn / er blefuen it sant / dog helligt Menniske / oc hafuer paa sit Legeme baaret dine Synder / oc dig til Retfærdighed / med selfsamme Legeme fra de Døde opstanden. Her er Trøst / her er Glæde / her er Raad imod all Anstød. Naar saadanne Tancker opstige i dit Hierte: See disse Hænder hafue gjort meget ont / disse Føder haffue vandret paa mangel syndig Stie / disse Lemmer hafue været uretfærdighedsens Vaaben: Misztuifle icke / men vende dine Troens / oc dit andectige Hierts Øyne til JEsu Hænder / til JEsu Føder / oc siig: HERRE jeg haffuer megit syndit imod dig: Jeg haffuer icke som det sig burde i all Hellighed offret dig mine Lemmer: Vdi mig finder jeg imod saadan Elendighed ingen Raad oc Redning: Men naar jeg udi Hu oc Hierte / udi stadig Tro oc Tillid / faffner oc fatter JEsu hellige Legeme / saa faar oc finder jeg trøst / oc med største Tillid setter JEsu Liffs oc Leffnets Hellighed imod all den klagemaal som kand føris imod mig / for alt huis jeg met Hænder oc Føder / oc andre Lemmer kand haffue synderligen beganget. [...] Naar du saaledis beskuer JEsu Hænder / JEsu føder / JEsu Legeme / saa skal Gud for Jesu Christi skyld giffue dig Krafft til at du i all Hellighed kan bruge dine Lemmer. Naar du nu mercker / at du i dette skrøbelige oc dødelige Liff / icke kand komme saa viit / at Synden vil slet uddø aff dine Lemmer / saa vend dig til JEsu Hænder / til JEsu Føder / til JEsu hellige Legeme / for dig hengiffuet i Døden / oc siig: Endog / jeg icke kand komme saa viit i fuldkommenhed i dette Liff / at mine Lemmer kunde bliffue Synden slet quit / saa vil jeg dog icke derfor falde i Miszhaab: Men jeg vil besee JEsu Hænder / JEsu Føder / for mine Synder igiennem borede: JEsu Side for mine Offuertrædelser aabnet: JEsu gandske Krop for mig / fra Top oc til Taa / ynckeligen medfaren. [...] Huo paa denne maade oc maneere betencker huorfor JEsus er død / hand retteligen beskuer JEsu Hænder oc Føder / som JEsus her fremviser. Oc naar det kommer saa høyt ved Fristelse med it Menniske / hand siunis nu slet ingen Trøst nogensteds at finde / da gaa sig hen til JEsu / oc udi stadig Tro beskue JEsu Hænder / JEsu Føder / nu fra de Døde opstanden. Thi den JEsus / huis Legeme Døden icke kunde holde / at hand jo med det selff samme Legeme aff Graffuen opstod / som haffde paa Kaarset hengt / huilcket hand ocsaa viiser her Disciplene / biudendis / at de skulle tage derpaa oc føle derpaa / eractendis at en Aand icke haffuer Kiød oc Been: Den samme JEsus hand skal veldigen udriffue dig aff all Fristelse. Saaledis haffuer alle Christne oc salige Guds Børn / trøstet sig ved Christi oc deris opstandelse.“ Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 109–11.

contemporary readers when they consider the great temporal distance between themselves and what they encounter in scripture, and what it means for their state compared to the disciples. In Luke 10:23, Jesus declares the eyes of the disciples blessed, because of what they have seen. From that statement Brochmand anticipates an anxiety in the readers, that because they are unable to see Jesus with the eyes of the body, they are not considered blessed: “No one who lives now should say: Is this the true blessedness, to see Jesus with the eyes of the body and of faith, where is then my blessedness, I, who has not seen Jesus with these exterior eyes”.<sup>63</sup> The physical act of seeing is not unimportant, but it has been suspended as they await the resurrection on the final day, where they will see with the eyes of the body. Until that day, the example of the Galatians is a comfort because they also never saw Christ physically, but in faith through the preaching of Christ crucified:

Does not St. Paul say to the Galatians, who never with exterior eyes had seen Jesus, but only had heard sermons about him, that Jesus was set forth before their eyes and was crucified among them? And so that you, who of your heart believes in the crucified Jesus and build your blessedness on him alone, should lack nothing for your blessedness, then know that the day will come on which you shall joy see the Lord Jesus, which you so far had only seen with the eyes of faith.<sup>64</sup>

Seeing Christ with the eye of faith provides a great comfort when they experience a distance between themselves and God. This is presented as a theme on Ascension Day, where that distance becomes very real for the disciples and by extension also the readers. Brochmand introduces a meditative exercise that the readers can bring with them into their everyday life. Whenever they look at the sky, they should use that as an occasion to be reminded of the ascension, but in such a way they do not despair that Christ is gone from the earth and distant from them. Instead, they can see him with the eyes of faith and through that he is close to them in a much truer sense than if they had seen with physically:

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<sup>63</sup> ”Jngen / som nu leffuer / sige: Er det den rette Salighed / at see JEsu med Legemens oc Troens Øyne: huor bliffuer da min Salighed aff / jeg som icke med disse udvortis Øyne haffuer seet JEsu.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 1020.

<sup>64</sup> “Siger icke S. Povel til sine Galater / som aldrig med udvortis Øyen haffde seet JEsu / men alleene haffde hørt prædicke om JEsu / at JEsu vaar malet dem for Øyen / oc vaar kaarsfest iblant dem? Oc paa det dig / som aff Hiertet troer paa den kaarsfeste JEsu / oc paa hannem alene bygger sin Salighed / intet skal mangle til Salighed / da viid / at den Dag skal komme / paa huilcken du med Glæde skalt med udvortis Øyne see den HERre JEsu / huilcken du hid indtil med Troens Øyne haffuer beskuet.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 1020.

You child of God, never lift your eyes to the sky without saying in your heart: You my Lord Jesus, who became too miserable for the sake of my sins that you complained that you were abandoned by God, your father, you have with honour and divine majesty been lifted from the earth from your state of misery and ascended into heaven and a cloud took you up from the eyes of the disciples. Lord Jesus, to you I will lift my heart and my soul and to you I will say like David said in days of yore: I lift my eyes to the mountains, from where my help comes. My help comes from you Lord Jesus, who made the heaven and the earth. Let be, Lord Jesus, that I do not see you here with these visible eyes. I yet see you with the eyes of my soul and of faith. Even though you are gone from these exterior senses and vision, then you are yet not gone from me, but are much closer to me, than I am to my self. I grasp and embrace you in mind and heart and believes in your words, which you said when you ascended to heaven: See, I am with you to the end of the world.<sup>65</sup>

So also in the Eucharist, which is an event experienced in receiving the physical bread and wine. The exhortation to the reader is that they should not linger by the physical manifestation, but through the eyes of faith they will see that Christ is truly present and gives himself through it. When observing the hand of the pastor, they should instead see the hand of Jesus who healed the sick and has been given all power and through that be confirmed in the efficacy of the Eucharist:

Just as your external eyes in this holy and high communion is turned towards the hands of the man of God, who holds the bread, so should your eyes of the heart be properly turned towards Jesus who equally with the ministers of the word of God

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<sup>65</sup> “Løfft aldrig / du Guds Barn / dine Øyne til Himmelen / du jo siger udi dit Hierte: Du min HERRe JESu / som vaar bleffuen saa elendig for mine Synders skyld / at du beklagede dig / aff Gud din Fader at være forlat / du er met Ære oc Guddommelig Mayestet opløfftet her aff Jorden fra din Elendigheds Stand / oc optagen til Himmelen / oc en Sky tog dig op for Disciplenis Øyen. HERre JESu / til dig vil jeg løffte mit Hierte oc min Siel: Oc til dig vil jeg sige: som David sagde udi forlumme Dage: Jeg løffter mine Øyne op til Biergene / hueden mig kommer Hielp. Min Hielp kommer fra dig HERre JESu / som gjorde Himmel oc Jord. Lad være HERre JESu / at jeg seer dig icke her met disse siunlige Øyne: Saa seer jeg dig dog met mine Sielis oc Troens Øyne: Est du end skiønt borte fra disse udvortis Sandtze oc Siun: Saa est du alligevel icke borte fra mig / men er meget nermere mig / end jeg er mig selff. Jeg fatter oc fauffner dig udi Hu oc Hierte / oc troer paa dine Ord / som du sagde / der du nu opfoerst til Himmelen: See jeg er hos eder indtil Verdens Ende.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 358.

holds the bread and accomplishes that it can become a powerful medium by which the body of Jesus Christ above all reason can be communicated and given.<sup>66</sup>

The contrast to the eyes of reason concerns a particular mode of reading. Reason is a stumbling block for many in approaching scriptures, because it is not able to understand the miracles that take place there. But when seeing scriptures with the eyes of faith, they can not only understand the truth of the miracle, but also the deeper meaning behind it, how it relates to Christ and themselves.<sup>67</sup> This was also the fault of the doubting Thomas who would only believe if he could see Jesus with his external eyes. In this he was guided by reason, which is unable to understand the mysteries of faith, but with reference to John 20:29 Brochmand comforts the readers that seeing with the eyes of faith is the mode through which they are called blessed and by which they will make their confession.<sup>68</sup> The hermeneutics of this distinction concerns the infinite contrast between world and God, between crucified and glorified Christ, between sin and saviour, between perishable and eternal. Brochmand often focuses on the negativity in order to turn it around, precisely in and through the negativity. The debasement of Christ as God born into this world and as a king riding an ass is a stumbling block for the natural human being, but through the eyes of faith that very debasement is turned into glorification because it contains the grace of God:

Then your God will say to each of you: See, your king is coming to you, meek and riding an ass and the subdued colt. Open up your eyes of faith, you children of God, and pay attention to that which is here set before you. For here is something that is worthy to see and behold. See, the one who is coming in such a despicable form, he is the one of whom God says: When I brought my first born son into the world, then I said: All God's angels should adore him. [...] How could it then be that this king, who in himself is so glorious, he comes here so miserable and despicable? Hear, you child of God, what the Spirit of God here teaches you, saying: You know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he became poor for your sake, when he was rich, so that by his

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<sup>66</sup> "Ligervijs da som dine udvortis Øyne henvendis udi dette hellige oc høye Giestebud til Guds Mands Hænder som tager paa Brødet: Saa skal dit Hiertis Øye ret henvende sig til JESum / som lige med Guds Ords Tienere tager paa Brødet / oc det udretter / at det kand bliffue et krafftigt Middel / ved huileket JESu Christi Legeme kan offuer all Forstand meddeelis oc gifuis." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 766.

<sup>67</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 1100.

<sup>68</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 161–66. "Jesus saith to him: Because thou hast seen me, Thomas, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen and have believed." (John 20:29)

poverty you should become rich. Rejoice now with the Prophet Zechariah and say: See, here is my king, who has debased himself for me and has become poor.<sup>69</sup>

This dichotomy of poverty and richness is indicative of the persistent theme of the contrast between human sinfulness and Christ's perfection. This contrast is not to be solved, but is maintained, and it is exactly through the eyes of faith that this becomes possible. For the gospel exposition on the 3rd Sunday after Epiphany, a part of the pericope consists of a passage about the centurion in Capernaum (Matt 8:5–13), where Jesus praises his faith. In Brochmand's explication, the eyes of faith is that mode of seeing whereby the reader is capable of not only comparing themselves to the centurion, but are allowed to let the words apply directly to themselves as if they were the centurion:

You who believe this in the humility of your heart and does not look anywhere else with your eyes of faith than at your own incompetence and Jesus' infinite goodness and ineffable power, hear what Jesus judges about you: When Jesus heard that, he marvelled and said to those who followed him: Truly, I tell you, in all of Israel I have not found such a faith.<sup>70</sup>

Likewise in the benefits of the crucified Christ, by lifting their eyes of faith to the cross, they will be able to confess that only Christ is their salvation.<sup>71</sup> This act of seeing is deeply tied to

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<sup>69</sup> "Da siger eders Gud saaledis til huer aff eder: **See din Konge kommer til dig sactmodig oc rider paa en Asen / oc paa den undertuingede Asenindes Føll.** Lucker op eders Troens Øyne / i Guds Børn / oc giffuer act paa det som her eder fremstillis: Thi her er noget som er verdigt at see oc beskue. See / den som kommer her udi saa foractelig Gestalt / hand er den om huilken GUD siger: Der jeg indførde min første fødte Søn i Jorderig / da sagde jeg: Alle Guds Engle tilbede sig hannem. [...] Huor monne det da gaa til / at denne Konge / som i sig selff er saa herlig / hand her kommer frem saa ringe oc saa foractelig? Hør du Guds Barn / huad Guds Aand der om lærer dig / sigende: J kiende vor HERRis Jesu Christi Naade / at hand for eders skyld er bleffuen fattig / der hand vaar rjg / at i ved hans Fattigdom skulle bliffue rige. Glæd dig nu med Propheten Zacharia / oc sig: **Se / her er min Konge** / som haffuer for min skyld fornødret sig / oc er bleffuen fattig." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 15–16.

<sup>70</sup> "Du som dette troer udi dit Hiertis Ydmyghed / oc seer ingen anden steds hen / med dine Troes Øyne / end paa din egen Wduelighed / oc JEsu wendelig Godhed / oc wbegribelige Mact: Hør huad JEsus hand dømmer om dig: **Der JEsus det hørde / forundrede hand sig / oc sagde til de, / som hannem effterfulde: Sandelige siger jeg eder / saadan en Tro haffuer jeg icke fundet i Israel.**" Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 353.

<sup>71</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 696; Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 556–57.



passion meditation, as the observation of the blood of Christ is a source of consolation in their anxious struggle against sin. However, such a consolation is only ever possible when perceiving the suffering Christ through the eyes of faith:

Teach the people that when their sins in this way squeeze and pressure them, so that they do not know what to do, then they ought to go to Jesus and with the faith observe how he has sweated the bloody tears and in the heart by faith assume these bloody tears and say: the blood of Jesus Christ cleanses all sins. Teach the people that when they fight with death and with hell, then they should lift their eyes of faith to Jesus and say: Death, where is your victory? Hell, where is your sting. God be praised who gives us victory because of our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>72</sup>

The significance of the eyes of faith also goes beyond matters of salvation and ties in directly with their physical conditions here on earth. In its negative expression, Brochmand states that when they are sick and do not receive healing, then a cause is that they seek their answers from the doctor and do not do as the Israelites did in the desert:

This is what St. James teaches, when he says: when someone is sick among you, he should summon the elders in the congregation and they should pray for him. This is forgotten now. We seek council with the doctor. We do not think about Jesus, we do not think about he ministers of the word of God. We don't do as they did in the desert who, when they had been bitten by the glaring snakes, would lift their eyes to the clobber snake and were helped. We do not lift the eyes of our heart and faith to Jesus hanging on the cross so that by his holy wounds we could be liberated from bodily and spiritual sickness.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> "Lærer Folcket at naar deris Synder saaledis trycker oc trenger dennem / at de icke vjide huad de skulle giøre / at de da gaar hen til JEsu / oc med Troen beskuer / huorledis hand sueder de blodige Taare / oc udi Hiertet ved Troen optager disse blodige Taare / oc siger: JEsu Christi Blod renser aff alle Synder. Lærer Menniskene / at naar de kiempis med Døden oc med Helffuede / de da løfte deris trois Øyne op til JEsu / oc sige: Død huor er din Seyr? Helffuede huor er sin Braad? Gud være Loff som giffuer os Seyr formedelst vor HERre JEsu Christum." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 305–6.

<sup>73</sup> "Det er det S. Jacob lærer / sigendis: Er nogen siug iblant eder / hand kalde til sig de Eldste aff Meenigheden / oc bede sig de ofuer hannem. Saadant glemmis nu. Vi søge Raad hos Lægen: vi tæncke intet paa JEsu: vi tæncke intet paa Guds Ords Tienere. Vi giøre icke / som de gjorde i Ørcken / huilcke der de vaare bidte aff de gloende Slinger / saa løffte de Øynene op til Kaaberslangen / oc blefue hiulpne. Vi løffte icke voris Hiertis oc Trois Øyne op til JEsu / hengende paa Kaarset / at vi ved hans hellige Saar kunde frjes fra Legemlig oc Aandelig Siugdom." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 1185.

As Brochmand's treatise on the plague also attest, physical health is closely connected to their relationship with God, but he also goes beyond this.<sup>74</sup> The entirety of their material conditions are in a sense dependent on how they relate to its source. Everything they have of worldly goods are gifts from God: "Open your eyes of the heart, you children of God, and each and every one of you confess that whatever good thing or gift he has, he has not received this from himself, but from the good God in heaven."<sup>75</sup> Therefore, when they experience that their basic needs are not always covered, when they experience insufficiency, the cause must be their inadequacies in giving thanks to God and expecting their material needs to be fulfilled by God: "How is it that a full storehouse is not always enough? For that reason that one does not turn the eyes of their heart to the hand of Jesus, that one does not consider that it is the Lord who raises his hand and satisfies everything with delight".<sup>76</sup>

### *Sorrow and Joy*

There is a dialectic movement between joy (*glæde*) and sorrow (*sorrig*) throughout the postil. Although the translation 'sorrow' is used, it should be noted that *sorrig*, in addition to painful grief (*dolor, moeror, tristitia, luctus*), does have a more neutral meaning in the sense of 'having care for' (*cura*), and only a careful reading is able to discern which of these is intended.<sup>77</sup> Additionally, it is close to impossible to separate the verb from the noun in quantitative perspectives on 'joy', which means that statistical considerations concerning the balance between joy and sorrow in Brochmand's postil require a high degree of caution. Nonetheless, the 126 occurrences of *sorrig* does indicate a significant presence, and it is used in a number of different ways that interact with central themes. Most central is the recognition of sin in the believer. There is a close tie between the experience of sorrow and the recognition of sin in the heart. Despair, anxiety, and grief are direct results of this sorrow, as a parallelism is drawn between sorrow and sin: "Who will console your heart when it entirely languishes because of sin, because of sorrow?"<sup>78</sup> The sorrow is not to be taken lightly, but it

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<sup>74</sup> Brochmand, *Manus domini*.

