MATTIAS SKAT SOMMER

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Mohr Siebeck

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Studies in the Late Middle Ages, Humanism, and the Reformation

116

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Envisioning the Christian Society

Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600) and the Ordering of Sixteenth-Century Denmark

Mohr Siebeck

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Til Julie og Leonora

Preface

This study is a slightly revised version of a PhD dissertation submitted to Aarhus University in early 2019. While I take full responsibility for the words on these pages, I would have laboured in vain had it not been for invaluable assistance and help from many people, all of whom deserve my sincere gratitude.

First, thanks goes to the Graduate School at the Faculty of Arts at Aarhus University for agreeing with me that Reformation studies matter and for granting me a research fellowship in 2014. My *Doktorväter* Bo Kristian Holm and Carsten Bach-Nielsen always supported my ventures into the history of the Reformations with a mixture of interest and advice. I am also grateful to my other colleagues in Aarhus for providing a stimulating environment during my time at the Department of Theology.

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I thank Volker Leppin and his co-editors for gladly accepting the manuscript, and I feel honoured to see my work appear in *SMHR*. At Mohr Siebeck, Martina Kayser and Matthias Spitzner carefully oversaw the production of the book. Leann Pracht, my meticulous proofreader, improved my English. Generous funding by Konsul George Jorck og Hustru Emma Jorck's Fond, Den Hielmstierne-Rosencroneske Stiftelse, and J. Oskar Andersens Legat made the production of this book possible.

Last but not least, I want to thank my family. During the writing of this book, their presence in my life constantly made me realize that research is not everything. Julie and Leonora, you continuously remind me that I am a husband and a father, and that the present means more than the past. I love you. This work is dedicated to you.

Silkeborg, 15 April 2020
Mattias Skat Sommer

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List of Abbreviations

Quotations from the Bible are from the New Revised Standard Version, Anglicized Edition.

ALS: Hillerbrand, Hans J., Kirsi I. Stjerna, and Timothy J. Wengert, eds. *The Annotated Luther Series*. 6 vols. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2015–17.

Brecht: Brecht, Martin. *Martin Luther*. 3 vols. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1981–87.

BSELK: Dingel, Irene, ed. *Die Bekenntnisschriften der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche: Vollständige Neuedition*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014.

CCD: Secher, V.A., ed. *Corpus Constitutionum Daniæ: Forordninger, Recesser og andre kongelige Breve, Danmarks Lovgivning vedrørende*. 6 vols. Copenhagen: Rudolph Klein, 1887–1918.

CR: Bretschneider, Karl Gottlieb, and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil, eds. *Corpus Reformatorum: Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae supersunt omnia*. 26 vols. Halle an der Saale, Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1834–60.

CWE: Desiderius Erasmus. *Collected Works of Erasmus*. 89 vols. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974–.

DDR: Andersen, Aage and Erik Kroman, eds. *Den Danske Rigslovgivning*. 4 vols. Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1971–2015.

DDKH: Koch, Hal, Bjørn Kornerup, P.G. Lindhardt, and Niels Knud Andersen, eds. *Den Danske Kirkes Historie*. 8 vols. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1950–66.

DKL: Rørdam, Holger F., ed. *Danske Kirkelove samt Udvalg af Andre Bestemmelser vedrørende Kirken, Skolen og de Fattiges Forsørgelse fra Reformationen indtil Christian V's Danske Lov, 1536–1683*. 3 vols. Copenhagen: Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie, 1883–89.

Inst.: John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 1559 edition (OS III–V).

KiO: Lausten, Martin Schwarz, ed. *Kirkeordinansen 1537/39*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1989.

KD: Nielsen, Oluf August, ed. *Kjøbenhavns Diplomatarium: Samling af Dokumenter, Breve og andre Kilder til Oplysning om Kjøbenhavns ældre Forhold før 1728*. 8 vols. Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad 1880–87.

LCL: *Loeb Classical Library*. 537 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1912–.

LW: Luther, Martin. *Luther's Works: American Edition*. 82 vols. St Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1955–1986.2009–.

OS: Barth, Peter, Wilhelm Niesel, and Dora Scheuner, eds. *Joannis Calvini Opera Selecta*. 5 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1929–36.

PL: Migne, Jacques-Paul, ed. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*. 217 vols. Paris: Impremiere Catholique, 1844–90.

QuM1: Dingel, Irene, ed. *Die Bekenntnisschriften der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche: Vollständige Neuedition: Quellen und Materialien*, vol. 1: Von den altkirchlichen Symbolen bis zu den Katechismen Martin Luthers. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014.

USTC: *Universal Short Title Catalogue*, http://ustc.ac.uk.

VD16: *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, http://www.vd16.de.

VD17: *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts*, http://www.vd17.de.

VOO: Mayans y Siscar, Gregorio, ed. *Joannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini Opera Omnia*. 8 vols. Valencia: Monfort, 1782–90.

WA: Luther, Martin. *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. 127 vols. Weimar: Böhlau, 1883–2009.

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Introduction

To early modern Europeans, religion was the *vinculum societatis*, the bond that tied society together. Religion and religious belief, says Trevor Johnson, constituted "the fundamental cosmology underlying the cultural framework of society."[1] In the early modern world, religion and belief in religion permeated all aspects of social life, and the discipline of theology was widely held in great esteem, as were its foremost practitioners, that is, university professors of theology and court preachers.[2] These were the experts on how to live one's life as a Christian.

In continuation with the understanding of theology developed through medieval times, this academic discipline was connected with other subjects such as jurisprudence and economics. While these were domains largely reserved for canon lawyers before the Reformations, on Protestant ground it became one of the main tasks of theologians to deal with such matters. The Reformations and the deconstruction of the idea of ecclesiastical unity created a need for consolidation, and this opportunity was seized by princes and magistrates throughout Europe. They soon turned to theologians for advice.

Theological experts, therefore, were important agents in defining the field of social interaction in post-Reformation times. These experts had power. Not that they were rulers or politicians – their power was, to adopt the terminology of Pierre Bourdieu, symbolic.[3] They constructed a coherent symbolic universe in which theology was envisioned as the discipline that could shape societies. The power of theological experts was, basically, a discursive power which sought to be influential on social order. The power of princes and magistrates, on the other hand, eventually needed an ideological basis which could serve as a legitimization for their political attempts to consolidate the Reformation.[4]

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[1] Johnson, "Religion," 145.

[2] See, e.g., S. Schmidt, *Professoren*, and Kaufmann, *Universität*. Schmidt and Kaufmann emphasize how theology professors in Copenhagen, Uppsala, and Rostock acted as experts during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nischan, "Calvinism," 205 argues that "court chaplains had a decisive hand in molding princely opinion and shaping public policy."

[3] Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," 23: "Symbolic power is the power to make things with words. It is only if it is true, that is, adequate to things, that description makes things."

[4] The 1539 Copenhagen university charter, *Fundatio et Ordinatio universalis Scholae Hafniensis*, pledged professors in the theological faculty to act as advisers to the Danish king

Their "confessionalization," as historians say, could only take place against a theological backdrop.[5] Hence, for the historian who wants to permeate the logic of power and responsibility that underlay the new political order emerging in the wake of the Reformations, it seems to be a feasible path to study theological experts' construction of the social field.

A. Approaching the Expert: Two Methods

This study is devoted to one of these experts and his works: Danish second-generation reformer Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600), whom it aims to put in historical context.[6] A theological expert, Hemmingsen's primary agency lies within the complex dovetailing of politics and religion in the Reformations witnessed by early modern historians. Bearing Trevor Johnson's words in mind, however, one must remember that a distinction between politics and religion only works as the historian's hermeneutical tool.[7] For Hemmingsen, they were interconnected spheres of communication and action.

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and government. See Norvin, *Københavns Universitet*, II, 25: "Ad hos etiam pertinebit respondere nobis et nostris Successoribus Danie Regibus, nostris nobilibus, prefectis et Magistratibus, ubi re bene declarata et si opus fuerit testibusque per nos, aut nostros Magistratus examinata, ipsos interrogauerimus de casibus conscientiarum, et in dubiis rebus ab eis quesierimus consiliu dei ex uerbo ipsius."