<sup>75</sup> "Lucker op eders Hierters Øyne i Guds Børn / oc huer for sig bekiende / at huis Gode oc Gaffuer hand haffuer / det haffuer hand icke aff sig selff / men aff den gode Gud i Himmelen." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 302.

<sup>76</sup> "Huoraff monne det komme / at stor Forraad tijt oc offte icke forslar? Der aff kommer det / at mand icke vender Hiertens Øyne til JEsu Haand: Mand icke betencker / at det er HERren / som oplader sin Haand / oc mætter Alting med Velbehagelighed." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 862.

<sup>77</sup> <https://mothsordbog.dk/ordbog?select=Sorrig,b&query=sorrig>

<sup>78</sup> "Huo monne trøste dit Hierte / naar det aff Synd / aff Sorg / vil slet vansmecte?" Brochmand, *Sabbati*

is impressed upon the reader how grave it is, not only by its severity, but also in its persistence. It is a general condition for the godly in this world that they should expect pain in both body and soul. Through comparisons to the pain a woman experiences in labour in the gospel exposition for 3rd Sunday after Easter, Brochmand emphasises in the negative conditions they are subjected to:

Consider here, you children of God, what manner of pain the good and God fearing must deal with in this world. Is it a small pain? Does not Jesus Christ here compare the pain of the true children of God with the pain and sorrow a woman has when she is in labour? We know from scripture that when the spirit of God wants to express the extraordinarily great pain, then he usually compares it to the pain that a woman endures when she gives birth to her child. Does not David say in the psalm: They were terrified and fell down. Trembling came upon them, anxiety as a woman in labour. Thus says Isaiah, when he wants to describe the great trouble which hung over Babylon: the human heart will melt. They will be terrified. Anxiety and pain will take hold of them. they will become afraid as the one who is in labour. Does not Jeremiah use these words when he want to express what sort of misery would befall the Jews by the assault of Nebuchadnezzar: I heard, says the prophet, a miserable sound, like the one's who is in labour. A despair like the one's who is in the pain of labour. Thus is the pain in which the good and godly shall be attacked here in this world, internally and externally, a great pain on body and soul. Hear how Job complains in the greatness of his pain: God give that my lament may be weighed and they would lift up my misfortune into the scales. For it became heavier that the sand in the ocean. The arrows of the almighty sit in me. My spirit drinks poison, the terrors of God is directed at me. How heavy does David recount the bitterness of his wretchedness: Lord, says David, be merciful for I am fragile. Heal me, Lord, for my bones are troubled. And my soul is very troubled. Oh you Lord, how long? I am tired of sighs. I am soaking my bed the entire night. I water my bed with my weeping tears. My figure is fading because of sorrow and I have become old. For I have anxiety everywhere. How miserable does S. Paul account for his misery and wretchedness: I, says the apostle, have been beaten. I have often been held captive. I have often been shipwrecked. I have three times been whipped. I have once been stoned. I have been in the depths night and day. I was in danger in the streams. In danger among robbers. In danger because of relatives. In danger because of Gentiles. In danger in cities. In danger among false brothers. In addition to this I am concerned with all congregations. Who is fragile, and I do not become fragile? Who is offended, and I am not burned? Who

would now deny that the torment and pain of the children of God is like the pain of the one giving labour.<sup>79</sup>

The distinct expression of the emotional response to recognizing their own sin becomes an integral part of Brochmand's understanding of preparatory practices. Immediately following the above passage from the gospel exposition for the 3rd Sunday after Easter, Brochmand indicates that the experience of this sorrow and grief has as its purpose to let them recognize their own sin,<sup>80</sup> and in the gospel exposition for the 4th Sunday of Advent he describes this

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<sup>79</sup> "Acter her / J Guds Børn / huad for en Pine den monne være som de Gode oc Gudfryctige haffue her i Verden at dragis med. Monne det være en ringe Pine? Monne icke JEsus Christus her ligne de sande Guds Børns Smerte / med den Smerte oc **Bedrøffuelse / som en Quinde haffuer / naar hun føder?** Nu vijde vi aff Skriffen / at naar Guds Aand vil giffue en offuermaade stor Smerte tilkiende / da plejer hand den at ligne ved den Pine / som en Quinde udstaar / naar hun føder sit Barn. Siger icke David i Psalmen: De forferdede sig oc nedstyrte: Beffuelse kom paa dem / Angist som en Quinde der føder Barn. Siger icke Esaia / der hand vil beskriffue den store Nød / som offuerhengede Babylon / saaledis: Menniskens Hierte skal smelte: De skulle forfærdis. Angist oc Pine skal betage dem: Dem skal bliffue bange / som den der føder. Bruger icke Jeremias disse Ord / der hand vil giffue tilkiende / huad for Nød der vilde ved Nabogodonosers Krigsmact komme offuer Jøderne? Jeg hørde / siger Propheten / en ynckelig Liud / ligesom hendis der føder: En Angist som en der er udi første fødsels Nød. Saa er da den Pine / udi huilcken de Gode oc Gudfryctige skal angribis her udi Verden / udvortis oc indvortis / paa Legem oc paa Siel en mechtig stor Pine. Hører huorledis Job beklager sin Pinis Storhed: Gud giffue at min Klage maatte veyes oc de vilde opheffue min Wlycke tilsammen i Veyskaaler. Thi den bleff suarere end Sand udi Haffuet. Den Almectigis Pile sidde i mig: Min Aand dricker Forgift : Guds Forfærdelser ere stillede paa mig. Huor hart andrager David sin Jammers Bitterhed. HERRE / siger David / vær mig naadig / thi jeg er skrøbelig: Helbrede mig Herre / thi mine Been ere forferdede. Oc min Siel er meget forferdet. Ah du HERre huor lenge? Jeg er tret aff Suck / Jeg bløder min Seng den gandske Nat / Jeg væder mit Leye med mine grædende Taare. Min Skickelse er falmed af Sorrig / oc jeg er vorden gammel: Thi jeg haffuer Angist allevegne. Huor Jammerligen andrager S. Povel sin Nød oc Elendighed? Jeg / siger Apostelen / haffuer været slagen: Jeg haffuer været offte fangen: Jeg haffuer offte været udi døds Nød: Jeg er tre gange Hudstrugen: Jeg er engang Steenet: Jeg haffuer tre gange lijdd Skibbrud: Jeg haffuer Nat oc Dag været udi Dybet. Jeg vaar i Farlighed i Vandstrømmene: J Farlighed iblant Røffuere: J Farlighed aff Slectninge: J Farlighed aff Hedninge: J Farlighed i By: J Farlighed iblant Falske Brødre. Foruden dette / bekymrer jeg mig for alle Meenigheder. Huo er der skrøbelig / oc jeg bliffuer icke skrøbelig? Huo bliffuer forarget / oc jeg icke brendis? Huo vil nu benecte at Guds Børns Pine oc Smerte / er jo som dens Pine der føder." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 242–43.

<sup>80</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 244.

emotional state in detail with references to Ps 6:2–8,<sup>81</sup> Is 66:2,<sup>82</sup> and the Prayer of Manasseh.<sup>83</sup> The sorrow and grief felt by the weight of sin is the true preparation to receive the Lord, the true preparation of penitence as preached by John the Baptist (John 1:23). Sorrow thus enters its place in the triad of confession, faith, and holy life that shapes a central tenet in the postil: “But you child of God, when you thus by daily sighs and sorrow and by a constant faith in Jesus and by the perpetual betterment of life and conduct prepares a way for the Lord, then the devil and [its] company will be dissatisfied with you.”<sup>84</sup> As an expression of the penitential piety that is incumbent upon Brochmand, he reminds the reader that they should not be offended when the ministers of the word castigate through the sermon, but they should be mindful that the act of remembering their sins is one component of preparing the heart to receive God.<sup>85</sup>

The sorrow becomes a marker, a sign of a true Christian, who is encouraged to partake in introspection in order to determine if they possess true penance. This consists of a self-examination whether they possess the right kind of sorrow in the heart for their sins. Invoking again Ps 6 and the Prayer of Manasseh, Brochmand provides the emotional paradigm for the intensity of the affective response:

Wherein consists this penitence? You who want the recognition from God that penitence has been preached for you in the name of Jesus that it could be a blessedness for you, then see if there is a right fervent and grave sorrow in your heart for the sins, which you have committed. Say with David in the psalm: I am so tired of sighs. I am soaking my bed the whole night, watering my bed with my weeping tears. My figure is fading because of sorrow and has become old, for I have dread all over.

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<sup>81</sup> “O Lord, rebuke me not in thy indignation, nor chastise me in thy wrath. Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am weak: heal me, O Lord, for my bones are troubled. And my soul is troubled exceedingly: but thou, O Lord, how long? Turn to me, O Lord, and deliver my soul: O save me for thy mercy’s sake. For there is no one in death, that is mindful of thee: and who shall confess to thee in hell? I have laboured in my groanings, every night I will wash my bed: I will water my couch with my tears. My eye is troubled through indignation: I have grown old amongst all my enemies.” (Ps 6:2–8)

<sup>82</sup> “My hand made all these things, and all these things were made, saith the Lord. But to whom shall I have respect, but to him that is poor and little, and of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at my words?” (Is 66:2)

<sup>83</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 90–91.

<sup>84</sup> “Men du Guds Barn / naar du saaledis ved daglig Suck oc Sorg / oc ved en stadig Troe til JEsu / oc ved Liffs oc Leffnitz idelig Forbedring bereder HERren Veyen / saa bliffuer Dieffuelen / oc Anhang først vred / oc ilde tilfreds med dig.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 91.

<sup>85</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 412–14.

Cry with Manasseh in his prayer: I have sinned more times than there is sand in the ocean. My misdeeds have become manifold. And lament with King Hezekiah and say: Lord, you broke all my bones like a lion. Such a fervent and grave sorrow of the heart, ignited by the spirit of God because of committed sins is a proper beginning for true and blessed penitence.<sup>86</sup>

Following an exhortation in the gospel exposition on the 3rd Day of Pentecost to judge the voice of the shepherd and the stranger, between true and false teachers (John 10:4–5), the readers are encouraged to examine the preachers and look at both their teaching and their conduct. The litmus test for a false teacher thus becomes a twofold inquiry: 1) Do they teach that there is anything outside of and beyond Christ as crucified which is necessary for salvation? 2) Do they teach that salvific faith is possible without sorrow over sin, penance, and a drive for a holy life? If so, theirs is the voice of the stranger:

If anyone comes here and will require of you that you should seek life and righteousness and beatitude some place other than in Jesus Christ alone: do not recognize his voice. Do not consider him a proper shepherd, but flee him as a stranger. [...] If anyone comes and wants to convince you that you can the saving faith in Jesus Christ, even though you without sorrow, without penitence and betterment throw yourself from one sin to another: say, this voice I do not hear. It is not the voice of the right shepherd, but it is a stranger's voice.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> “Huor udi bestaar da denne **Poenitentze**? Du som vilt haffue aff Gud den Berømmelse / at **Poenitentze er udi Jesu Naffn saaledis predicket for dig** / at det kand være dig til Salighed / da see til / om der er en ret sand inderlig oc allvorlig Sorrig udi dit Hierte for dine Synder / som du haffuer beganget. Sijg med David udi Psalmen: Jeg er saa tret aff Suck: Jeg bløder min Seng den gandske Nat / væder min Leye med mine grædende Taare. Min Skickelse er fælmed aff Sorrig / oc er vorden gammel: Thi jeg haffuer Angist allevegne. Raab med Manasse i hans Bøn: Jeg haffuer syndet flere gange / end der er Sand i Haffuet: Mine Miszgierninger ere bleffne mangfoldige. Oc beklag dig med Kong Ezechia oc sijg: HERRE / du sønderbrødst alle mine Been som en Løwe. Saadan inderlig oc alvorlig Hiertens Sorrig / aff Guds Aand for begangne Synders skyld optend / er en ret Begyndelse til en sand oc salig Poenitentze.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 117–18.

<sup>87</sup> “Kommer her nogen oc vil anholde hos dig / du skalt andenstetz søge Liff oc Retferdighed oc Salighed / end udi Jesu Christo allene / **kiende icke hans Røst**: Annamme hannem icke som en ret Hyrde / men **flye** hannem som en **fremmet**. [...] Kommer her nogen / oc vil offuertale dig / at du kandst vel haffue den saliggjørende Tro til Jesum Christum / enddog du uden all Sorrig / uden all Bod oc Bedring / henvelter dig af en Synd udi en anden: Sijg / denne Røst hører jeg icke: Det er icke den rette Hyrdis Røst / men det er en **Fremmedis Røst**.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 518.

At the same time, the presence of sorrow has a paradoxical nature. Even though it is a general condition in the world and a necessary emotional component of penitence and contrition, the intention is not that they should remain by it, but rather that it prompts a response in the shape of consolation. This is particularly the case if the intensity of the sorrow develops to the point of despair, which may cause them to doubt their salvific status either due to the greatness of their sins or when they experience abandonment and hardship in their lives. Bringing consolation is the role of the Holy Spirit, who provides this comfort in the heart:

Look at the man of God, St. Paul. He is pressed and pressured strongly by the devil. He cries to God about the Holy Spirit in the name of the lord Jesus. He falls on his face and calls upon God about this a first, a second, and a third time. Finally, he receives this good and joyous answer: My grace is enough for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness. The same will happen to you, When the sorrow and the danger are greatest, then God will come with the comfort of the Holy Spirit and then it will be accomplished as is written to the Hebrews: Let us step forward in front of the throne of grace in order that we can receive mercy and find grace for aid in right time.<sup>88</sup>

Who would comfort your heart when it out of sin, out of sorrow entirely languishes? Would not the lord your God do so? Therefore even if my heart and my soul languishes, then you, God, are yet always the comfort of my heart and my lot. Thus comforts St. John himself: Even though our heart condemns us, God is yet greater than our heart. What might that be, which in our heart cries out in the greatest peril of death that we are children of God? Would that not be the spirit of our God and lord? Thus says St. Paul: God has sent the spirit of his son in our hearts, which cries out: Abba, dear father.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> “See til den Guds Mand S. Povel: Hand tryckis oc trengis hart aff Dieffuelen: Hand raaber til GVD om den Hellig Aand i den HErris JESu Naffn: Hand falder paa sit Ansiet oc her om paakalder Gud første / anden oc tredie gang: Omsider faar hand dette gode oc gladelige Suar: Min Naade er dig nock: Thi min Krafft fuldkommiss i Skrøbelighed. Det samme skal dig vederfaris. Naar Sorrigen er størst / oc Faren højest / saa skal GVd komme met den Hellig Aands Trøst / saa det skal fuldkommiss det som der staar til de Ebræer: Lader os traade frem til Naadestolen / paa det vi kunde faa Barmhiertighed / oc finde Naade til Hielp i rette tide.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 414.

<sup>89</sup> “Huo monne trøste dit Hierte / naar det aff Synd / aff Sorg / vil slet vansmecte? Monne det icke HErren din Gud giøre? Saa siger David i Psalmen: Dersom end mit Hierte oc min Siel vansmectis / saa est du dog Gud altid mit Hiertis Trøst oc min Deel. Saa trøster sig S. Hans: Dersom vort Hierte fordømmer os / da er Gud større end vort Hierte. Huo monne det være / som udi største Døds Nød raaber udi voris Hierter / at vi ere Guds Børn?

Furthermore, the sorrow has an eschatological dimension. In the present world, the fundamental condition for the godly is sorrow while the world rejoices. Brochmand expresses this experience (which can be hard to grasp for the godly) through the experience of the disciples in the days between the crucifixion and the resurrection. Until the revelation for them of the victory of Christ, they had to live with this experience of sorrow in the midst of a rejoicing world. By extension, they characterize the universal experience of the believers in every age, who also live with the contrast between the evil, present world and their own sorrow.

How could there be greater anxiety, sorrow, and sadness in the hearts of the disciples, than them having now no more hope of any reconciliation by Jesus Christ, but being of the opinion that he was entirely conquered by death. How fearful of the Jews were the apostles during that time, fearing that they no less than the master should assault them. Does not St. John say in the gospel: when the disciples were gathered with closed doors, out of fear for the Jews, then Jesus comes and stands among them. But how joyful, on the contrary, was the world during that time? Who does not know, how the Pharisees and their henchmen rejoiced, when they had put Jesus on the cross. Do they not, out of a derisive mind and heart, say to the Lord Jesus, when he in miserable ways hangs on the cross: he has saved others, he should now save himself, since he is Christ, God's chosen. How happy were the enemies of Jesus and the evil world, when they had brought it so far with Christ, that they have taken the life from him. Does not the high priests and the Pharisees go united to Pilate and say: Lord, we remember that this deceiver said, when he was still alive: after three days I will rise again. Command, therefore, that the grave is guarded until the third day, so that his disciples should not come during the night and steal him and say to the people: he is risen from the dead. And this last deception shall be worse than the first. Come now, you true and blessed children of God and consider what the condition of the God fearing people is in this world. How must they grief and sigh, while the evil world rejoices and delights.<sup>90</sup>

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Monne det icke være voris Guds oc HErris Aand? Thi saa siger S. Povel: Gud haffuer udsendt sin Søns Aand udi eders Hierter / huileken raaber / Abba / kiere Fader." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 1164.

<sup>90</sup> "Huor kunde der være større Angist / Sorig / oc Bedrøffuelse udi Disciplernes Hierter / end at de haffue nu ingen mere Forhaabning om nogen Gienløsning ved JEsu Christum / Men ere udi den Meening / at hand aff Døden slet er offuervundet. Huor fryctactige vaare paa de tijder Apostlerne for Jøderne / befryctende at de dennem icke mindre end Mesteren / skulle offuerfalde. Siger icke S. Hans udi Evangelio: At der Disciplene vaare forsamlede inden lucte Dørre / for fryct for Jøderne / da kommer JEsus oc staar mit iblant dennem. Men huor fryder sig tuert imod paa de tider VERDEN? Huo veed icke / huor Phariseerne med deris Anhang glædde



Finally, there is a transformation of the sorrow that is necessary in the larger perspective. As mentioned earlier, those who believe live with a constant experience of sorrow, which is contrasted to the joy that belongs to the world. But a transformation must happen, which is centered around the cross. Experiencing pain in this life is a testimony that they are considered a child of God and should thus serve as a reminder of the honour and glory that follows from it. The sorrow and the joy stands in a contrasted relationship. One particular aspect of this is the temporal difference, for sorrow is temporary and joy is eternal. Knowledge of the promised eternal joy makes it easier to bear the worldly sorrow and suffering: “And what is the little we suffer here in the world, no matter how harsh and hard it could be, to compare against the glory, the joy, the good, which we shall experience in the coming life? The pain is brief, but the joy shall be eternal.”<sup>91</sup> That the pain is brief is in itself a cause for joy. The grave of Christ becomes an example of how they ought to experience their own death, which is going to be brief and with a promise of glory in resurrection such as Christ experienced it:

When we think, Lord Jesus, of your grave in which you received peace, then we will rejoice over our grave and say: our grave has been sanctified by the burial of Christ Jesus and will not be an abominable dwelling for us, but will be for us a resting place. For this does the Lord speak to us, who believe in Jesus and are to be placed in the grave: Come, my people, and go into your chamber and close your door after you. Hide yourself for just a short moment until all the wrath has passed. Here we will rest safely from all opposition. Here will the world do no harm; here will sin not rule. Who would not say: who will free me from this mortal body? But in this we will

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sig / der de haffde faaet JESum paa kaarsset. Sijge de icke til den HERre JESum / der hand henger udi bedrøffuelige maader paa Kaarsset / aff spodsk Hu oc Hierte: Hand haffuer frelst andre / hand frelse sig nu selff / dersom hand er Christus den GUDs udvalde. Huor glade vaare JESu Fiender oc den onde Verden / der de haffde bragt det saa vijt med Christo / at de haffde faet Liffuet af hannem: Gaar icke de ypperste Prester oc Phariseer eendrecteligen til Pilatum / oc sige Herre / vi komme ihu / at denne Bedragere sagde der hand endnu leffde: Effter tre Dage skal jeg opstaa. Befal derfor at mand forvarer Graffuen indtil paa den tredie Dag / paa det hans Disciple icke skulle komme om Natten oc stiele hannem / oc sige til Folcket: Hand er opstanden fra de Døde: Oc det sidste Bedrægeri skal bliffue verre end det Første. Kommer nu J sande oc salige Guds Børn / oc offuerveyer huad de Gudfryctigis Tilstand er her udi denne Verden: Huorledis de maa sørge oc sucke / i midler tid den onde Verden glæder oc fryder sig.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 237–38.

<sup>91</sup> “Oc huad er dog det lille / vi lide her udi Verden / i huor hart oc strengt det kan være / at regne imod den Ære / den Glæde / det Gode / os udi tilkommende Liff skal vederfaris? Pinen varer kort / men Glæden varer ævindeligen.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 877.

principally rejoice that just as the grave of Christ is glorious, because he rose from it with greatest glory and victory over death and devil and sin, so will also the graves of us, who believe in Jesus, be honourable and glorious.<sup>92</sup>

There is an expectancy in considering the eternal joy as they are looking forward to experiencing it in its perfection, but there is an aspect of it that they can now already taste:

Rejoice now, you blessed child of God, when the Lord your God haunts you with the cross. Say within your heart: See, this cross is a testimony for me that God considers me his child. For why would God be so careful by the cross to mortify within me the sinful urges and with sadness to awaken in me a desire to be freed from this mortal body and come to my saviour Jesus unless God loved me like his dear child? Then I will with a joyous and grateful heart receive the chalice of the cross from the hand of the Lord and think about the glory and joy which follows the cross when it is borne and used well. For thus says the Lord Jesus in our gospel: I will see you again and your hearts shall rejoice and no-one will then take your joy from you. Look at the good, god fearing, and patient Job, what kind of joy followed his sorrow and misery. [...] In what way does the good David comfort himself against all sadness and adversity that the sorrow will be transformed to the eternal joy. Lord, says David, deliver my soul from the ungodly and from the people of this world, who has their share in their lifetime. But I will gaze upon your face in righteousness. I will be full when I wake up after your image. Who would not now suffer a short while in order that he can rejoice eternally What is this short while, in which we suffer, to compare against the joy that no-one can take from us? [...] Do not consider the torment that you find. It will pass soon. Do not consider any worldly good here in the world, which you will lose. For it will have a sudden end. But turn your hearts in all your sadness only to the invisible God, who remains eternally, and to the invisible joy which has been prepared for you after this life and which will have no end. Turn your eyes in spirit

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<sup>92</sup> ”Naar vi tæncke / HErre JEsu / paa din **Graff** / i huilcken du fick Ro / da ville vi glæde os ved voris Graff / oc sige: Vor Graff er ved Christi JEsu Begræffuelse helliggiort / oc skal icke være os en affskyelig bolig / men den skal være os en Huilested. Thi saa taler HErren til os / som tro paa JEsu / oc skulle legges udi Graffuen: Kom mit Folck / oc gack i dit Kammer / oc luck Døren til effter dig: skiul dig som i it lidet Øyeblik / indtil al Vreden ofuergaar. Her skulle vi huile tryggeligen fra ald Modstand. Her skal icke Verden skade / Her skal icke Synd herske. Huo vil icke sige: Huo vil frje mig aff dette dødelige Legeme? Men derudi ville vi fornemmeligen glæde os / at ligesom Christi Graff er herlig / fordi hand aff den med største Ære oc Seyervinding offuer Død oc Dieffuel oc Synd opstod: Saa skal ocsaa voris Graff / som tro paa JEsu / bliffue ærlig oc herlig.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 763.

and truth to those, who have suffered much here in the world for Jesus Christ and how stand before the throne of Jesus Christ and consider what honour they have received for their dishonour and what joy that have appeared instead of the sorrow that they suffered here in the world.<sup>93</sup>

At the same time that they know that their sorrow must be transformed and look forward to a perfect, eternal joy, there is also a joy connected to the suffering itself. To the extent that their suffering is interpreted as part of the cross that they must bear in this world, the suffering itself becomes a sign to them that they are children of God. This, along with many other signs that they can experience and observe inwardly and outwardly, ought to give rise to thanksgiving and praise to God, since these are all received as divine gifts:

Now, when you children of God consider that you are baptized in the name of the holy trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; when you remember that you live in the land, where the holy word of God is so abundantly set forth before you; when you find and feel that you have within your heart faith in God and the Lord Jesus; when you consider yourself to lead a holy and unpunishable life in the eyes of the world; when

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<sup>93</sup> “Glæd dig nu du salige Guds Barn / naar HERren din Gud hand dig med Kaars hiemsøger. Sig udi Hiertet: See dette Kaars er mig it Vidnisbyrd / at Gud holder mig for sit Barn. Thi hui skulde Gud være saa omhyggelig / ved Kaarsset at døde udi mig de syndige Lyster / oc med Bedrøffuelse at opvecke i mig Begiering at løsis af dette dødelige Legeme / oc komme til min Frelser JESum / med mindre Gud elskte mig som sit kiere Barn? Saa vil jeg da / med glad oc tacknemmelig Hierte annamme Kaarssens Begere aff HERrens Haand / oc tencke paa den Ære oc Glæde som følger paa Kaarsset / naar det vel bæris oc brugis. Thi saa siger voris HERre JESus udi voris Evangelio: **Jeg vil see eders igien / oc eders Hierte skal glæde sig / oc der skal ingen tage eders Glæde fra eder.** See mig til den gode / Gudfryctige oc taalmodige Job / huilcken en Glæde der følgede paa hans Sorrig oc Elendighed. [...] Huor trøster den gode David sig der ved imod all Bedrøffuelse oc Modstand / at Sorrigen skal forandris til den evige Glæde. HERre / siger David / frels min Siel fra de Wgudelige / oc fra denne Verdens Folck / som haffue deris Deel udi deris Leffnet. Men jeg vil skue dit Ansiet i Retferdighed: Jeg vil bliue mæt naar jeg opvaagner efter dit Billede. Huo vil icke nu gierne en kort tid lide / at hand kan evindeligen glædis. Huad er den korte tid / paa huilcken vi trengis / at ligne imod Glæden som ingen kand tage fra os? [...] Seer intet til Plagen som J finde: Den forgaar snart: Seer intet til noget aff Verdens gode her i Verden / som J miste: Thi det tager en snar Ende: Men vender eders Hierter udi all eders Bedrøffuelse allene hen til den usiunlige Gud / som bliffuer evindeligen / oc til den usiunlige Glæde som eder effter dette Liff er bered / huilcken tager aldrig ende. Vender eders Øyne udi Aand oc Sandhed hen til dennem / som haffue lijdt meget her i Verden for JESu Christo / oc nu staar for JESu Christi Trone / oc beskuer huad Ære de haffue fanget for deris Vanære / oc huad Glæde der er kommen i steden for Sorrigen som de udstodde her i Verden.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 247–48.

you fall on your knees and receive in the holy eucharist the holy body and blood of Jesus; when you find that you could with joy receive the cross that is placed upon you; when you are ardent in prayer and supplication; when you taste within your hearts the joy of the coming world, what should you then do? Then you should with entire mind and heart, with humility and thanksgiving, turn towards him from whose mild hand you receive such good and perfect gifts.<sup>94</sup>

Whether it is joy in suffering or trust that the sorrow will be transformed into joy, the basis for it is founded in the death and resurrection of Christ. Not only should they rejoice because of the atonement for their sins brought through the death of Christ, but in particular the resurrection is a cause for joy. The three days in the grave were a sign of the brevity of their worldly existence and the resurrection itself gives a cause for joy that they will see Christ again after they have left this world.

Therefore, you who want a steady and complete joy, you should always think of Jesus Christ, who died for you, and you should always lift your hearts where Jesus sits at the right hand of God and keep to the advice of St. Paul: Seek those things which are above, where Christ is, seated at the right hand of God. [...] Never is sorrow so great in this world that it takes anything away from this joy. Look to the apostles, who when they had grasped Jesus in the heart and knew that he by his departure had acquired for them and all believers an eternal atonement, then they were grasped by this joy that when they were in front of council and court beaten for the sake of the confession of Christ, then did they walk away from the council with joy because they had been worthy to be disgraced for the sake of the name of Jesus. What would we say of St. Paul, who felt such a joy in Christ Jesus that he notably says: I abound with joy in every tribulation. David says about this joy in the psalm: If I walk in the dark valley of death, I fear no misfortune, for you, Lord, are with me. This complete joy did Simeon find when he received Jesus in his arms and said: Lord, let now your servant go in

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<sup>94</sup> ”Naar J nu / J GVDS Børn betencke / at J ere døbte udi den hellig Trefoldigheds / Faders / Søns oc Hellig Aands Naffn: Naar J erindre eder at J boe udi det Land / udi huilekets J haffue GVds hellige Ord som saa rigeligen fremsettis: Naar J finde oc føle / at J haffue udi eders Hierter Troen til Gud / oc til den HERRE JEsu: Naar J selff eracte / at J føre it helligt oc for Verden ustraffeligt Leffnet: Naar J falde paa eders Knæ / oc annamme i den hellige Nadvere / det hellige JEsu Legeme oc Blod: Naar J finde / at J med Glæde kunne annamme Kaarsset som eder paaleggis: Naar J ere udi Bøn oc Paakaldelse brendende: Naar J smage udi eders Hierter / den tilkommende Verdens Glæde: Huad skulle J da gjøre? Da skulle J med gandske Hu oc Hierte / med Ydmyghed oc Tacksigelse / vende eder til dend / af huis milde Haand J saadanne gode Gaffuer oc fuldkomne Gaffuer annammer.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 254.

peace, for my eyes have seen your beatitude. St. Paul is so greatly moved by this joy that he says: I have a desire to go from here to be with Christ. Whoever believes this of the heart and gives strength, he properly understands the word of God. But whoever does not yet feel this in mind and heart, he does not yet properly know neither the Father nor the Son.<sup>95</sup>

Therefore when they entertained the thought that they wanted to prepare ointment to anoint the body of Jesus, then they ought to have said: Now it is the third day since Jesus was placed in the grave. Let us now rejoice, for we know that Jesus Christ our Lord and saviour with his masterful and mighty descent into the power of hell will fulfil this: I will release them from death. [...] Never ought I wake up any morning that I should not rejoice in the resurrection of Jesus. Never ought I go to bed that I should not thank him that he has arisen for me for eternal righteousness.<sup>96</sup>

Let us not therefore be saddened that we do not have our Jesus before our eyes, so that we could gaze upon him with these bodily eyes, but all the more let us with a grateful

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<sup>95</sup> ”J derfor / som ville haffue en bestandig oc fuldkommen Glæde / J skulle altid tencke paa JEsu Christo / død for eder / oc J skulle altid løffte eders Hierter der hen / huor JESVs sidder hos GVDS høyre Haand / oc holder eder effter S Povels Raad: Søger de Ting som ere offuen til / dersom Christus er / siddende hos Guds høyre Haand. [...] Aldrig er Sorig saa stor udi denne Verden / at denne Glæde jo den betager. See til Apostlerne / der de nu haffde fattet JEsu udi Hiertet / oc viste at hand ved sin Bortgang til Faderen / haffde forhuert denne oc alle Troende en evig Forløsning / da blefue de saaledis af denne Glæde indtagne / at der de bleffue for Raad oc Ret slagne for Christi Bekiendelsis skyld / da ginge de glade fra Raadsens Ansigt / at de haffde været værdige til at vanæris for JEsu Naffns skyld. Huad ville vi sige om S. Povel / huilcken følede sadan Glæde udi Christo JEsu / at hand merckeligen siger: Jeg er offuerflødig udi Glæden / i all Trengsel. Aff denne Glæde sagde David i Psalmen: Dersom jeg vandrer i Dødsens Mørcke Dal / frycter jeg ingen Wlycke: Thi du HERRE est hos mig. Denne fuldkommen Glæde fand Simeon / der hand fick JEsu udi sine Arme / oc sagde: HERRE / lad nu sin Tienere fare i Fred / thi mine Øyen haffue seet din Salighed. Aff denne Glæde bevegis saa høyt S. Povel / at hand siger: Jeg haffuer lyst at fare her fra oc være med Christo. Huo dette aff Hiertet troer / oc giffuer mact / hand forstaar ret GVDs Ord: Men huo dette icke endnu føler udi Hu oc Hierte / hand kiender icke endnu som det sig bør / enten Faderen eller Sønnen.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 328–29.

<sup>96</sup> “Derfore der de omgicks med de Tancker / at de ville berede Salve at salve JEsu Legeme med: Da skulle de haffue sagt: Nu lader det paa den Tredie dag / siden JEsu bleff lagt udi Graffen: Lader os nu glæde os: Thi vi vijde at JEsu Christus vor HERRE oc Frelsere / vil fuldkomme det met sin myndige oc mechtige Nedfart til Helfuedis Vold: Jeg vil igienløse dem fra Døden. [...] Aldrig skal jeg vogne nogen Morgen / Jeg jo skal glæde mig udi JEsu Opstandelse: Aldrig skal jeg gaa til Seng / Jeg jo skal tacke hannem / at hand er mig til evig Retfærdighed opstanden.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 22.

heart consider what Jesus said to the disciples, when they were sad because Jesus would leave them through the temporal death: If you cared for me, then you would have rejoiced, because I told you: I go to the Father, for the Father is greater than I. Who would not thereby rejoice that Jesus goes from sadness to joy; from wretchedness and misery to glory; from death to life; from humans to God? [...] Think of this, you children of God, and say: just as Jesus has gone from the sadness of the world and has come to the glory and greatness which he had from the Father from before the world was, then we are also certain that when this short and miserable life ends and we will take off the earthly and mortal tabernacle, then we should also come to the glory that our God in the second life has prepared for his chosen.<sup>97</sup>

In the midst of establishing the foundation for joy and dispersing the admonitions to rejoice, Brochmand also establishes the emotion itself as a criterion that takes part of the self-examination and introspection. Emotions are experiential and joy is something that can be experienced. The preceding explication of what joy means is a necessary backdrop, since Brochmand does not write about just any particular type of joy, but only that which can be identified as one of the fruits of faith, in contrast to the joy that is found in the world. To that extent, the joy that they find in their heart becomes a testimony to the presence of the Holy Spirit within them: “If you want to be certain that the spirit of God is within you, then see if joy can be found within your heart”.<sup>98</sup> As already shown, there are frequent passages where the reader themselves express their feeling of joy through the bearing of the cross or through considering the death and resurrection of Christ, but the experiential aspect of joy is most frequently placed within the context of hearing the word, together with the complementary emotions of fear when faced with the law and joy when faced with the gospel:

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<sup>97</sup> “Lader os nu intet bedrøffue os der offuer / at vi icke haffue voris JESum her for vore Øyen / saa at vi met disse Legemlige Øyen kunde beskue hannem: Men meget meere lader os met tacknemmelige Hiertet betracte det JESus siger til Disciplene / der de vaare bedrøffuede fordi JESus vilde ved den timelige Død gaa bort fra dennem: **Hafde J mig kier da glædde J eder / at jeg sagde eder: Jeg gaar til Faderen: thi Faderen er større end jeg.** Huo vil icke derved glæde sig / at JESus hand gaar fra Bedrøfuelse til Glæde / fra Vselhed oc Elendighed til Ære / fra Døden til Lifuet / fra Menniskene til Gud? [...] Tæncker her paa J GVds Børn / oc siger: Ligesom JESus er gangen fra Verdsens Bedrøffuelse / oc er komme til den Ære oc Høyhed som hand haffde hos Faderen førend Verden vaar: Saa ere vi ocsaa visse paa / at naar dette korte oc elendige Liff tager Ende / oc vi faar afflagt dette Jordiske oc dødelige Tabernackel / da skulle vi ocsaa komme til den Ære / som voris Gud udi det andet Liff haffuer bereed sine Vdvalde.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 442–43.

<sup>98</sup> “Vilt du være forsickret / at GVds Aand er hos dig / see til / om der findis Glæde udi dit Hierte.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 1041.