[5] Spitz, "Importance of the Reformation," 56 speaks of universities as "agents of confessionalism," and Kaufmann, *Universität*, 605 boldly claims that "ohne Theologieprofessoren keine Konfessionalisierung!"

[6] "Denmark" and "Danish" is used throughout the study for the sake of simplicity, though strictly speaking these categories only make sense from the nineteenth century onwards. Hemmingsen's Denmark was part of the Oldenburg composite state, established with the election of count Christian VII of Oldenburg as king Christian I of Denmark in 1448 (r. 1448–81). The Oldenburg composite state consisted of the dual monarchy of Denmark and Norway, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein (the latter a part of the Lower Saxon Circle of the Holy Roman Empire, making the king-duke a *membrum Imperii*), Dithmarschen, the North Atlantic provinces of the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland, and the dependencies of Gotland and Øsel in the Baltic Sea. What connected these territories was not ethnicity or language but the Augsburg Confession and the suzerainty of the Danish Crown. As a ruler of a great composite state, the Danish king was one of the leading Protestant rulers in early modern Europe. Since Frederik I (r. 1523–32), Danish monarchs used a style that reflected their territories: "By the Grace of God, King of Denmark and Norway, the Wends and the Goths, Duke of Schleswig, Holstein, Stormarn, Dithmarschen, Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst." Regarding the history of the composite state, see Bregnsbo, "Die lutherische Staatskirche."

[7] Pohlig, "Drawing Boundaries," 173: "Both realms were neither one nor separate; they were complex fields of communication and action with a high and evolving degree of interconnection."

Born on the small island of Lolland in the Baltic Sea, Hemmingsen came to Wittenberg in the mid-1530s and studied with Martin Luther (1483–1546) and Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) at the *Leucorea*. In the early 1540s he was back in his native Denmark, where king Christian III (r. 1534–59) had introduced a Reformation during 1536–37, and Hemmingsen took up a chair in the Copenhagen Faculty of Arts. After he received a Bachelor's degree of theology in 1553, he was transferred to the Faculty of Theology, where a chair had been vacant since 1548 when the quarrelsome Oluf Chrysostomus (1500–53) was removed to the remote superintendency of Vendsyssel in Northern Jutland.

In 1557, Hemmingsen was awarded a theological doctorate and became the *primus theologicus* at the University of Copenhagen and an important adviser to the Danish Crown, which since the mid-fifteenth centuries was in the hands of the House of Oldenburg.[8] Twenty-two years later, in 1579, king Frederik II (r. 1559–88) suspended Hemmingsen as the orthodoxy of his teachings on the Lord's Supper were being questioned in Electoral Saxony, then ruled by August (r. 1553–86), who was married to Christian III's daughter Anna (1532–85), Frederik's older sister. The king, however, acted very reluctantly, and Hemmingsen kept some of his influence at court until his death. When he died in 1600, he even had a lavish funeral in the Cathedral of Roskilde, the sepulchral church of the House of Oldenburg.

Today, only a few traces of Hemmingsen are left. His books are rarely read, but they can be consulted online in digitized versions. His slab in the Cathedral of Roskilde is in such a damaged state that one must resort to seventeenth-century graphic reproductions to study it in detail. A street in Central Copenhagen was named after him in 1881, but only against protests from the residents, who did not have the remotest idea of who he was.

Unlike in the late nineteenth century, and unlike today, Hemmingsen's life and afterlife was well known all over early modern Europe. He was lauded as the "light of Denmark," and was worthy of being "[r]ecorded in each memory" – so did bishop Peder Winstrup (1549–1614) commend Hemmingsen in his funeral sermon for him on May 23, 1600. Thomas Fuller (1608–61) likewise in 1651 encouraged his fellow Englishmen to remember the Danish professor more than fifty years after his decease.[9]

Printers in Electoral Saxony were amongst the first to publish his works, and during his lifetime English translators and printers successfully adapted the works of Hemmingsen – whom they saw as a skilled worker in the Lord's Vineyard because of his pious service to the church of Christ – to an Anglican

[8] Regarding the more detailed aspects of Hemmingsen's biography, see Lausten, *Niels Hemmingsen*.