When you, child of God, now hear the word of God and you feel by the sermon of the law your heart burn with fear within you due to your sins then say: See, now Jesus touches with his word my heart and ignites within it by the law the fire of fear in order that I should be ashamed of my misdeed and abstain from it. Thus burned the heart of David within him when Nathan preached for him about his sin committed with Bathsheba, for which reason he also said: I have sinned against the Lord. When you also from the sermon of the gospel find delight and joy within your heart, then say: Now Jesus touches my heart and ignites it with a joyful foretaste of the coming world. When you experience such a joy through the hearing or reading of the word of God, then do not keep it to yourself, but make sure that you can lead others to the erudition of God and Jesus Christ.<sup>99</sup>

With reference to the visitation of Mary (Luke 1:39–45), the baby (St. John) in Elizabeth's womb leaped with joy as Mary greeted her. Brochmand understands the spontaneous expression of joy through the presence of Christ. In this way St. John becomes an exemplary character that the reader should identify with, where the presence of Christ in Luke 1 is equated with hearing the word, and the joy they are expecting and promised that they will experience through hearing the word is a joy that the spirit of God works in them through the presence of Christ:

Never will your God come to you, never will your Lord Jesus visit you, never does the minister of your God or your saviour speak to you in the name of the Lord, so that in as much as you receive the word, you would not thereof receive joy and blessing. Never was the word that went forth from the mouth of Mary to rejoice St. John in his mother's womb so mighty that the word of God and Jesus, sent forth by the tongue of the minister, would not be so mighty so as to bend and move your heart and rejoice your soul. [...] So often, now, that you from the hearing of the word of God find joy in your heart, then say: See, just as the spirit of God moved St. John in his mother's

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<sup>99</sup> ”Naar du Guds Barn nu hører Guds Ord / oc du mercker ved Lowsens Prædiken / dit Hierte at brende aff Banghed udi dig / for sine Synder / da sijg: See / nu rører JESus med sit Ord ved mit Hierte / oc optender der udi ved Lowen / Bangheds Jld paa det / at jeg skal skamme mig ved min Miszgierning / oc den affstaa. Saa brendte Davids Hierte udi hannem / der Nathan prædickede for hannem / om hans Synd / begangen med Bersabea: Huorfor hand ocsaa sagde: Jeg haffuer syndet imod HERren. Naar du ocsaa aff Evangelij Prædicken / finder Fryd oc Glæde udi dit Hierte / da sijg: Nu rører JESus ved mit Hierte / oc gjør det brendende aff den tilkommende Verdens glædelig Forsmag. Saadan Glæde naar dig aff Guds Ords Hørelse eller Læszning vederfaris / da beholdt den icke for dig selff alleene / men see til / at du kand andre med dig føre udi Guds oc JESu Christi Kundskab.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 79.

womb so that he rejoiced by the presence of Jesus Christ, then I know also from the joy I find in my heart from the word of God that they kingdom of God is in my heart and the spirit of God touches me.<sup>100</sup>

As an extension of how Brochmand establishes the connection between the hearing of the word and the feeling of joy, in addition to other emotions (sorrow, fear, etc.), those emotions also become ways of evaluating the preachers as true ministers of the word. As one element of the manner in which to identify the true shepherds over and against the false shepherds, the readers should look at themselves and examine the effect their words have on them:

When you find by the hearing of the word of God and by the sermon about the crucified Jesus Christ that your heart is bent and moved to fear God, to hate sin, to believe that your sins in Christ are forgiven, to mortify sin by the strength of the death of Christ, to rise from sin by the effect of the resurrection of Christ, and to walk in holiness, then say: Now I feel that this minister of the word of God is a true and right minister of the word of God. For was it not so, how could I then by the hearing of the word rejoice, be moved to sorrow, be confirmed in the faith in Jesus, improve in a holy life?<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> ”Aldrig kommer din Gud til dig / Aldrig besøger din HERre JESu dig / Aldrig taler din Guds oc din Frelseris Tienere til dig / udi HERrens Naffn / at saa fremt du tager imod Ordit / du jo deraff bekommer Glæde oc Velsignelse. Aldrig vaar Ordet saa krafftig / der gick aff Mariæ Mund / til at glæde S. Hans udi Moders Liff / at Guds oc Jesu Ord / udført ved Tieners Tunge / jo skal være saa krafftig til at bøye oc bevege dit Hierte oc at fryde din Siæl. [...] Saa tijt nu / som du aff Guds Ords Hørelse finder Glæde udi dit Hierte / da siig: See / ligesom Guds Aand beveget S. Hans i Moders Liff / at hand glædde sig / ved JESu Christi Nærværelse: Saa veed jeg ocsaa / aff den Glæde jeg finder i mit Hierte aff Guds ord / at Guds Rige er udi mit Hierte / oc Guds Aand rører ved mig.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 771.

<sup>101</sup> ”Naar du nu finder ved Guds Ords Hørelse oc ved den Prædicken om den kaarsfeste JESu Christo / dit Hierte at bøyes oc bevegis til at frygte Gud / at hade Synden / at tro at dine Synder i Christo ere dig forladne / ved Christi Døds Krafft at døde Synden / ved Christ Opstandelsis Virekning at opstaa af Synden / oc vandre i Hellighed / da sijg: Nu mercker jeg / at denne Guds Ords Tienere / er en sand oc ret GVDs Ords Tienere. Thi vaar det icke saa / huorledis kunde jeg da ved Ordsens Hørelse glæde mig / der aff beveegis til Sorrig / der aff i Troen til JESum becreffis / der aff i hellig Leffnet forbedris.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 514.



## *Dialogical*

The visual and the affective element culminate in the dialogical characteristics of Brochmand's postil. The starting point for addressing the readers in the postil is the second-person plural, as Brochmand takes a direct approach. They can have specific expressions, when Brochmand addresses certain demographics such as 'you who are in holy matrimony',<sup>102</sup> 'you who are rich',<sup>103</sup> 'you who are the superintendents of the house of God or his holy congregations',<sup>104</sup> 'you who are instated in secular offices',<sup>105</sup> as well as soldiers, lords and servants,<sup>106</sup> or certain emotional states like 'you who are angry with your neighbor',<sup>107</sup> or 'you who are hot-tempered and quick, ready and ardent for anger',<sup>108</sup> but more often it takes the more generic form of 'you children of God'.

These specific addresses often precede a catechetical or moral instruction. However, when looking at the passages eliciting visual or affective characteristics, one notices an interesting shift in the pronoun usage, where the reader is invited to engage with the text in an almost dialogical form. This is a shift from the second plural to the first-person singular (and occasionally plural), where there is an 'I' that enters into the text. This 'I' is not Brochmand as the author addressing a reader, but it is the reader themselves who is supposed to take the text upon them as their own. It is not a persistent, regular element in every exposition, but occurs with varying frequency throughout the entire postil. Out of the 145 expositions, passages that exhibit such a change in pronouns occur in approximately 98 expositions.<sup>109</sup> A total of 33 of the passages are initiated with the imperative 'say I' (*sijg jeg*) which serves as an abrupt transition, whereas another 33 passages have a longer transition initiated by 'say

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<sup>102</sup> "Kommer nu J / som ere i den hellige Ecteskabs Stand." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 323.

<sup>103</sup> "Saa haffuer det sig med eder J Rige oc med eders Gud." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 909.

<sup>104</sup> "J som ere Guds Husis oc hans hellige Meenigheds Forstander." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 36.

<sup>105</sup> "J som ere udi Verdslige Embeder ophøiede." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 931.

<sup>106</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 349–51.

<sup>107</sup> "J som ere vrede paa eders Næste." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 835.

<sup>108</sup> "J som ere hitzige oc hastige / ferdige oc fyrige til Vrede." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 176.

<sup>109</sup> This number has been acquired through computational means, but contains a degree of uncertainty since some Psalm quotations are also written in the 1st person singular, but are not always used in this particular function. There must therefore be an allowance for some margin of error.

you' (*sijg du*). These phrases serve (among others) as transition points that connect the preceding instruction or exhortation with the direct involvement of the reader. In an expression of the dialectics of joy and sorrow, Brochmand allows the reader to express the joy themselves of the sorrow they find in their heart: "Be joyful when you find a deep sorrow for your sins in your heart and say: I know that the God, who has saddened me unto death with his strict law, he will again with his good spirit comfort me until eternal life".<sup>110</sup>

These passages take several forms, and while there is a diverse use, they seem to form a three-step structure prevalent in the postil. The first step is the recognition of sins leading to their confession. In the midst of the many exhortations to confess their sins, Brochmand also provides the reader with a paradigm for their own confession, which is then applied and enacted through the general reading of the postil. In the exposition of Gal 4:5,<sup>111</sup> Brochmand writes: "Now, when the law comes and lets you know that you in many ways have transgressed the law, then say: I confess, that I have not kept the law of God as I ought. I have transgressed it in many ways".<sup>112</sup> Following the words of Rev 3:17,<sup>113</sup> they ought as well to confess their own miserable and poor condition, which is unable to provide relief against the gravity of sin.<sup>114</sup> Like the lost sheep, the reader should make their own confession of being lost in depravity:

Say each and everyone of you: we are like the unsound sheep and find nothing in ourselves but corruption. Thus says Moses: the inventions of the thought of the human heart are evil every day. Thus says David: I was born of a sinful seed and my mother conceived me in sin. Thus says Saint Paul: there dwells in me, that is in my flesh, nothing that is good. Make your confession and say: I am among them about whom it

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<sup>110</sup> "Glæd dig naar du finder inderlig Sorrig udi dit Hierte for dine Synder oc sijg: Jeg veed at den Gvd som haffuer bedrøffuet mig met sin strenge Low indtil Døden / hand skal igien ved sin gode Aand trøste mig igien til det evige Liff." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 415.

<sup>111</sup> "That he might redeem them who were under the law: that we might receive the adoption of sons." (Gal 4:5)

<sup>112</sup> "Naar Lowen nu kommer oc lader dig vijde / at du udi mange maade haffuer Lowen offuertraadet / da sijg: Jeg bekiender / at jeg icke haffuer holt Guds Low som det sig burde: Jeg haffuer den udi mange maade ofuertraadet." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 185.

<sup>113</sup> "Because thou sayest: I am rich and made wealthy and have need of nothing: and knowest not that thou art wretched and miserable and poor and blind and naked." (Rev 3:17)

<sup>114</sup> "Bekient at du aff dig self icke haffuer Guld eller Sølf / eller nogen Ting / huor met du dig den allermindeste Trøst oc Leskelse / udi denne din Synds Tørst oc Brynde kan kiøbe. Gør din Bekiendelse aff Obenbaringens Bog / effter HERRens egen Vnderviszning / oc sijg: Jeg er elendig / oc jammerlig / oc fattig oc blind oc nøgen." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 466.

is written in the gospel: when Jesus saw the people, he felt deep pity for them for they were languishing and scattered, like sheep without a shepherd: I am the lost sheep, about which it is written by Luke the Evangelist that is had wandered away into the desert from the other ninety nine sheep, which had stayed with the shepherd. I must truly say with the prophet Isaiah and the apostle Saint Peter: we were all lost like sheep, we were dispersed each on our own road.<sup>115</sup>

However, still the confession of sin does not stand on its own, but serves as a steppingstone to a declaration of trust in the grace of God and the merits of Christ, which is the second step. In a continuation of Brochmand's reflection on the law from Galatians, the reader is through the reading expected to follow it up with the declaration that this is *not* a cause of despair. They will not despair, they will not succumb to the anxiety of sin, but by embracing Christ in their heart they will carry him forth before God, bringing the words of God before them as an assurance when they experience the self-accusation of being a child of sin, death, and the devil, that God will be gracious on account of Christ.<sup>116</sup> The passion, death, and resurrection of Christ becomes a guard and protection against the anxiety of sin and death, so that in their

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<sup>115</sup> "Sige huer aff eder: Vi ere som vanvittige Faar / oc finde intet andet i os selff end Forderffuelse. Saa siger Moses: Menniskens Hiertens Tanckers Paafund er onde huer Dag. Saa siger David: Jeg er fød at Syndig Sæd / oc min Moder haffuer undfanget mig i Synd. Saa siger S. Povel: Der boer udi mig / det er udi mit Kiød / intet got. Giør din bekiendelse oc sijg: Jeg er iblant dem / om huilcke der staar udi Evangelio: Der JESus saa Folcket ynckedis hand inderligen for deris skyld: Thi de vaare forsmæctede oc adspridde / som Faar foruden Hyrde: Jeg er det vildfarende Faar / om huilcket der staar hos Lucam Evangelist / at det vaar kommen hen udi Ørcken fra de andre ni oc halffemtesindsindstiuftue Faar / som bleffue hos Hyrden. Jeg maa sandferdeligen sige med Propheten Esaia oc Apostelen S. Peder: Vi vaare alle vilde som Faar / vi vaare henvende huer paa sin Vey." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 503.

<sup>116</sup> "Men derfor vil jeg icke mistuifle oc forsage: See / jeg bærer her frem JESum Christum / hand er blefuen udi min sted **Lowen underdanig**. Jeg vil sige med S. Hans: See det Guds Lamb som bærer Verdens Synder. Jeg vil sige med S. Povel: Det som vaar Lowen wmueligt / i det hun vaar skrøbelig formedelst Kiødet / det haffuer GVD udrettet / i det hand sende sin egen Søn / i det syndige Kiøds Skickelse / oc for Syndens skyld fordømde Synden i Kiødet. Jeg vil sige med S. Peder: Christus led engang for Syndere / den Retfærdige for Wretfærdige / at hand skulde føre os frem til Gud. Naar mit Hierte holder mig for / at jeg ved Lowens Ofuertrædelse er skyldig til timelig oc ævig Straff: Da vil jeg det icke necte / men jeg vil tage JESum udi mit Hierte / oc sige: JESus tog min Pijne paa sig: JESus er Saargiort for mine Synder: Jeg haffuer faaet Lægedom ved JESu Saaer [...] Naar du nu mit Hierte vilt mig angribe der med / at jeg er Syndsens / Dødsens oc Dieffuelens Barn: Da vil jeg fatte JESum i mit Hierte / oc jeg vil holde GVD disse hans egne Ord Faare: See / denne er min elskelige Søn / udi huilcken jeg hafuer god Behagelighed." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 185–86.

despair they should look to Christ, imitate him, and let his bloody sacrifice be their merit before God:

When the cruelty of death distresses you, then turn your eyes to no other place than to Jesus. Say: I will imitate my saviour Jesus, who said so to his disciples: ought not Jesus suffer all this and enter into his glory? I will willingly suffer with Jesus and willingly with him taste the temporal death so that I with Jesus can come to the eternal honor. Say: I will go and look upon my saviour Jesus and see how he fought with death so that his sweat became as a drop of blood and fell on the ground. I will by faith take these bloody tears in my heart, which Jesus sweat and I will show them to God and I will admonish God that he will for their sake aid me in death and by them make my heart joyful. I will go and consider how my saviour Jesus Christ on the tree of the cross has fought with death in such a way that he says: my God, my God, why have you forsaken me? I will say to God: As truly as Jesus Christ cried out in his death that he had been forsaken by his God, so truly shall you, my God, not forsake me in death. I will in death know of no other thing than the crucified Jesus. With him I will assemble before God and I will present those words before God that Jesus has said to me, which is: I am the resurrection and the life. Whoever believes in me, even if he dies, yet shall he live. And whoever lives and believes in me shall not die in eternity.<sup>117</sup>

For the final step in the threefold process, Brochmand leads the reader to express for themselves the desire to improve their current condition, to actively seek God. An immediate

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<sup>117</sup> “Naar Dødsens Grumhed bedrøfuer dig / vendt dine Øyne ingen andensteds hen ned til JEsu. Sijg / jeg vil efterfølge min Frelsere Jesu / som saaledis sagde til sine Disciple: Burde det icke JEsu at lijde alt dette oc indgaae til sin Herlighed: Jeg vil gierne lijde med JEsu / oc gierne med hannem smage den timelig Død / at jeg med Jesu kand komme til den ævige Ære. Sijg / jeg vil gaee hen oc beskue min Frelsere JEsu / oc see huorledis hand saa kiempedis med Døden at hans Sved bleff som Blodsdraabe oc falt paa Jorden: Jeg vil ved Troen tage disse blodige Taare i mit Hierte / som JEsu svedte / oc jeg vil vijse Gud dem / oc jeg vil formane Gud / at hand vil for deris skyld staa mig bij udi Døden / oc ved dem glad giøre mit Hierte: Jeg vil gaee hen oc giffue act paa huorledis min Frelsere JEsu Christus hand paa Kaarsens Træ saa haffuer stridet med døden / at hand siger: Min Gud / min Gud / hui haffuer du forlat mig: Jeg vil sige til Gud: Saa sant JEsu Christus hand hafuer beklaget sig udi sin død / at haffue været aff dig sin Gud forlat: Saa sant skalt du min Gud icke i Døden forlade mig: Jeg vil udi Døden intet andet vijde end den kaarsfeste JEsu: Med hannem vil jeg møde for Gud: Oc jeg vil holde GVD de Ord fore som JEsu haffuer sagd til mig / saa liudende: Jeg er Opstandelsen oc Liffuit: Huo som troer paa mig / om hand end døer skal hand dog leffue: Oc huer den som leffuer oc troer paa mig hand skal icke døe evindeligen.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 435.

example relates to the previous reference to John 10, where the reader in their experience as the lost sheep are led to declare their determination that they will put in the effort and do their work in order to arrive to the safety of the sheepfold:

When you now experience that you are a lost sheep, roaming about on the field of the lost world and does not know on what time and hour your are in the gorge of the death and devil. Then say: I must finally work so that I can come to a safe sheepfold, where I can be free from all danger. I will do as all God's blessed children have done, who when they have sensed that they were poor lost sheep, they have immediately thereupon used all their diligence that they could become a good shepherd who could defend them against all wild animals and could arrive at the sheepfold where they could be safe from all danger.<sup>118</sup>