[9] M. S. Sommer, "The Construction of a Seventeenth-Century Protestant Memory," 147–55.

audience.[10] Reformed theologians in the Empire and the Swiss Confederation corresponded with him. He had, it seems, a manifest appeal to all branches of the magisterial Reformation.

One way to approach Hemmingsen the expert as he was seen by his contemporaries is to dive into what one could call the fabrication of the collective memory of Hemmingsen. According to literary theorist Astrid Erll, social groups remember the past in a certain way, through certain media, and with a certain stereotyping agenda. Erll distinguishes between material, social, and mental dimensions of memory.

Collective memory, according to Erll, is created by a use and production of cultural artefacts within a social setting that seeks to establish and confirm certain normative codes such as selfing and othering.[11] All three constitutive elements in collective memory are at hand in the way Hemmingsen was remembered in early modern Europe. What unites these elements in the remembrance of Hemmingsen is the imagery of the pastor. In this cultural code there is ritual, tactility, and, as the third element, an emphasis on scholarly knowledge.

The memory of Hemmingsen as pastor is centred around his funeral that took place in the Cathedral of Roskilde, the city in which Hemmingsen had lived as a canon since his 1579 suspension. Studying two sources of *memoria Hemmingiana*, his slab in the church and the funeral sermon presented by bishop Winstrup, shows that the ways in which his memory was fabricated rested on the idea that Hemmingsen was primarily a pastor, a minister in the Church of God. However, this idea found a precedent in the 1565 Leipzig version of Hemmingsen's handbook *Pastor*, originally published in Latin three years prior at Barth's shop in Copenhagen. In this German translation from the Vögelin workshop a portrait with emblematic qualities, having *inscriptio*, *pictura*, and *subscriptio*, was printed between Hemmingsen's preface and a prayer that Christ may give to his flock on earth veracious and upright shepherds (see figure 1). In the original Latin version this portrait did not appear.

The portrait by an unknown master using the monogram LHF (with a gouge below the letters) depicts a bearded, middle-aged man in academic vestments standing behind a table with an open book in his hand and a closed book lying on the table, thus appearing as a learned minister.[12] He is standing before a wall onto which two images are placed, one on each side of his head. The image does not say so, but it is likely that Hemmingsen himself is being portrayed,

[10] M. S. Sommer, "An Outsider's Voice?"

[11] Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis*, 115–18.

[12] Hemmingsen, *Vnterrichtunge*, A8v. According to Nagler and Andresen, the artist LHF is associated with but not identical to Johann Teufel (fl. 1564–84) who continued the image programme of the Lucas Cranach the Younger school. The F most likely meaning "fecit," LH and Teufel worked in Wittenberg and Leipzig during the latter half of the century, e.g., on the 1572 Lufft imprint of the Luther Bible. See Nagler and Andresen, *Die Monogrammisten*, 364–65.

being the author of the book as well as its subject, the well-conducted and (well-conducting) leader of a flock.[13] However, the image could also simply be the ideal Lutheran pastor, as there are no known printed sources of images depicting Hemmingsen to which the artist could have turned. The next, or, strictly speaking, first example of a Hemmingsen portrait appearing in print comes from shortly after his death, namely from the title page of a 1600 imprint of a 1576 Danish translation of Hemmingsen's *Postilla*.[14] This portrait, encircled by the Latin inscription *NIC: HEMMING. S.S. THEOLOG: DOCT: NATVS A° 1513 ÆTAT 87*, mimics the 1595 painting by unknown artist, now held at the *Frederiksborg* (see figures 2 and 3). So even if the master of the Leipzig woodcut had no source to refer to – unless he actually knew Hemmingsen – his portrait nevertheless was true to the aim of the book.