Keeping the previously referenced gospel exposition for the 9th Sunday after Trinity in mind, Ps 41 becomes an occasion for the reader's declaration that they not only *will* perform acts of charity, but also instills in them such a certainty that once they are at their deathbed, they will say that they *have* done so. This passage also becomes illustrative of Brochmand's dynamic and creative use of scripture, which especially lends itself to the dialogical function. In the prayers, confessions, and declarations already shown, scriptural catenae are interwoven in an almost seamless flow that encourages an individualized use of scripture as their own. Some passages lend themselves more easily to this use, but Brochmand goes one step further when he actively adapts and rewrites scriptural passages to suit this particular style. In the quote that is based on Ps 41, Brochmand does not merely quote it, but alters the text so that the third-person singular of the psalm is replaced by the first-person singular and integrated into the passage. In this way the psalm becomes part of the reader's speech, as they are invited to make this declaration on their deathbed in the future perfect tense. The alterations can be seen clearly in the direct comparison between Brochmand's text from *Sabbati Sanctificatio* and the Danish bible editions of Christian IV (1633) and Hans Poulsen Resen's (1607). The altered pronouns have been underlined:

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<sup>118</sup> "Naar du nu kommer udi denne Forfaring at du est som eet vildfarende Faar / som vancker den vildfarende Verdens Marck / oc icke veed paa huilcken Tid oc Time du est udi Dødsens oc Diefuelens Strube: Saa sijg: Jeg maa endelige arbejde der paa / at jeg kan komme til en tryg **Faarestie** / huor jeg kand være fri fra all Fare. Jeg vil giøre som alle salige GVds Børn haffue gjort / huilcke naar de haffue fornummet / at de haffue været fattige vildfarende Faar / haffue de strax der paa anvent deris Flijd / at de kunde faa en god **Hyrde** / der kunde dem for alle vilde Diur forsuare / oc kunde komme til den **Faarestie** / huor de for all Fare kunde være trygge." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Sommer-Parten*, 503–4.

| Christian IV                               | Brochmand                                             | Resen                              |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Salig er <u>den</u> / som tager <u>sig</u> | Salig er <u>jeg</u> / som hafuer                      | Salig er <u>den</u> / som forstaar |
| den Nødtørftige til /                      | taget <u>mig</u> den Nødtørfftige                     | <u>sig</u> paa den Nødtørfftige /  |
| HERREN skal frelse <u>hannem</u>           | til: HERren skal frelse <u>mig</u> i                  | HERREN skal redde <u>hannem</u>    |
| i den onde tid. HERREN                     | denne onde Tid. HERren skal                           | paa den onde Dag. HERren           |
| skal bevare <u>hannem</u> ved              | bevare <u>mig</u> / oc skal holde                     | skal beuare <u>hannem</u> / Oc     |
| Lifuit / Oc lade det gaa                   | <u>mig</u> ved Liffuet / om det er                    | holde <u>hannem</u> ved Liffuit /  |
| <u>hannem</u> vel paa Jorden / oc          | hannem til ære / oc <u>mig</u> til                    | det skal gaa <u>hannem</u> vel i   |
| icke gifue <u>hannem</u> i <u>hans</u>     | Salighed. HERren skal                                 | Landet / Oc du skalt icke          |
| Fienders vilie. HERREN                     | vederquege <u>mig</u> paa <u>min</u>                  | giffue <u>hannem</u> i <u>hans</u> |
| skal vederquege <u>hannem</u> paa          | Sotteseng: Hand skal hielpe                           | Fienders vilie. HERREN             |
| <u>hans</u> Sote seng / du hielper         | <u>mig</u> aff ald <u>min</u> Siugdom. <sup>120</sup> | skal opholde <u>hannem</u> paa     |
| <u>hannem</u> af all <u>hans</u>           |                                                       | <u>hans</u> Soteseng / Du omuende  |
| Siugdom. <sup>119</sup>                    |                                                       | all <u>hans</u> Leye i <u>hans</u> |
|                                            |                                                       | Siugdom. <sup>121</sup>            |

The systematic examination of the use of scriptural quotations is outside the scope of this project, but the example is indicative of a persistent invitation to use scripture as their own. There are 390 occurrences of the phrase ‘say with’ (particularly noteworthy in the imperative *sijg med*, but also used with the indicative *siger med* in a functionally equivalent manner, whereby the phrase transitions into a dialogical passage), which is an exemplary way for Brochmand to encourage the use of scripture as their own words; sometimes merely by giving examples, but also by directly putting these words in the mouth of the reader to use as their own in an individualized praxis of piety. There is an encouragement to move from the communal reception of the exposition to practice these words separately or individually (*huer for sig* or *huer aff eder*):

Say each for themselves: Jesus, you are the true pearl. I love you above all gold and above all that is in the world. I would gladly lose everything in order to keep you. Say

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<sup>119</sup> Biblia. *Det er Den gantske Hellige Scrifft paa Danske igien offuerseet oc prentet effter vor allernaadigste Herris oc Kongis K. Christian den IV Befaling. Mett Register / alle D. Lutheri Fortaler hans Udlegning i Brædden oc Viti Theodori Summarier* (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1633), fol. 299v.

<sup>120</sup> Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio*. Sommer-Parten, 921.

<sup>121</sup> Biblia, *Paa Danske / Det er / Den gantske hellige scriptis Bøger igennem seete med flijd effter den Ebræeske oc Grækeske text etc. det negste mueligt var / Oc effter som de paa andre atskillige Tungemaal vaare best vdsatte* (Copenhagen, 1607), fol. 273r.

with James: Lord, I will not let you go before you bless me. Say with Job: Lord, although you should kill me, I will trust in you.<sup>122</sup>

In this way the *personae* of scripture transcend the role of mere instructors of doctrine or pious examples, but they become conversation partners by providing a language through which to address God and be addressed at the same time, as God also speaks through scripture to the readers. The marginalia is quite thorough in providing references to allusions and direct quotations, and quite frequently the body text will also make reference to where a particular quotation is from, but it is also not uncommon for scriptural passages to be seamlessly woven into the text as if the reader should speak the words of scripture directly as their own.<sup>123</sup> In the gospel exposition for the 1st Sunday of Advent, Brochmand moves from a collective declaration of the expectation of the coming king to an individualized expression of the certainty of the coming of Christ using Ps 91:2–3.10 and John 3:2 and 5:22–23:

Say and sing: We will wish this king progress. We wish that his kingdom will grow more and more. We wish that his will be done here on earth as in heaven. We wish that all peoples will gather together for this king, worship him, serve him, obey him. Whoever keeps to this king, he can surely say: My confidence, my castle, my God, in whom I trust. He will deliver me from the hunter's snare and from the vicious abomination. He will hide me with his feathers and my confidence will be under his wing. His truth is my protection and shield. As long as I have this king, then I am certain that no evil thing will befall me and no affliction will come near my dwelling. Then I will, Lord Jesus, go towards you, I will with joy and song conceive and say: Blessed be the one who comes in the name of the Lord. Yes, surely you are coming, O Lord Jesus, in the name of the Lord. For you have been sent by God, since it is written: Master, we know that you are a teacher who have come from God, for no one can do the sign you do unless God is with him. You have been sent in God's place, so that whoever honors you honors God, who sent you as you yourself has taught, saying: The Father does not judge anyone, he gives all judgement to the Son so that they should honor the Son like they honor the Father. Who does not honor the Son, he does not honor the Father, who has sent him. Then I will, Lord Jesus, with mind and heart,

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<sup>122</sup> "Siger huer for sig: JEsu du est den rette Perle: Dig elsker jeg offuer alt Guld / oc offuer alt det i Verden. Jeg vil gjerne miste Alting / at jeg kand beholde dig. Sijg med Jacob: HErre jeg slipper dig icke / førend du velsigner mig: Sijg med Job: HErre / dersom du end vil ihielslaae mig / saa vil jeg dog haabe på dig." Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 432.

<sup>123</sup> Such a praxis was not uncommon among Brochmand's contemporaries. Gerhard similarly utilizes scripturally based dialogue as consolatory pastoral care, Steiger, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637)*, 45–50.

with mouth and tongue, honor you, say and sing: Glory in the highest to this King, God Father, Son and Holy Spirit, who have been from the beginning, and is yet, and remains forever, amen.<sup>124</sup>

While the use of the psalm in this context holds the promise of expectation and declaration, the initial phrase reaches a wider meaning as worship or praise. With 19 occurrences of ‘say and sing with’ (*sige oc siunge med*), the transformation of sorrow into joy reaches a culmination in praise, often with reference to and as an introduction of the psalms and songs of worship and praise:

What would we then say? Is God for us, then who could be against us? He who did not spare his own son, but gave him for us all. Why should he not also mercifully grant us everything with him? Should I not rejoice with him? Yes, truly I will rejoice in this. I say once more that I will everywhere and always rejoice in this. I will say and sing with David in the psalm: My soul, praise the Lord and all that is within me praise his holy name. My soul, praise the Lord and do not forget the good he has done to you.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> “Sijg oc siung: Denne Konge ynske vi alle ald Fremgang: Vi ynske at hans Rige maa jo meere oc meere tiltage: Vi ynske at hans Vilie maa skee her paa Jorden som i Himmelen: Vi ynske at alle Folck ville samle sig til denue Konge / tilbede hannem / tiene hannem / adlyde hannem. Huo der holder sig til denne Konge / hand kand tryggelig sige: Min Tillijd / min Slot / min Gud / paa den jeg haaber: Hand frelser mig fra Jægerne Snare / oc fra den skadelige Pestilentze. Hand skal skiule mig med sine Fedre / oc min Tillijd skal være under hans Vinge: Hans Sandhed er Beskiærmelse oc Skiold. Saa lenge jeg haffuer denne Konge / da er jeg vis paa / at der skal intet Ont mig vederfaris / oc der skal ingen Plage komme nær min Bolig. Saa vil jeg da / HERre JEsu / gaa ud imod dig / jeg vil dig med Fryd oc Sang undfange / oc sige: **Loffuet være den som kommer i HERrens Naffn.** Ja vist kommer du / O HERre JEsu / i HERrens Naffn. Thi du est udsend fra Gud / efftersom skreffuet staar: Mestere vi vide at du est kommen en Lærere aff Gud / thi ingen kand giøre de Tegn som du giør / uden GVD er med hannem. Du est udsend udi Guds egen sted / at huo der ærer dig / hand ærer Gud / som dig udsende / efftersom du selff haffuer lære / sigende: Faderen dømmer ingen / hand giffuer Sønnen ald Dom / paa det de skulle alle ære Sønnen / ligesom de ære Faderen. Huo som icke ærer Sønnen hand ærer icke Faderen / som hannem udsendte. Saa vil jeg da / HERre JEsu / med Hue oc Hierte / med Mund oc Tunge / ære dig / sige oc siunge: **Ære være i det Høye** for denne Konge / Gud Fader / Søn oc hellig Aand / som været haffuer aff første Begyndelse / oc endnu er / oc bliffuer Evindelig / Amen.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio. Vinter-Parten*, 20–21.

<sup>125</sup> “Huad ville vi da nu sige? Er Gud med os / huo kand da være imod os? Huileken som oc icke sparede sin egen Søn / med gaff hannem hen for os alle: Huorfor skulle hand icke ocsaa naadeligen skiencke os Alleting med hannem. Skulde jeg icke her udi glæde mig? Jo visselig vil jeg her udi glæde mig. Oc jeg siger end en gang / at



## Conclusion

Scholarly approaches to *Sabbati Sanctificatio* have often been dominated by genre determination of a ‘collection of sermons’, mainly derived from the circumstance that it bears the form of a postil based around the pericopes of the liturgical year. However, following considerations of contemporary homiletics and the structure of the layout of the expositions, it seems that it only partially lives up to the expectations of what a sermon ought to do, according to Brochmand (i.e. instruct in doctrine, disprove false opinions, correct vices and teach righteousness). Furthermore, the internal and external context indicates that its intended *locus* was rather household devotion and religious instruction. Although postils served a plurality of functions between pulpit and home, this primary function does suggest the need for different approaches in understanding the specific function of *Sabbati Sanctificatio*, not only as catechetical instruction, but also in the praxis of producing piety.

While the didactic element of instructing in doctrine should not be underplayed, the examination reveals that there is a more primary function in the personal appropriation and the active expression in a holy life. Through a psychagogical approach to the postil, a rhetorical analysis shows how Brochmand accomplishes this goal through the use of visual language, invocation of the affects (in particular sorrow and joy), and a dialogical aspect that involves the reader beyond mere comprehension of doctrine. While *Sabbati Sanctificatio* would not seem to qualify as meditation literature in the stricter sense, these rhetorical components indicate a meditative character wherein the self-formative intent and the praxis of reading intersect. This is not only indicated in passages that involve the body in the praxis of reading or the manner in which the manifold experiences of life are invoked, but in particular through a dialogical setting, where Brochmand reveals a use of scripture that is complex and engaging. The practical consequences of this ought to lead us to revise former perspectives on the view of scripture in Brochmand as intellectualistic or fundamentalistic. Scripture as the principle of theology extends beyond merely being a repository of doctrines to be extracted, but it is also a resource for conversation. The reader of scripture (and by extension the reader of *Sabbati Sanctificatio*) ought to engage with scripture in such a way that they adopt and adapt its words as their own in a dialogue between them and God. Through this, Brochmand provides exemplary paradigms for emotional processes that the readers are expected to undergo as an aid for internalizing the messages of the expositions. This manoeuvre allows

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jeg vil stedze oc altid her udi glæde mig. Jeg sige oc siunge med David i Psalmen: Min siæl loffue HERren / oc huad i mig er hans hellige Naffn. Min Siæl Loffue HERREN / oc forglem icke det Gode som hand hafuer giort dig.” Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio*. *Vinter-Parten*, 73.

Brochmand to use scripture in a dialogical manner, where God speaks to the reader through scripture, and the reader responds to God through scripture. Interspersing the exposition with scriptural catenae reinforces that interplay between scripture as instructive and scripture as formative.

## Conclusion

The study of early modern Lutheran thought, life and institutions is very much still a research frontier, as Robert Kolb has recently stated,<sup>1</sup> and although it remains so even at the end of my thesis, the preceding chapters have shed some light on a small part of the whole, quite specifically the theology of Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand in the 1630s. With a sharp focus on two significant sources, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* (1633) and *Sabbati Sanctificatio* (1635–38), the topics that stand at the centre of the study reflect not only the questions raised by previous scholarship on Brochmand specifically, and early modern Lutheranism in general, but are also issues of great importance in the sources that are primary to the examination. Considering the strong influence that Brochmand had in his time and in the following generations, the results of the thesis contribute to a general characterization of a vital influence in early modern Lutheran Denmark-Norway. In this general conclusion, I will summarize the partial conclusions of the preceding chapters and comment on some general perspectives.

Beginning with the ‘first things’, the *prolegomena*, two points should be noted in particular. The first concerns matters of method. In accordance with previous characterizations of *Universæ Theologiæ Systema*, especially the terminology, but also the manner of argumentation, albeit to a lesser extent, reveal a strong influence from contemporary methodological developments and the establishment of metaphysics as an academic discipline. However, at the same time I argue that it is insufficient to categorize Brochmand’s dogmatics as simply an ‘Aristotelian work’. Although Brochmand employs the technical terminology widespread in the contemporary academic discussions, heavily influenced by Aristotelian philosophy, he works with a conception of scripture as the principle of theology which has two consequences. The first of which is that his technical terminology to a large extent is defined based on how specific words are used in scripture, which sometimes results in definitions that are rather different from how they are used traditionally and in contemporary debates. This methodological approach is likely also the reason that Brochmand refrains from using the word *habitus* in characterizing theology as an academic discipline, even though he describes it in ways that approximates what a *habitus* is. The second consequence is that when exegesis becomes the heart of argumentation, one relies on exegetical expositions to understand the structure of an argument. Although there is a genre distinction between an exegetical commentary and a postil, Brochmand’s commitment to scriptural expositions in *Sabbati Sanctificatio* contains a potential for understanding doctrinal

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<sup>1</sup> Kolb, “Early Modern Lutheranism as (Still) a Research Frontier.”

arguments more precisely, when the scriptural expositions are taken exegetically serious. The second point is that even though Brochmand defines theology first and foremost as *doctrina*, it would be a mistake to overestimate the theoretical aspects of theology as a discipline. Even if it has already been noted in previous scholarship that theology is both theoretical and practical, the practical aspect of theology is often glossed over. I argue that theology as a practical discipline should also be seen in relation to the character of the individual. Knowledge of the right things to do is an established part of the nature of theology, but theology as a practical discipline also concerns a moral quality in the theologian and a personal zeal for a life in holiness and the pursuit of eternal life.

The debates concerning the theoretical and practical also reflect certain considerations of faith in the theology of Brochmand. While previous scholarship focused on the manner in which faith is expressed as knowledge of doctrines, I argue that even though knowledge and assent are most definitely part of how Brochmand understands faith, there is nonetheless an internal prioritization whereby trust is given a more primary role. This is not only expressed in the definition itself, but when the object of faith is more specifically seen as ‘Christ himself’ – the person who suffered, died and was resurrected – one finds that application and internalization become far more present concerns than instruction; that the merits of Christ apply not only to others, but also to themselves. This is not intended to underestimate the didactic concerns of, for example, catechisms and devotional works, but rather to demonstrate Brochmand’s attention to the individual and the state of their soul. This prioritization is also seen in the postil. Even though doctrinal digressions are an integral part of its function, nonetheless the personal appropriation stands front and centre in emphasizing that a formalistic approach to the Christian faith is insufficient, but faith should be expressed in a life of holiness. These elements come together in the central expression of grasping and embracing Jesus in the heart, wherein Christ himself enters into the heart of the believer, grants them forgiveness of sins and the power to conduct themselves in a holy life. Thus, even as faith assumes an ‘erudition of Christ’, when they fall short of understanding the intricacies of doctrine, faith finds itself in an experience of Christ in the heart expressed in a declaration of the forgiveness of sins.