The pastor in *Pastor* emerges as the good shepherd. Above the portrait itself, the *inscriptio* reads *2. Timoth. 2*. In 2 Tim 2 Timothy is admonished by pseudo-Paul to live as a worker approved by God (v. 15), and towards the end of the chapter the imagery of the large house (οἰκία μεγάλη) is introduced. In the large house there are several utensils which differ from each other because of material (gold, silver, wood, clay) and use (special and ordinary). Applying the economic metaphors on human beings, in particular pastors, v. 21 promises that "all who cleanse themselves of the things I have mentioned [i.e. the opposite of being a worker approved by God, as in vv. 14 and 16–19] will become special utensils, dedicated and useful to the owner of the house, ready for every good work."

The images hanging on the wall are, like the image which they are placed in, emblemlike. They have no *inscriptio* (unless *2. Timoth. 2.* functions as a shared *inscriptio* for the two *picturae in pictura*) but below each of the two *picturae* a *subscriptio* is placed. The image to the pastor's right (the beholder's left) is the shepherd coming to the rescue of his flock which is being attacked by a wolf. Below, *Esto typvs fidelivm. 1. Tim. 4.* (be an example in faith), a paraphrase of 1 Tim 4:12. To the pastor's left, the shepherd is seen slaying the wolf with a spear, protectively standing before his flock. The *subscriptio*, *Attende lectioni. 1. Tim. 4.* (give attention to the studies), paraphrases 1 Tim 4:13. These small emblems within the emblem call attention to the overall theme of the image: the pastor as shepherd.

In the *pictura* the bearded pastor, fronting the beholder, is placed in the centre behind a table, holding an open book in his left hand. On the table, at his right hand, lies another book. As becomes clear from the words in it, the pastor

[13] According to Amy Nelson Burnett, "Hemmingsen's book can best be described as a conduct-book for pastors." See Burnett, "Lutheran Pastors' Manual," 546.

[14] A preface by the printer, Henrich Waldkirch (d. 1629), dated on Michaelmas (29 September), suggests that *Postilla* was reprinted only after Hemmingsen's death, an event referred to in the preface; Hemmingsen, *Postilla Eller Forklaring*,) : (6v.

is holding the Bible in his hand. The book is opened on Jos 1:8, quoted in Latin from the *Vulgata*, "this book of the law shall not depart out of your mouth; you shall meditate on it day and night, so that you may be careful to act in accordance with all that is written in it. For then you shall make your way prosperous, and then you shall be successful."[15]

In the image programme of the woodcut, the quotation from Josh 1 indicates that the pastor is to expound the law, and it is the law that regulates all aspects of human life. In front of Hemmingsen's right hand another book is placed, having on its front cover a *Vulgata* quotation from John 5:39, *scrutamini scripturas*, "you search the scriptures." With this title, the book could be an allegory on the book the beholder holds in his or her hand, namely *Pastor* – for it is the pastors who are to search the scriptures.

The *subscriptio* of the Hemmingsen-pastor emblem relates to the *inscriptio*. Unlike the other textual elements in the images, it is in German: "Befleissige dich Gotte zu erzeigen einen rechtschaffenenn vnd vntrefflichen Arbeiter der da recht theile das Wort der warheit." These words are from the translation of 2 Tim 2:15 of the *Lutherbibel*, and taken as a whole, the emblem's *inscriptio*, *pictura*, and *subscriptio* with the shepherd emblems within the emblem suggests an idea of the pastor as a guide and a spiritual adviser, a practising *Seelsorger*.[16]

Within New Testament material there is a similar incidence of combining the shepherd motive and the study of the scriptures. In Acts 8:26–40., Philip is invited to get into the chariot of the Ethiopian eunuch who was reading the prophet Isaiah. The eunuch, however, did not understand what he was reading, and it is only when Philip, asking the eunuch if he really understands, expounds the words so that he finally grasps the message.