The numerous exhortations and encouragement to live a holy life, which has consistently been recognized in Brochmand as he is considered among the proponents of a penitential piety, are sometimes contrasted with the impossibility of seeing such ideals realized following the evaluations of Brochmand’s anthropology as highly pessimistic and according to the human being very little agency. I offer a twofold response to such observations. In the first place, one should acknowledge how great an impact sin has had in the world, according to Brochmand, which places harsh limitations on the natural capacities of the human being for conversation, which is essentially none. In that sense, Brochmand does present a negative

view of the natural human being's capacities. However, even when conversion is always the act of God alone, there is yet given a space for human agency in the sense that a free will is granted for the external spiritual things, which include going to church to hear a sermon or reading scripture. It is within their power to allow the word of God to act upon them, so they have no excuses. It is the power of God alone that works through scripture, so it is his glory alone. Such is a highly complex relationship, where Brochmand strives to capture a paradoxical mystery in a systematized format, wherein the freedom of their will in the state of grace is conditioned upon their confession of the bondage of their will. In the second place, I argue that where previous scholarship has focused on describing the ethics of Brochmand in either the dogmatics or the postil, perhaps this was not his primary focus. Not that moral instruction is unimportant, which the exhortatory digressions show as well as the systematic explication of the Decalogue, but it seems that even to get to the place of being able to live a life in holiness through the power of Christ, there is a necessary precondition, which is their confession, both of sins and the sinful state of the believer. The most significant activity of the human being is the confession of sins, for in that very act of confession they demonstrate their belonging to the state of grace in which they through the power of Christ can walk in a holy life. I further argue that the postil was designed, not only as an instrument for religious instruction, but especially for providing a language for the reader in order to bring them to that confession.

Precisely this latter point marks the transition point to the final chapter, where I offer a new approach to the postil. Having argued that it is insufficient to describe the postil in its capacity of providing instruction in doctrine, I offer an alternative, which is to see the reading of the postil as establishing a praxis of piety in and of itself. Borne out of comparisons with genre designations of contemporary works, one can find the postil placed in a genre that concerns itself with the meditation. Building upon recent developments in scholarship on the early modern meditation, I suggest that a psychagogical approach to the postil offers valuable insights into the manner in which reading as a praxis of piety functioned as instrumental and self-formative. This shows that the act of reading is not a question of knowledge acquisition, but through the use of visual language the readers are invited to partake, also with their bodies; to observe themselves from outside and use as an occasion for considering themselves and the world around them. However, the act of seeing can also be an occasion for doubt, especially when they realize they no longer see Christ, but seeing instead with the eyes of faith or the eyes of the heart, the reader will enter into a mode of reading whereby they not only see Christ in the scriptures, which is a great source of comfort, but also understand those things which are not comprehensible for reason itself. Through an appeal to the affects, the postil also offers paradigms of experience. Particularly, but not exclusively, the emotions of sorrow and joy represents central aspects of the Christian life. While the pessimistic world view of Brochmand has already been noted, the presence of joy is an interesting contrast, but

there is a tension here in the sense that sorrow is a mark of a true Christian and yet at the same time the sorrow in need of a transformation into joy and also a cause of joy in their present life. Finally, the psychagogical approach pays special attention to the dialogical elements of the meditation. Reading the postil through this lens reveals a highly dynamic, creative and rich use of scripture far removed from the misconceptions that see Brochmand's view of scripture as static, in part due to his commitment to the doctrine of verbal inspiration. Instead, Brochmand adapts scripture freely in allowing the reader to take the words of scripture upon themselves in prayer, in confession and in declaration. It places the individual at the centre as Brochmand rewrites passages so that the 'I' of the reader can apply the words to themselves and through the act of reading be led to recognize and confess their sins, declare their trust in Christ and the forgiveness he won, and finally to declare their intent to rise from sin and walk in holiness through the power of Christ in them.

At the conclusion, the thesis has performed a movement from theory to praxis. From considering the methodological foundations of Brochmand's theology to examining the practical application in a daily life of reading scripture. In light of this analysis, I recommend a revision of the portrayal of Brochmand as a systematician at heart and a devotional writer only out of need. While the systematic and polemical engagements of Brochmand should not be underestimated, it seems that praxis of piety should be drawn further in and be considered a more integral part of Brochmand's understanding of theology and the whole of his theological activity. This is especially significant in light of his controversy with Rosenkrantz. Furthermore, I would contend that the methodological consequence of seeing the connection between his academic-dogmatic and pastoral-devotional writings has shown itself to be a highly fruitful endeavour. First, because of the highly exegetical nature of devotional writings, in particular the postil, which allows for insights into the mode of argumentation in the dogmatics, which is scripturally based. Second, because to the extent that theology is considered a practical discipline, one must consult works of theological praxis in order to understand what that entails. Third, because when considered theologically, both the academic-dogmatic and pastoral-devotional writings reflect back upon each other and contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of theology. Thus, for further Brochmand-studies it should no longer be recommendable to not consider the postil when delving into the specifics of theology and theological argumentation. Recent developments in the accessibility of digital tools and digitizations have proven to be a helpful supplemental approach to the close reading of the texts in providing a broader perspective on the postil as a whole. It is my expectation that further developments will enable individual scholars not traditionally in the field of digital humanities to take advantage of this opportunity to examine key terms and use of scripture across larger amounts of text than has so far been possible. In particular, it is my hope that the development of digital editions with annotations will be prioritized within the field of early modern Lutheran studies.

## Summary in English

Among the important Danish theologians of the early modern period, Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand (1585–1652) stands out as one of the most significant influence on church and religious life both in Denmark and abroad. Through his dogmatics, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* (1633), he set the direction for university theology in Denmark-Norway for over 100 years, and his postil, *Sabbati Sanctificatio* (1635–38), was read for generations and continued to be used until the end of the 19th century. Nevertheless, there are only a few studies on his theology and impact, and much scholarship on Brochmand is influenced by previous conceptions of Lutheran Orthodoxy that are now considered outdated. In the wake of a wave of research over the past three decades that has sought to revise the understanding of Lutheran theology in the 17th century, this thesis will contribute to the understanding of Brochmand in particular and early modern Lutheranism in general.

The methodology of the thesis is based on an argument that there is a close connection between the academic-dogmatic and pastoral-devotional writings of Brochmand, which lead to a reading of the dogmatics and the postil in parallel as fundamental sources of theology, not least as an aid in the intersection between the scripture-based argumentation of the dogmatics and the exegetical nature of the postil's expositions. Alongside the thorough work with the sources, the thesis also makes use of advances in digital tools and digitization (including Transkribus) to qualify the analysis with quantitative perspectives. This work has led to the establishment of a text corpus on Github entitled: "Early Modern Danish Postils."

The thesis is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with select theological *loci*. The first chapter discusses Brochmand's understanding of the nature of theology. Here, Brochmand constructs a hybrid understanding of theology as both a theoretical and a practical discipline, giving it a threefold characterization as *scientia*, *sapientia* and *prudentia*. However, even though Brochmand's methodological approach follows contemporary trends and is influenced by the establishment of metaphysics as an academic discipline around 1600, the fundamental difference between philosophy and theology and the designation of scripture as the principle of theology cause traditional concepts to take on a new meaning. The chapter concludes that for Brochmand, theology does not only involve knowledge of what is necessary to know, believe and do in order to be saved, but also especially the theologian's moral quality and zeal for leading a holy life and working on their salvation.

The second chapter deals with the nature of faith. Here, Brochmand follows a traditional distinction, but inserts an internal prioritization, so that faith is not only *notitia* and *assensus*, but in particular *fiducia*. This trust is directed toward the promises of the merits of Christ in an individualized application. Not only when these merits not only apply to others, but also to

the believer themselves (*pro me*), but also when the object of faith is more narrowly oriented at Christ himself, insofar as he suffered, died and rose again. This is unfolded in praxis in the postil through exhortations to grasp and embrace Jesus in the heart, whereby Christ takes up residence in the believer, forgives their sins and gives them strength in which they can live a holy life.

The third chapter deals with the relationship between the active and the passive in the Christian life. This relationship is complicated by two circumstances: that the human will is bound in spiritual matters, and that God's grace is not without conditions. This tension is not resolved, but firstly, humans are granted free will in external spiritual matters, where, through going to church and reading the Bible, they provide God with an opportunity to enact conversion through the word. Secondly, the tension is maintained in the paradoxical *simul*, in such a way that human beings are free in spiritual matters only insofar as they confess themselves to be bound by sin. In this way, the very confession of sin and the sinful state becomes a central nerve in Brochmand's understanding of praxis of piety, and it is seen how this is reflected in the postil in the form of aids for confession.

The second part of the thesis takes this understanding of the postil as an instrument for piety as its starting point and draws on recent research into the role of meditation in early modern Lutheran theology. Based on the self-formative character of the postil, inspired by psychagogical praxis, a rhetorical analysis is carried out that demonstrates Brochmand's use of visual language, the appeal to affects (sorrow, joy), and the use of dialogical passages in which the reader is given a means for appropriation. The dialogical passages in particular also illustrate a dynamic and creative use of scripture, in which scripture forms the framework for a conversation between God and human beings. Where God speaks to the human being through Scripture, and where the human being takes the words of scripture upon themselves in a speech to God.

In this way, the thesis moves from theory to practice. From the foundations of theology to daily appropriation in a praxis of piety. The thesis concludes with a recommendation to include the devotional writings of Brochmand as a central, integral part of his theological project, without, however, disregarding his systematic and polemical engagement. Furthermore, the thesis has demonstrated the fruitfulness of establishing a connection between the academic-dogmatic and pastoral-devotional writings and recommends that, in particular, the postil should be considered in future studies of Brochmand's theology. As a result of this project, it is also recommended that the study of early modern Lutheran theology should increasingly make use of digital tools, not least the continued production of digital, annotated editions.



## Summary in Danish

Blandt betydningsfulde danske teologer i den tidlig moderne periode står Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand (1585–1652) som en af dem, der havde en vedvarende indflydelse på kirke- og fromhedsliv både i og uden for Danmark. Gennem sin dogmatik, *Universæ Theologiæ Systema* (1633), satte han retningen for universitetsteologien i Danmark-Norge i over 100 år, og hans postil, *Sabbati Sanctificatio* (1635–38), blev læst i generationer og benyttedes fortsat helt ind i slutningen af det 19. århundrede. Alligevel er der kun få studier i hans teologi og virke, og meget forskning om Brochmand er præget af tidligere forestillinger om den lutherske ortodoksi, som nu betragtes som forældede. I kølvandet på en bølge af forskning de seneste tre årtier, der har arbejdet for at revidere forståelsen af luthersk teologi i det 17. århundrede, leverer denne afhandling et bidrag til forståelsen af Brochmand i særdeleshed og tidlig moderne lutherdom i almindelighed.

Afhandlingens metode bygger på et argument om en nær sammenhæng mellem Brochmands akademisk-dogmatiske og pastoralt-opbyggelige skrifter, hvorfor dogmatikken og postillen læses parallelt som fundamentalteologiske kilder, ikke mindst som støtte i krydsfeltet mellem dogmatikkens skriftbaserede argumentation og postillens eksegetiske grundkarakter. Sideløbende med det grundige arbejde med kilderne, benytter afhandlingen sig også af fremskridt inden for digitale værktøjer og digitalisering (bl.a. Transkribus) til at kvalificere analysen med kvantitative perspektiver. Dette arbejde har ført til etableringen af et tekstkorpus på Github med titlen: “Early Modern Danish Postils”.

Afhandlingen falder i to dele, hvoraf den første del omhandler udvalgte teologiske *loci*. Det første kapitel diskuterer Brochmands forståelse af teologiens natur. Her konstruerer Brochmand en hybrid forståelse af teologien som både teoretisk og praktisk disciplin, hvoraf den får en trefoldig karakteristik som både *scientia*, *sapientia* og *prudentia*. Dog ses, at selvom Brochmands metodiske tilgang følger samtidige strømninger og bærer præg af, at metafysikken blev etableret som akademisk disciplin omkring 1600, så indebærer den fuldstændige væsensforskel mellem filosofi og teologi og angivelsen af Skriften som teologiens princip, at traditionelle begreber får en ny betydning. Heraf konkluderes, at teologi for Brochmand ikke bare indebærer viden om, hvad der er nødvendigt at vide, tro og gøre for at blive frelst, men i høj grad også indebærer teologens moralske kvalitet og iver for at føre et helligt liv og at arbejde på sin frelse.

Det andet kapitel omhandler troens natur. Her følger Brochmand en traditionel distinktion, men indsætter en indre prioritering, således at tro ikke blot er *notitia* og *assensus*, men i særdeleshed *fiducia*. Denne tillid retter sig mod løfterne om Kristi fortjeneste i en individualiseret tilegnelse. Ikke bare ved at disse fortjenester ikke blot gælder andre, men

også den troende selv (*pro me*), men også når troens objekt, mest snævert forstået, er rettet mod Kristus selv, for så vidt han led, døde og opstod igen. Dette udfoldes i praksis i postillen gennem opfordringer til at fatte og favne Jesus i hjertet, hvormed Kristus tager bolig i den troende, tilgiver deres synd og giver dem styrke, hvorigennem de kan vandre i hellighed.

Det tredje kapitel omhandler forholdet mellem det aktive og det passive i kristenlivet. Dette forhold kompliceres af de to omstændigheder: at menneskets vilje i åndelige sager er bundet, og at Guds nåde ikke er uden betingelser. Denne spænding bliver ikke opløst, men for det første tildeles mennesket en fri vilje i ydre åndelige sager, hvor det gennem kirkegang og bibellæsning giver Gud anlendning til at virke omvendelse gennem Ordet. For det andet sammenholdes spændingen i det paradoksale *simul*, hvor mennesket er fri i åndelige sager, kun for så vidt det bekender sig selv som bundet af synd. På den måde bliver selve bekendelsen af synden og den syndige tilstand en nerve i Brochmands forståelse af fromhedspraksis, og det ses, hvordan dette sætter sig i postillen i form af hjælpemidler til syndsbekendelse.

Afhandlingens anden del tager udgangspunkt i denne forståelse af postillen som et fromhedsredskab og trækker på nyere forskning i meditationens rolle i tidlig moderne luthersk teologi. Med udgangspunkt i postillens selv-formative karakter inspireret af psykagogisk praksis, gennemføres en retorisk analyse, der afdækker Brochmands brug af visuelle virkemidler, inddragelse af affekterne (sorg, glæde), samt anvendelse af dialogiske passager, hvor læseren gives redskaber for tilegnelse. Især de dialogiske passager illustrerer også et skriftsyn, som er dynamisk og kreativt, idet Skriften danner rammen om en samtale mellem Gud og mennesker. Hvor Gud taler til mennesket gennem Skriften, og hvor mennesket tager Skriftens ord på sig i en tale til Gud.

På denne måde foretager afhandlingen en bevægelse fra teori til praksis. Fra teologiens fundament til den daglige tilegnelse i en fromhedspraksis. Afhandlingen konkluderer med en opfordring til at inddrage Brochmands opbyggelige forfatterskab i højere grad som en central, integreret del af hans teologiske projekt dog uden at underkende hans systematiske og polemiske engagement. Yderligere har afhandlingen vist det frugtbare i at etablere en forbindelse mellem de akademisk-dogmatiske og pastoralt-opbyggelige skrifter og anbefaler, at især postillen fremadrettet bør tænkes med i fremtidige studier af Brochmands teologi. Som led i dette arbejde opfordres også til at studiet af tidlig moderne luthersk teologi i stigende grad gør brug af digitale værktøjer, ikke mindst det fortsatte arbejde med digitale, annoterede udgaver.

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## Appendix A

| Keyword             | Results                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | Exclusion                                                      |
|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| lærdom 558<br>75%   | lerdom 1<br>lærdons 1<br>lærdomme 5<br>lærdomo 1<br>lerdoms 1<br>læedom 1<br>ærdom 4<br>lætdom 1<br>lærdomalen 1<br>lærdo 2<br>lærdom 445<br>lærdam 1<br>lærkom 1<br>lirdom 1<br>lærdos 2<br>lærdommens 3<br>lærdem 3<br>lærdoms 62<br>lørdom 1<br>lærdommen 10<br>lordom 1<br>lærdon 4<br>læredom 1<br>lardom 1<br>lældom 1<br>lærduom 1<br>lærom 2 | 'lægdøm', 'lægedøm',<br>'læaedom', 'lærd'                      |
| kundskab 139<br>75% | kondskab 1<br>kyndskab 1<br>kundskabs 17<br>eundskabs 1<br>kandskab 1<br>kundskabom 1<br>kundab 1<br>lundskab 1<br>kandskabs 2<br>chriskundskab 1<br>kundskad 1<br>undskab 1<br>kuldskab 1<br>kundskab 107<br>kundska 1<br>kundskub 1                                                                                                                | 'oudskab','budskab','kunds','o<br>ndskab','kuns','kundskabens' |

|                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                 |
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| undervise 257<br>75% | undervijst 36<br>untervise 1<br>unfervist 1<br>undervij 1<br>inderviser 1<br>undervijstde 1<br>undtrvijser 1<br>dervijse 1<br>indervijse 1<br>undervisis 5<br>unterviset 1<br>underviser 26<br>vndernise 1<br>liudervijse 1<br>undervijsendis 1<br>vndervist 1<br>undervijste 4<br>vndervijs 2<br>undetvijse 1<br>vndervijser 6<br>undervilsee 1<br>unervijser 1<br>undervist 7<br>undervijse 42<br>underviste 3<br>undervijsende 1<br>undervijsis 14<br>undvijser 1<br>underviendis 1<br>undervilse 1<br>undervise 32<br>undervisse 1<br>undervilser 3<br>undervisee 1<br>undervijsse 1<br>unervise 1<br>underis 1<br>undervijses 1<br>endervise 1<br>underviiszde 1<br>undtrvist 1<br>undervijser 36<br>vnderviser 9<br>undervijs 1<br>undeevijse 1<br>indervijser 1 | 'deviser','sundernis','underlige'<br>',undervege','undertvinger','u<br>nderste','undervisning','under<br>s','underlie','undere' |
|----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