In the emblem culture of early modern Lutheranism, this New Testament imagery of the pastor as both scriptural guide and spiritual adviser was taken up by Daniel Cramer (1568–1637). In his 1624 *Emblemata Sacra* Cramer chose Acts 8:30 as the context for his emblem 27 in book 2 (see figure 4). With the *inscriptio* coming from John 5:39, *scrutamini scripturas*, the *pictura* has Philip expounding Isaiah to the eunuch in the chariot. Below a *subscriptio*, "when I read, when I meditate on the word about the celestial Lord, I understand his celestial intellect."

In material culture Cramer's emblem was also influential, and the use of it (and other emblem books) in Scandinavian and Baltic church architecture is

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[15] *Vulgata* version: "Non recedat volumen legis hujus ab ore tuo: sed meditaberis in eo diebus ac noctibus, ut custodias et facias omnia quæ scripta sunt in eo: tunc diriges viam tuam, et intelliges eam."

[16] On the title page of the original Latin *Pastor*, 2 Tim 2:15 is quoted on the title page: "Stude teipsum probatum sistere Deo, operarium non erubescendum recte secantem sermonem veritatis."

well-documented.[17] In the early eighteenth century, the rural church in Vroue close to Viborg was decorated, using Cramer's emblem book as a model. On the altar front the emblem *scrutamini scripturas* is seen, together with *mitesco* (emblem 4, book 2) and *ut bibam* (emblem 11, book 2).[18]

The 1565 woodcut was part, it seems, of a larger European discursive network centred on the significance of preaching and on its ecclesiastical context. According to this discourse, *scrutamini scripturas* and related concepts mainly derived from the Pastoral Letters, such as those visible in the present woodcut, became the very emblem of the clergy. It became a strategy for the commemoration of dutiful and skilled preachers. Besides its context within emblem culture, the portrait of Hemmingsen also drew on a much older tradition that was revitalized by the Cranachs in Wittenberg, namely, a formula for, if not the veneration of the dead, then at least the memory of them.

Drawing on Humanist portraits and *Sterbebilder* from the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the Cranachs created a Reformation iconography that to a large extent was centred on Luther, who was not portrayed as a mere human being but rather, utilizing traditional hagiographical rhetoric, a prophet whose memory needed to be kept alive amongst his believers. It was one of the ways, suggests Edgar Bierende, to secure the afterlife of the Reformation.[19]

In subsequent decades this iconographical programme led to the formulation of a *geistliches Sonderbewusstsein* amongst Lutherans, not least drawing on three estates discourse.[20] Unlike the formulations one would find in Luther (see below chapter 2 at pp. 69–71), the notion of *Sonderbewusstsein* suggests that the clerical estate was indeed more than a theological idea – it also entailed a distinct social estate, a specific social group with a specific code of conduct.

However, on a par with the theological professors' status of experts (see below), the idea of an ecclesiastical 'power group' in a country in which the management of ecclesiastical affairs was in the hands of the king faced potential conflicts with the royal power.[21]

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[17] Mödersheim, "*Theologia Cordis*," and Bach-Nielsen, "Emblematics," 44–50.

[18] Regarding the emblems in Vroue, see J. Jensen, "Christen Pedersen Lyngbye."

[19] Bierende, "Cranachs Luther," 26–30.

[20] The notion of *Sonderbewusstsein* is coined by Luise Schorn-Schütte in her *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*. She does not, however, discuss the significance of visual culture for this concept.

[21] While the findings of Schorn-Schütte do not wholly correspond to Denmark where the clergy was less eager to transform their *Sonderbewusstsein* into, say, criticizing the king, the failed attempts from leading clergymen to secure a 'free' church by installing an archbishop both at Christian III's ascension to power and at the introduction of Absolutism around 1660 tell us that Danish theologians did not think of themselves as having no prerogative to political power (even if they had not). One should note, however, that the woodcut was not printed in Denmark but in Saxony. Here, stressing clerical *Sonderbewusstsein* was much more politically potent than in Denmark.