|                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| undervisning 65<br>75%     | vydervijszning 1<br>undervisning 2<br>vndervilsning 1<br>undervijsendis 1<br>vndevijsing 1<br>vndervilszning 1<br>undervijsning 2<br>vndervisning 8<br>vndervijsning 23<br>vndervisling 1<br>vnderviszning 5<br>vndervijszuing 1<br>vndervijsziung 1<br>vndervijsznuing 1<br>jndervijszning 1<br>vndervijning 2<br>vndervijszning 11<br>vndervijsuing 1<br>vndervijsning 1                             | 'underanig','bevisning','under<br>vijs','undervise','undervijsis','<br>undervisis','undervist'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| det er icke nock 79<br>75% | enddet er icke nock 1<br>det er icke nok 1<br>det er icke nock 53<br>er enda icke nock 1<br>det er icke noc 2<br>det er it nock 1<br>er endda icke nock 1<br>det er icke enda 1<br>det er icke nack 1<br>det er icke lock 1<br>det er icke end 4<br>vet er icke nock 1<br>det er icke endda 6<br>det er icke ent 1<br>der da icke nock 1<br>det da icke nock 1<br>det er icke de 1<br>t er icke nock 1 | 'det er icke tidnu','det er icke<br>sönckt','det er icke<br>vunder','det er skeet oc','det<br>er icke siuct','er icke nock<br>i','der er icke len','j det er<br>nock','det er icke vort','det er<br>icke smuct','pendinge er icke<br>nock','det er icke den','det er<br>icke nogen','det er icke<br>endnu','dette er icke den','det<br>er icke hans','de saae icke<br>oc','det er det oc','eder er icke<br>en','det er os nock','jeg er<br>icke oc','det er icke voris','det<br>er dig nock','er icke nock<br>at','det eder icke nock','der<br>icke ind oc','da bette icke<br>nock','det er end oc','det er<br>disciplen nock','penninge er<br>icke nock','hand er icke<br>nocksom','er det icke<br>nock','det er icke vnder','det<br>er icke endde','det icke nock<br>at','j ere icke oc','eder icke<br>nock at','det er icke sant','de<br>ere skickede oc','der er icke<br>noget','det er icke andet','det<br>er icke uden','er icke noc<br>j','det er icke skiult','er icke |

|                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | nock a','er ickenock ti','det<br>saae icke oc','det er icke<br>at','det er discipelen<br>nock','det er icke endns','det<br>icke nock som','det er icke<br>af','det er dig oc','det dig icke<br>nockf','det er icke synd','at vi<br>icke nock','det er oc oc','det<br>te icke s','de ldde icke oc','det<br>her gick encken','det er icke<br>aff','er icke nock du','i det er<br>icke','det er icke got','det er i<br>cke','det er icke udi','det er<br>icke en','det er icke saa','der<br>er icke i','det er icke i','der er<br>icke end','de ere icke i','det er<br>icke s' |
| hierte 2217<br>75% | hiertegiorde 1<br>gierte 1<br>hielte 1<br>hiærte 1<br>hiertige 2<br>hiert 8<br>hiettet 1<br>hielre 1<br>hierterne 24<br>vorhierte 1<br>hierens 2<br>kierte 1<br>hierternis 18<br>hiertit 1<br>hierters 23<br>hierer 5<br>hierters 1<br>hiertet 375<br>hierte 1225<br>hierteimod 1<br>hienter 1<br>hiertenen 1<br>hierker 1<br>hirte 1<br>hiertens 82<br>hierle 9<br>hierlee 1<br>huahierte 1<br>hiertee 1<br>hiertel 2<br>hiedtet 2 | 'herte','iere','hierteligen','hiert<br>elt','hienere','høieste','smierte'<br>, 'hiertelang','hierteliges','hiert<br>elag','hiertelaget','hierteraab','<br>hiorten','hiertelaug','hiertelig',<br>'hiertelige','hete','herten','hiert<br>ene','herster','hierne','here','hi<br>er','hert','hiertesorg','pierste','<br>hergte'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |

|  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |  |
|--|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
|  | hiecte 1<br>hierterjes 1<br>tierte 2<br>nietet 1<br>hietes 1<br>hietetil 1<br>bierte 1<br>hierter 282<br>hieæarte 1<br>hiete 3<br>hierner 1<br>ierte 1<br>hietert 1<br>hertene 1<br>hiere 3<br>erte 4<br>hiertil 1<br>gieter 1<br>hieteindtaget 1<br>ochierte 1<br>hietervilt 1<br>hierler 2<br>hiecter 1<br>hierten 1<br>hite 1<br>hientet 1<br>vhietet 1<br>hietter 1<br>hietter 2<br>hiereet 1<br>hierternes 3<br>mierte 1<br>hietis 80<br>hietelns 1<br>giertet 1<br>hieruer 1<br>hieret 3<br>hierske 2<br>hiørte 1<br>hiuertet 1<br>hiette 2<br>hieteer 1<br>hierdet 2<br>hiente 1<br>hoehierte 1 |  |
|--|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|



|                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| troes øyne 45<br>75% | troens øyen 8<br>troens øyne 25<br>tro øynne 1<br>troens øune 1<br>troes øyne 3<br>troes øyen 1<br>roens øyne 1<br>trois øyne 4<br>troens øyene 1                                                         | 'broders øye','troens<br>bøn','døttres øyne','troens<br>børn','troins ørne','troen ne'                                                                                                                                                |
| hiertis øye 7<br>75% | hierters øyne 1<br>hiertis øye 1<br>hiertes øyne 1<br>hiertis øyne 3<br>hiertens øyne 1                                                                                                                   | 'deris høye','kiert<br>føye','hiertis lønlige','hiertis<br>oc','deris øyne','hiertis<br>arme','hiertis dør','deris<br>øyen','hiertis<br>syndige','hierternis<br>døre','hoerkatis øye','hiertet<br>bøye','herens øye','hiertis<br>døn' |
| sorrig 126<br>75%    | sorrigen 5<br>sorig 1<br>sorria 2<br>sorige 1<br>sorrig 66<br>sorg 43<br>forrig 2<br>soig 2<br>sorijg 1<br>sortig 1<br>sorrigen 1<br>sørrig 1                                                             | 'forrige','sorrigfeldighed','om<br>sorrig','omsorig', 'sorrigfuld'                                                                                                                                                                    |
| glæde 812<br>75%     | glade 46<br>læde 8<br>gulde 1<br>læfde 3<br>blæde 1<br>glædde 22<br>læder 6<br>gærde 1<br>glæds 1<br>llæde 1<br>glæden 8<br>glæbe 1<br>glædsens 3<br>læøde 1<br>glæd 18<br>glde 1<br>glæde 527<br>giæde 2 | 'lærde','læsde','klæde','guldk<br>æde','glædeligere','glædelig','<br>glædelige','glædeligen','glæd<br>eligt','græde'                                                                                                                  |

|                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                     | galde 8<br>flæde 1<br>glædet 7<br>gløde 2<br>hlæde 1<br>glæder 137<br>nlæde 1<br>glæe 1<br>glede 3                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| sijg jeg 33<br>75%  | sijg jeg 32<br>tijg jeg 1                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 'sijg endog', 'slijg jesu', 'strijd<br>jeg', 'dig jeg', 'rig jeg', 'svig<br>jeg', 'siger jeg', 'sijg jesu', 'sag<br>jeg', 'siuge jeg', 'mig jeg', 'sig<br>jee', 'suig jeg', 'sijge<br>jeg', 'dusige jeg', 'lijg<br>jeg', 'sijgendis jeg', 'jeg<br>jeg', 'sijgende jeg', 'i jeg', 'tig<br>jeg', 'sige jeg', 'sitger jeg', 'rijg<br>jeg', 'sim jeg', 'rijge jeg', 'lig<br>jeg', 'sig j', 'sig jeg', 'sijg<br>jngen', 'sig teg', 'sige eg', 'sijge<br>j', 'sig je' |
| sijg med 390<br>75% | sige med 208<br>g med 2<br>siger med 54<br>sijge med 2<br>tig med 1<br>sijg men 1<br>fredsijg med 1<br>sug med 1<br>sijg mi 1<br>sijs med 1<br>sijg med 88<br>bijg med 1<br>slig med 2<br>slijg med 2<br>sijg ned 1<br>sijg met 23<br>sigis med 1 | 'sig men', 'lijg med', 'smigre<br>med', 'sig met', 'sim med', 'sig<br>ned', 'j med', 'salig<br>med', 'siunge med', 'dig<br>med', 'sig med', 'sig ved', 'sig<br>mes', 'siung med', 'lig med', 'jeg<br>med', 'sijg du', 'mig med', 'sig<br>hermed', 'snigre med', 'jig<br>med', 'sijg endog', 'strijd<br>med', 'i med', 'sig end', 'sig<br>mod', 'big med', 'sig d', 'sig<br>mel', 'sag med', 'nystig<br>med', 'sijg hende'                                       |
| sijg see 14<br>90 % | sijg see 14                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 'sig see'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| sijg du 33<br>90 %  | sijge du 1<br>sijg u 1<br>sig du 9<br>sijg du 21<br>slijg du 1                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |

|                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                           |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| sige oc siunge med 19<br>90 % | sige oc siunge met 1<br>sige oc siunge med 11<br>sige oc sliunge med 1<br>sige oc siunge amen 1<br>siger oc siunger med 2<br>sijg oc siunge med 1<br>sige oc siunge de 1<br>sige oc slunge med 1                                                          | 'sig oc sine med'                                                                         |
| glæde 701<br>90 %             | glædde 22<br>glæder 137<br>glæden 8<br>glædet 7<br>glæde 527                                                                                                                                                                                              | 'glædeligere','glædelige','glædeligen','glædelig','glædeligt'                             |
| unyttig tiener 29<br>75 %     | unytlige tienere 2<br>tig tienere 1<br>wtiyttige tienere 1<br>wnytlige tienere 1<br>wnyttige enere 1<br>wnyttig tienere 1<br>unyttige tienere 4<br>nuyttis tienere 1<br>wytig tienere 1<br>nytlige tienere 1<br>wnyttige tienere 13<br>wnyttigt tienere 2 | 'fattige tienere'                                                                         |
| guds barn 287<br>75%          | guds baren 1<br>gud barn 2<br>guds barns 4<br>guds ban 2<br>guds barnhierighed 1<br>guds barn 276<br>guds barni 1                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                           |
| guds børn 514<br>75%          | guds bøn 5<br>uds børn 4<br>guds bør 2<br>guds børnis 1<br>guds børn 474<br>guds børns 24<br>guds børne 1<br>jguds børn 1<br>gud børn 2                                                                                                                   |                                                                                           |
| favne oc fatte 8<br>75%       | faffuer oc fatter 1<br>faffner oc fatter 1<br>ner oc fatter 1<br>fafne oc fatte 1<br>faffne oc fatte 2<br>faffnet oc fattet 1<br>fauffne oc fatte 1                                                                                                       | 'gange oc maatte','forstaae oc fatte','finde oc fatte','ene oc fatacte','faarene oc acte' |

|                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                     |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| fatte oc favne 27<br>75% | fatte oc sauffne 2<br>fatter oc faffner 4<br>fate oc faffne 1<br>fatte oc fafne 1<br>fatte oc faffne 4<br>fatter oc faufner 2<br>fatter oc fauffner 3<br>fatter oc faffuer 1<br>satter oc faffner 1<br>fatter oc fafner 2<br>fatte oc fauffne 1<br>falte oc faffne 1<br>fattet oc salfnet 1<br>fattet oc faffnet 1<br>satt oc fauffne 1<br>fatte oc saffne 1 | 'faa oc fange','fatte oc<br>faa','fattige oc forvende','fatte<br>oc forstaae','fatte oc<br>føle','fatte oc annamme' |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

## Appendix B

### Fuzzy Concordance

The following code was originally developed in the form of a Jupyter Notebook. It is a functional concordance with a built-in fuzzy search feature. The example code uses 'fatte oc favne' and a fuzzy ratio of 75% as a case.

```
# In[ ]:

# Requirements
import re
from thefuzz import fuzz
from thefuzz import process
import os
import nltk
from nltk.collocations import BigramCollocationFinder
from nltk.metrics import BigramAssocMeasures

# In[ ]:

file1 = "data/brochmand_sabbati_sanctificatio_vinter.txt"
file2 = "data/brochmand_sabbati_sanctificatio_sommer.txt"

# In[ ]:

corpus = ""
with open(file1, 'r', encoding='utf-8') as file:
    corpus += file.read()
with open(file2, 'r', encoding='utf-8') as file:
    corpus += file.read()

# In[ ]:

corpus_clean = corpus
corpus_clean = re.sub('\n', '', corpus_clean)
corpus_clean = re.sub(' ', '', corpus_clean)
corpus_clean = re.sub('[!\"#$%&\'()*+,-./:;<=>?@[\\]^_`{|}~]', '', corpus_clean)
corpus_clean = corpus_clean.lower()
corpus_clean = re.sub(' +', ' ', corpus_clean)

# In[ ]:

corpus_clean_list = corpus_clean.split()

# Fuzzy N-gram and word search

# In[ ]:

keyword = 'fatte oc favne'
corpus_ngram = ["".join(corpus_clean_list[i:i+len(keyword.split())]) for i in
range(len(corpus_clean_list))]
corpus_ngram_nltk = nltk.Text(corpus_ngram)
```

```

# In[ ]:

total_counts = 0
exceptions = []
lst = [word for word in corpus_ngram if fuzz.ratio(keyword,word) > 75 and word not in
exceptions or word.startswith(keyword) and word not in exceptions]
for word in list(set(lst)):
    print(word, corpus_ngram_nltk.count(word))
    total_counts += corpus_ngram_nltk.count(word)
print(total_counts)

# ### Concordance

# In[ ]:

words_ngram = [string.split() for string in list(set(lst))]
counter = 1
for words in words_ngram:
    for i in range(len(corpus_clean_list)):
        if corpus_clean_list[i:i+len(words)] == words:
            print(counter,end="")
            print(':',end=' ')
            for x in range(i-10,i+50):
                if x in range(i,i+len(words)):
                    print("\033[1m'+corpus_clean_list[x]+''\033[0m',end=' ')
                else:
                    print(corpus_clean_list[x],end=' ')
            print("\n")
            counter += 1

```

## Split Expositions

The following code is a preparatory script designed to split the two text files of winter and summer part of Brochmand's postil into individual files, each containing an exposition for either the epistle or the gospel pericope.

```

import re
import os

file_name =
['brochmand_sabbati_sanctificatio_vinter_@.txt','brochmand_sabbati_sanctificatio_sommer_@.txt']

def brochmand_sabbati_sanctificatio_vinter():
    file_name = 'brochmand_sabbati_sanctificatio_vinter_@.txt'
    dir_name = file_name[:len(file_name)-6]

    with open(file_name,'r',encoding='utf-8') as file:
        doc = file.read()

    #Make directories if not already existing
    try:
        os.mkdir(dir_name)
    except:
        pass

```

```

try:
    os.mkdir(dir_name+'/prayer')
except:
    pass

doc_split = doc.split('@')

descriptor =
['1SinAdv','2SinAdv','3SinAdv','4SinAdv','Christmas','StSteph','StJohn','1SafChr','NewYear',
 '1SaftNY','Epiph','1SaftEpi','2SaftEpi','3SaftEpi','4SaftEpi','5SaftEpi','6SaftEpi',
 'MaryPur','Sept','Sexa','Lent','1SinLent','2SinLent','3SinLent','Laetare','SaftLat',
 'MaryAnnun','PalmSun','MaunThur','GoodFri']

counter, descriptor_counter = 0, 0
exceptions = {48:'_EGP',80:'_G',82:'_G',83:'_G'}
modifiers = ['_E','_G','_P']
section = ['/', '/', '/prayer/']

for i in range(len(doc_split)):
    if i == len(doc_split)-1:
        break
    if i in exceptions:
        file_name =
dir_name+section[counter]+str(i).zfill(3)+'_'+descriptor[descriptor_counter]+exceptions[i]+'.'t
xt'
        counter = 0
        descriptor_counter += 1
    else:
        file_name =
dir_name+section[counter]+str(i).zfill(3)+'_'+descriptor[descriptor_counter]+modifiers[count
er]+'.'txt'
        if counter == 2:
            counter = 0
            descriptor_counter += 1
        else:
            counter += 1
        with open(file_name,'w',encoding='utf-8') as output:
            output.write(doc_split[i])

def brochmand_sabbati_sanctificatio_sommer():
    file_name = 'brochmand_sabbati_sanctificatio_sommer_@.txt'
    dir_name = file_name[:len(file_name)-6]

    with open(file_name,'r',encoding='utf-8') as file:
        doc = file.read()

    #Make directories if not already existing
    try:
        os.mkdir(dir_name)
    except:
        pass
    try:
        os.mkdir(dir_name+'/prayer')
    except:
        pass

    doc_split = doc.split('@')

```

```

descriptor = ['Easter','2aftEas','3aftEas','1SafEas','2SafEas','3SafEas',
              '4SafEas','5SafEas','Ascension','6SafEas','Pentecost','2aftPent',
              '3aftPent','Trinity','1SaftTrin','2SaftTrin','3SaftTrin',
              'StJohBap','4SaftTrin','MaryVisit','5SaftTrin','6SaftTrin',
              '7SaftTrin','8SaftTrin','9SaftTrin','10SaftTrin','11SaftTrin',
              '12SaftTrin','13SaftTrin','14SaftTrin','15SaftTrin','16SaftTrin',
              'StMichael','17SaftTrin','18SaftTrin','19SaftTrin','20SaftTrin',
              '21SaftTrin','AllSaints','22SaftTrin','23SaftTrin','24SaftTrin',
              '25SaftTrin','26SaftTrin','27SaftTrin']

counter, descriptor_counter = 0, 0
modifiers = ['_E','_G','_P']
section = ['/', '/', '/prayer/']

for i in range(84,len(doc_split)+84):
    if i == len(doc_split)-1+84:
        break
    file_name =
dir_name+section[counter]+str(i).zfill(3)+'_'+descriptor[descriptor_counter]+modifiers[counter]+'+'.txt'
    if counter == 2:
        counter = 0
        descriptor_counter += 1
    else:
        counter += 1
    with open(file_name,'w',encoding='utf-8') as output:
        output.write(doc_split[i-84])

functions =
[['brochmand_sabbati_sanctificatio_vinter_@.txt',brochmand_sabbati_sanctificatio_vinter],
 ['brochmand_sabbati_sanctificatio_sommer_@.txt',brochmand_sabbati_sanctificatio_sommer
]]

for file in file_name:
    for i in range(len(functions)):
        if file in functions[i]:
            functions[i][1]()

```

## Pronoun Distributions

Building on the splitting of the postil into individual expositions, the following detects the distribution of passages with containing an overweight of 1st person singular relative to other pronouns. A significant challenge has been that no proper tool for morphological tagging of early modern Danish exist. This has a practical consequence that initially it was impossible to distinguish between the 2nd person plural pronoun ‘I’ and the preposition ‘i’. A functional, but sub-optimal solution was to identify some of the most frequent bigrams following the 2nd person plural pronoun, which is listed in the filter\_you list, which means that ‘i’ is only counted if it is followed by the listen bigrams.



The code functions by splitting an exposition up into sections of 100 words and then counting the pronouns in 5 sections at a time in a cascading format (sections 1-5, sections 2-6, sections 3-7, etc.). This smooths out the results, which gives a better general impressions. There is a risk that smaller sections of some worth are not uncovered in this way, but there is an overall benefit to reducing the amount of smaller anomalies and extracting more coherent sections of text.

The final bit is a visualization of the numerical difference in frequency in individual expositions, which is helpful for getting a first impression.

```
import re
import os
import matplotlib.pyplot as plt

list_i = ['jeg','ieg','mig','min','mit']
list_you = ['j','eder','eders','vi','os','i','dig','du','din','dit']
filter_you = ['guds børn','gode guds','guds tienere','gvds børn','hellige guds']

foldername = 'sermons'
doc_list = []

def clean(corpus):
    corpus = re.sub('=\n',"",corpus)
    corpus = re.sub('\n',' ',corpus)
    corpus = re.sub('[!\"#$%&\'()*+,-./:;<=>?@[\\]^_`{|}~]',"",corpus)
    corpus = corpus.lower()
    corpus = re.sub(' ','',corpus)
    return corpus

section_length = 100
section_number = 5

for doc in os.listdir(foldername):
    if doc.endswith('.txt'):
        doc_list.append(foldername + '/' + doc)

for doc in doc_list[:]:
    with open(doc,'r',encoding='utf-8') as file:
        freq_section = []
        file = clean(file.read()).split()
        file_section = []
        #Split file into smaller sections
        for i in range(0, len(file), section_length):
            file_section.append(file[i:i + section_length])
        #Count frequency of 1st and 2nd person pronouns in section
        #Compound sections
        for i in range(0,len(file_section)):
            section = file_section[i:i+section_number]
            counter_i = 0
            counter_you = 0
            #Count pronouns in section
            for x in range(0,len(section)):
                for w in range(0,len(section[x])):
```

```

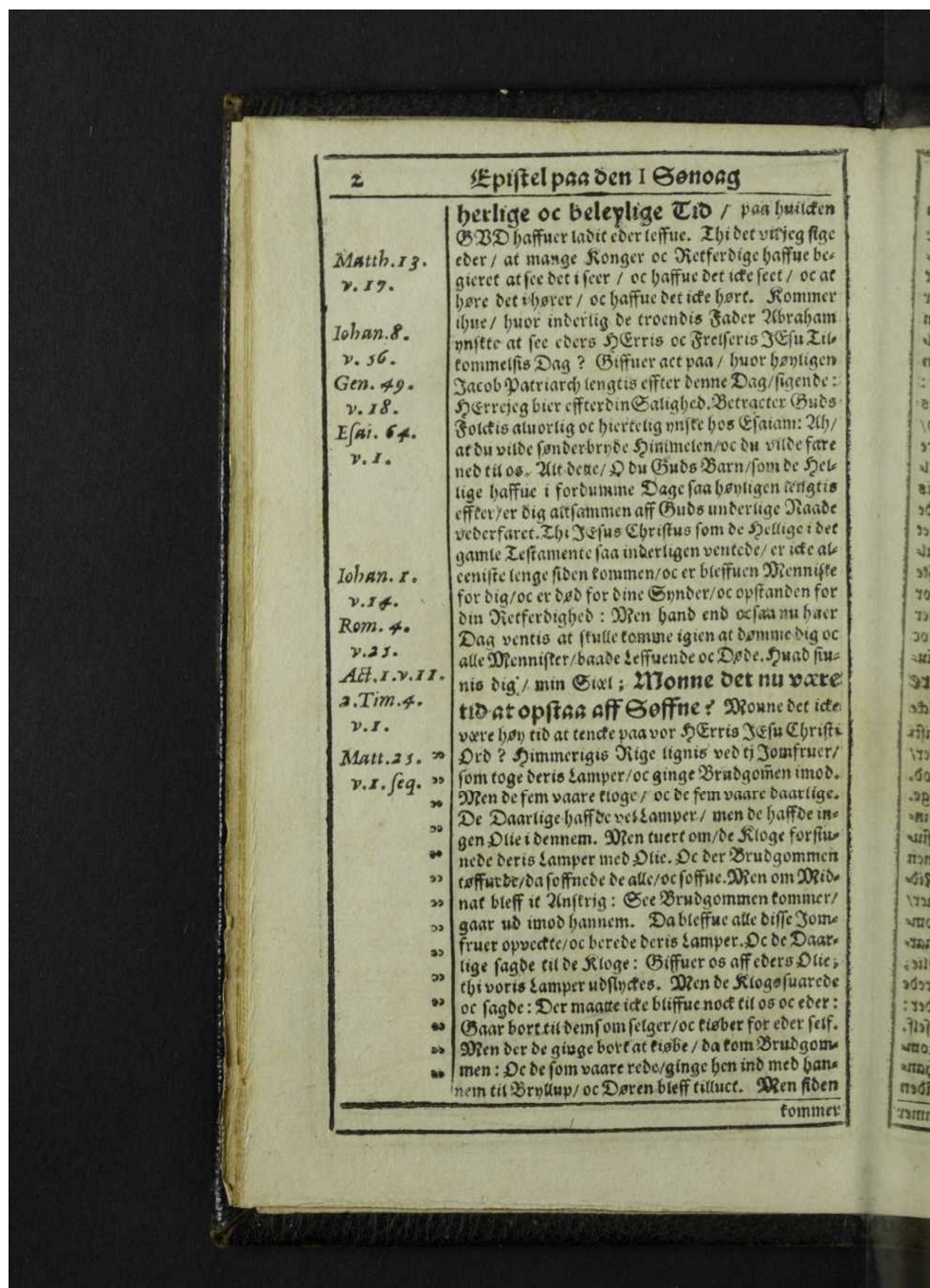
        if section[x][w] in list_i:
            counter_i += 1
        elif section[x][w] in list_you:
            if section[x][w] == 'i':
                if str(file[w+1]+' '+file[w+2]) in filter_you:
                    counter_you += 1
            else:
                counter_you += 1
    #Append the difference
    freq_section.append(counter_you-counter_i)
#Print consecutive sections of negative value (I-sections)
for x in range(0,len(file_section)):
    if freq_section[x] < 0:
        if freq_section[x-1] >= 0:
            print(freq_section[x],':',end=' ')
        for w in range(0,len(file_section[x])):
            if w == len(file_section[x])-1:
                print(file_section[x][w],',',end=' ')
            else:
                print(file_section[x][w],end=' ')
        try:
            if freq_section[x+1] >= 0:
                print('\n')
        except:
            print('\n')
print(freq_section)
#Plot the distribution
x = []
for i in range(0,len(freq_section)):
    x.append(i)
fig, ax = plt.subplots()
ax.bar(x,freq_section)
ax.set_title(doc[8:])
plt.show()

```

## Appendix C

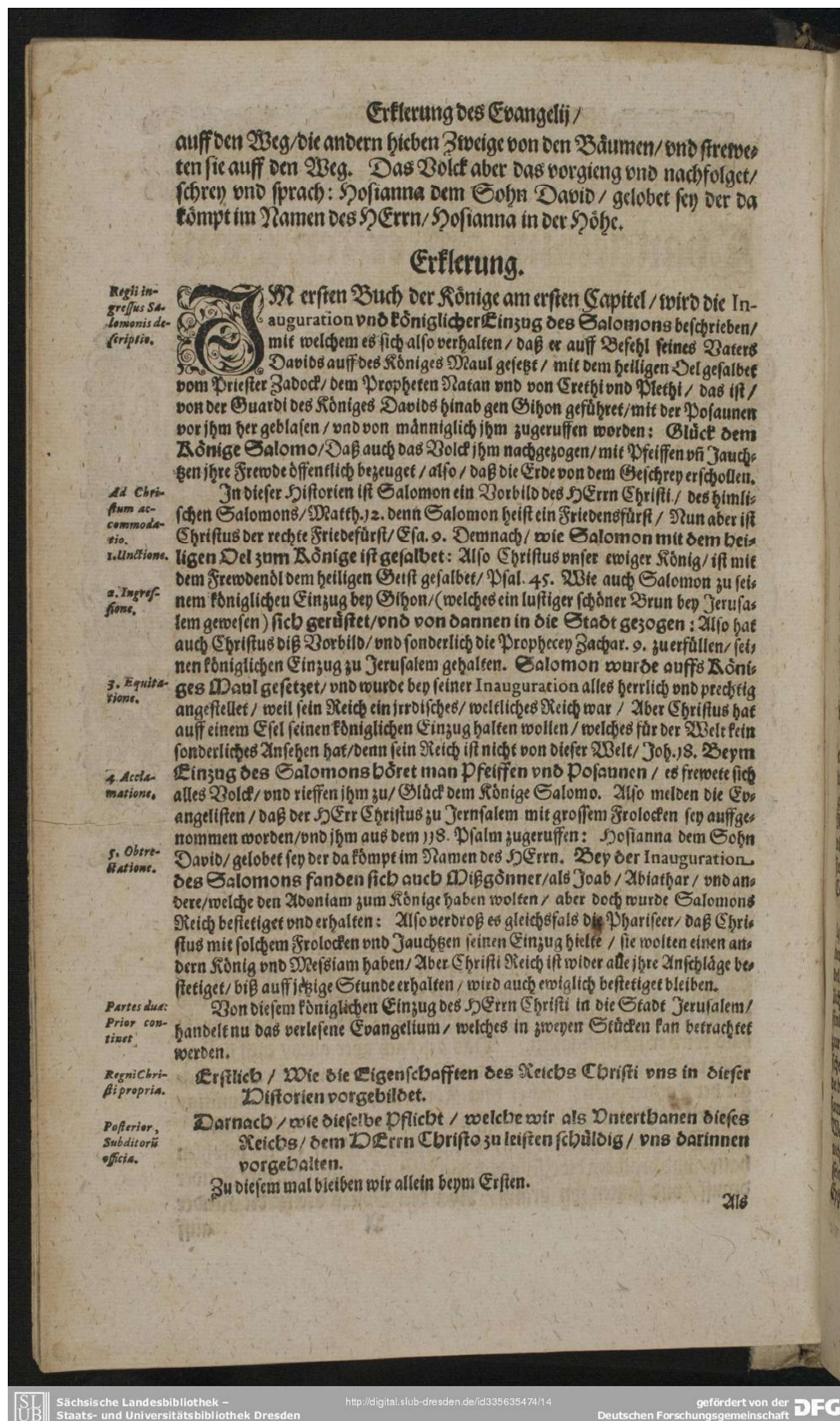
In the visual comparison of paragraph structure and marginalia, I have selected a page from the beginning of the gospel exposition on the 1st Sunday in Advent from the postils of Brochmand, Gerhard and Meisner. For additional comparison, I have also taken a page from Brochmand's funeral sermon on Christian Frijs.

Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, *Sabbati Sanctificatio*, 1635, 2.



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# Erklärung des Evangelij /

auff den Weg die andern hieben Zweige von den Bäumen / vnd streu-  
ten sie auff den Weg. Das Volck aber das vorgienge vnd nachfolget /  
schrey vnd sprach: Hosanna dem Sohn David / gelobet sey der da  
kömpt im Namen des HErrn / Hosanna in der Höhe.

## Erklärung.

Regis in-  
gressus Sa-  
lomonis de-  
scriptio.

**I**n ersten Buch der Könige am ersten Capitel / wird die In-  
auguration vnd königlicher Einzug des Salomons beschrieben /  
mit welchem es sich also verhalten / daß er auff Befehl seines Vaters  
Davids auff des Königes Maul gesetzt / mit dem heiligen Del gesalbet  
vom Priester Zadock / dem Propheten Natan vnd von Gethi vnd Plethi / das ist /  
von der Guard des Königes Davids hinab gen Sion geführt / mit der Posaunen  
vor ihm her geblasen / vnd von männiglich ihm zugeruffen worden: Glück dem  
Könige Salomo / Daß auch das Volck ihm nachgezogen / mit Pfeiffen vñ Jauch-  
zen ihre Freude öffentlich bezeuget / also / daß die Erde von dem Geschrey erschollen.

Ad Chri-  
stum ac-  
commoda-  
tio.  
1. Inlitione.

In dieser Historien ist Salomon ein Vorbild des HErrn Christi / des himli-  
schen Salomons / Matth. 12. denn Salomon heist ein Friedensfürst / Nun aber ist  
Christus der rechte Friedensfürst / Esa. 9. Demnach / wie Salomon mit dem hei-  
ligen Del zum Könige ist gesalbet: Also Christus vnser ewiger König / ist mit  
dem Freudndel dem heiligen Geist gesalbet / Psal. 45. Wie auch Salomon zu sei-  
nem königlichen Einzug bey Sion / (welches ein lustiger schöner Brun bey Jerusas-  
lem gewesen) sich gerüstet / vnd von dannen in die Stadt gezogen: Also hat  
auch Christus diß Vorbild / vnd sonderlich die Prophecy Zachar. 9. zu erfüllen / sei-  
nen königlichen Einzug zu Jerusalem gehalten. Salomon wurde auffß Kön-  
ges Maul gesetzt / vnd wurde bey seiner Inauguration alles herrlich vnd prechtig  
angestellt / weil sein Reich ein irrdisches / weltliches Reich war / Aber Christus hat  
auff einem Esel seinen königlichen Einzug halten wollen / welches für der Welt sein  
sonderliches Ansehen hat / denn sein Reich ist nicht von dieser Welt / Joh. 18. Beym  
Einzug des Salomons höret man Pfeiffen vnd Posaunen / es freuete sich  
alles Volck / vnd riefen ihm zu / Glück dem Könige Salomo. Also melden die En-  
gelisten / daß der HErr Christus zu Jerusalem mit großem Frolocken sey auffge-  
nommen worden / vnd ihm aus dem 118. Psalm zugeruffen: Hosanna dem Sohn  
David / gelobet sey der da kömpt im Namen des HErrn. Bey der Inauguration  
des Salomons fanden sich auch Mißgönnner / als Joab / Abiathar / vnd an-  
dere / welche den Aboniam zum Könige haben wolten / aber doch wurde Salomons  
Reich bestetiget vnd erhalten: Also verdroß es gleichfalls die Pharisæer / daß Chri-  
stus mit solchem Frolocken vnd Jauchzen seinen Einzug hielte / sie wolten einen an-  
dern König vnd Messiam haben / Aber Christi Reich ist wider alle ihre Anschläge be-  
stetiget / biß auff ißige Stunde erhalten / wird auch ewiglich bestetiget bleiben.

Partes dua:  
Prior con-  
tinet

Von diesem königlichen Einzug des HErrn Christi in die Stadt Jerusalem /  
handelt nu das verlesene Evangelium / welches in zweyen Stücken kan betrachtet  
werden.

Regni Chri-  
sti propria.

Erstlich / Wie die Eigenschaften des Reichs Christi vns in dieser  
Historien vorgebildet.

Posterior,  
Subditorū  
officia.

Darnach / wie dieselbe Pflicht / welche wir als Untertanen dieses  
Reichs / dem HErrn Christo zu leisten schuldig / vns darinnen  
vorgehalten.

Zu diesem mal bleiben wir allein bey dem Ersten.

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1. Per exam-  
men vita.

I. *Examen vita.* Nam in anni clausula  
quid & quomodo egerimus, recordari debe-  
mus. Tria sunt, quæ in actibus cunctis re-  
spicias, ô homo. 1. *Deum.* 2. *Proximum.*  
3. *Teipsum.* Erga Deum *ὁσιωσ* vel piè, erga  
proximum *δικαίως* vel justè, erga nos ipsos  
*σωφρονως* vel sobriè vivamus, Tit. 2. v. 3. Exa-  
men institue, & videbis, quàm sæpè læseris  
Deum *ἀπειρία*, proximum *ἀδικία*, teipsum  
*ἀνρηλία*. Porro tria tibi præcipuè membra  
divinitus concessa sunt, 1. *Cor* ad diligen-  
dum, 2. *Lingua* ad laudandum, 3. *Manus* ad  
benè operandum. Examen institue, & co-  
gnosces, cor à Deo fuisse aversum, linguam  
maledixisse, & manus impia perpetrâsse. *Lex*  
insuper tibi data est, ut eligeres bonum & re-  
probare malum. Examen institue, & com-  
peries, legem à te sæpiùs violatam esse, par-  
tim committendo mala, partim omittendo  
bona, adeò ut quilibet fateri necesse habeat  
cum Davide: *Ab peccavi Domino*, 2. Sam. 12.  
v. 13. & cum Daniele: *Domine Deus magne,*  
*peccavimus, iniquitatem fecimus, & rebelles fui-*  
*mus*, cap. 9. v. 5.

2. Per de-  
precatio-  
nem culpa.

2. *Deprecatio culpa.* Non enim desperan-  
dum est in peccatis, sed postquam agnovi-  
mus, deprecari debemus. Mitis enim est Deus:  
*Si tu agnoscis, Deus ignoscit*, juxta *Augusti-*  
*num*. Tibi & in tuum usum Christus adve-  
nit. Agnus est peccata mundi tollens, *Joh. 1.*  
*v. 29.* Exulta igitur cum filia Jerusalem hoc  
die