The woodcut is a good example of a nascent *geistliches Sonderbewusstsein* within Lutheranism. Similar cases exist. Thomas Kaufmann has demonstrated that it flourished in the Rostock pastoral milieu during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and Sivert Angel has showed its ramifications in late sixteenth-century Württemberg.[22] At Hemmingsen's funeral we encounter it again, in textual and in visual form. If we are to believe Hemmingsen's eighteenth-century biographer, Erik Pontoppidan (1698–1764), the once-professor-and-now-canon had an "erbauliches Ende." He died the good death, following the principles of *ars moriendi* (see below chapter 3 at pp. 116–18). While singing Psalm 103 he received the sacrament; bystanders at his deathbed were surprised by the force of his prayer. Eventually, his soul "sanfft und seelig ausfuhr," as Pontoppidan wrote.[23]

Attended by the clergy of the diocese of Zealand and representatives from the university, Hemmingsen's funeral took place in the Cathedral of Roskilde. This church, however, was no ordinary cathedral. Frederik II had recently refurbished the church as a sepulchral church for his own house (see below chapter 1 at pp. 35–36), and Hemmingsen was indeed interred close to the power – quite fitting for one who spent his life in the service of this power. There is no account of his funeral but it is likely that it proceeded according to the customs of funerals for high-ranking persons: a procession accompanied the bier with the coffin, carried by Hemmingsen's brethren, through the streets of Roskilde to the church, which they encircled before they entered it.

In the church a funeral sermon of course was delivered. This sermon delivered in Latin by Peder Winstrup is kept in an eighteenth-century transcript in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, and it focuses on Hemmingsen the pastor as a true Christian preacher. Winstrup had chosen 2 Tim 4 as the text for his sermon, the *locus classicus* for commending preachers.[24] Accordingly, Winstrup praised Hemmingsen as the ideal Christian man: his life and deeds were a testimony that he fought the good fight, his service to the school and the church a sign that he finished the race, and his piety demonstrated a lively faith (cf. 2 Tim 4:7).

At the conclusion of the funeral sermon, Winstrup utilized another Reformation image that also was central to Hemmingsen, namely, that of a worker in the Lord's Vineyard. Hemmingsen being the "Light of Denmark" and a "Profitable Tool for the Church of God," Winstrup gave praise to God that he

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[22] Kaufmann, *Universität*, 165–66; Angel, *Confessionalist Homiletics*, 29–38 and 123–29.

[23] Regarding the death and funeral of Hemmingsen and the sources to this, see M. S. Sommer, "The Construction of a Seventeenth-Century Protestant Memory," 151–58. Regarding the funeral ritual, see Troels-Lund, *Dagligt Liv i Norden*, VII, 369–475.

[24] See on the use of 2 Tim 4 in clergy funerals Angel, "Preachers as Paul." Hemmingsen himself also used 2 Tim 4 when he in the *Postilla* spoke of the dutiful preacher (see below chapter 4).

had called forth "such Capable and Salutary Workers to His Vineyard." Beyond doubt, the superintendent used the same discourse that Hemmingsen did in his writings to describe a pious life of a preacher, as will be shown in this study.

Hemmingsen's slab in the cathedral is another aspect that is central to the memory of the professor. A monument such as Hemmingsen's slab is not placed in a church as art for the sake of art but seeks to communicate a contextualized message.[25] This message first and foremost centres on the act of remembering the deceased person. However, the act of remembering is concurrently an act of doing, of activating the memory in the lives of those left behind. By a process of essentializing the deeds of the deceased according to a rhetorical and gestural scheme, a monument has the purpose of establishing or preserving social identity.

While the funeral sermon by Winstrup described Hemmingsen in more general terms, the monument focuses on a specific aspect of Hemmingsen as pastor, namely, the instructor role. This is even reflected in Hemmingsen's own methodological considerations about the relationship between exegesis and preaching.

According to his definitions in the *De Methodis* (see below at pp. 98–99), one cannot make any sharp distinction between the two. Hence a pastor will be both a preacher and a teacher. Appropriately, the slab depicts Hemmingsen the pastor as the teacher of sacred doctrine (see figure 5). The stone, ravaged by the centuries, can only be studied in detail via graphic reproductions. It consists of two parts. Above, an educational scene is depicted. Below, a Latin inscription. The educational scene is placed in a vaulted lecture hall. Praising Hemmingsen, who is depicted as a bearded, gown-wearing man holding a book in his hands and sitting by an elevated lectern, the vault has an Agnus Dei and a *Vulgata* quotation from Dan 12:3b on it: "those who lead many to righteousness, shall shine like the stars forever and ever." Around the lectern are ten male listeners, some of them taking notes, and some sitting on stools. The scene, representing the ideal lecture by Hemmingsen at Copenhagen, is framed by two *memento mori*, a skull to the left, and an hourglass to the right.

According to Doreen Zerbe, the rhetorical positioning of an instructor (book in hand, lecture hall, gown) is typical for monuments to scholars across the early modern confessions, and Hemmingsen is no exception.[26] Rather than staging him in a confessional setting, the depiction simply presents Hemmingsen as a member of the learned estate. As a kind of visual commentary to the Biblical reference in Winstrup's text about being a good worker in the

[25] Regarding the function of material memory, see Zerbe, "'Ein frölich urstend'," 92, and Zerbe, "Memorialkunst," 122–24.

[26] Zerbe, "Memorialkunst," 136–37.

Lord's Vineyard and to Dan 12:3b, the two reminders of the ever-present death tell the spectator that Hemmingsen's life was a particularly well-used one.

Knowing that death eventually would reach him, he never hesitated to lead many to righteousness by being a prolific author and professor. This interpretation fits very well with the inscription on the lower end of the stone, which in a way comments on Dan 12:3a: "those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the sky." Raising Hemmingsen as a symbol of Danish might and erudition in Europe, in English translation the stone reads:

> Here lie the Ashes of the Canon in Roskilde, Doctor Niels Hemmingsen, through a Felicific and Diligent Work in the University of Copenhagen being the First to promote the Study of Arts and Languages to the Benefit of Many. Having been appointed as a Professor of Theology, he threw Light on the Prophetic and Apostolic Scriptures by Means of his Methodological Brevity and Clarity, so that he was Admired not only by Ours, but of All the Learned in Europe. Contrary to his Expectation, he was involved in the Fatal Controversies of the Theologians, but Divine Benignity kept [his] Innocence. After he was granted a Happy Retirement from his Prolonged Endeavours in the School, he – Old and Full of Years – counted the Troubles of Mortals as Empty. Commending his Spirit to God the Saviour, he dies in Firm Faith in the Year 1600, on the Twenty-Third Day of May. The Widow and the Heirs placed the Monument of this Highly Deserving Man.[27]

Through Winstrup's funeral sermon and the slab, together with the Biblical discourse derived from 2 Tim and Dan 12, the *lieu de mémoire* of Hemmingsen constructed at his death objectify him as the light that shines on forever. Consistent with the woodcut from *Pastor*, the early modern memory of the clerical Hemmingsen revolves around notions of learning, leadership, and faithfulness.[28] According to this representation of Hemmingsen, he lived 'Bible': his actions, his look, his very existence was derived from and sanctioned in the Bible. Rather unsurprisingly, these were ideas that Hemmingsen himself promoted in his handbook of the life and actions of a pastor (see below chapter 4).

Yet the image of the internationally renowned expert pastor is but one side of Hemmingsen's biography. The other side is that of a Danish theological expert, or confessionalizing agent. From very early on in his career, the Danish kings employed Hemmingsen's service, for example, when a clarification on the Eucharistic theology was called for in the mid-1550s, when a rising number of Dutch immigrants came to Denmark in the late 1560s, or when advice concerning an aristocrat convicted of murder was needed in the early 1580s. With his advice, he became paramount in shaping the ideology behind the politics of the Crown. Scholars have not been hesitant to see the politics backed by

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[27] Translation from M. S. Sommer, "The Construction of a Seventeenth-Century Protestant Memory," 156–57. See the original Latin text in figure 5. Like the visual presentation of Hemmingsen on the upper end of the stone, the inscription does not give any account of Hemmingsen marked by confession. Rather, it positions him as a learned man.

[28] Regarding similar cases, see Rasmussen, "Early Modern Pastor," 217.

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