

## Editorial

*Willem J. op 't Hof and Jan van de Kamp*

In the 2012-issue of the *Theologische Rundschau* Hartmut Lehmann, historian with a long track record in the history of religion and Pietism, has suggested the following avenues for research into Pietism or into 'revivals', to use the term Lehmann prefers:

What further needs to be investigated are the many personal networks as well as communication channels, that overlapped – local and regional networks, transregional and transatlantic networks and, finally, communication channels, at which confessional boundaries were relativized and not infrequently, surmounted [our translation].<sup>1</sup>

The *Journal for the History of Reformed Pietism* (JHRP) aims to offer a platform for research from these perspectives. The focus is on earnest Reformed individuals, communities, their theological convictions, emotions, rituals, patterns of life, communication structures, media, material culture, memory culture, and so on. The journal will focus on those who seem to have had a more negative view on the situation of the church and religion, who hold to a more rigid criteria on being a child of God and on holy living than their fellow believers. They saw church and religion as being in a state of crisis and strove after a reform, eventually of the whole of society. These strands of piety were found, for example, in Puritan circles in the English-speaking world, among those labeled 'Puritans' in Hungary, and among Further Reformation networks in the Netherlands, and Pietist circles in the German-speaking world.

These national networks have been addressed in many studies, but a lot of work remains to be done on the international exchange of letters, manuscripts, and books, and between individuals and communities. In addition, exchanges crossing the confessional boundaries need to be further mapped out and analyzed. In this connection, also the

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<sup>1</sup> "Was es weiter zu erforschen gilt, sind eine Reihe von persönlichen Netzwerken sowie von Kommunikationsnetzen, die sich überlagerten – lokale und regionale Netzwerke, transregionale und transatlantische Netzwerke, Kommunikationsnetze schließlich, bei denen konfessionelle Grenzen relativiert und nicht selten überwunden wurden", Hartmut Lehmann, 'Perspektiven für die Pietismusforschung', in: *Theologische Rundschau*, 77 (2012), 226-240, there 233.

appropriation of pre-Reformation sources by Pietists deserves further investigation. The intention of JHRP is to stimulate these international and interconfessional approaches.

Two examples of recent publications show that research from this twofold perspective is promising. The first is Feike Dietz' dissertation on the Dutch adaptations of the emblem book *Pia desideria* (1624) by the Jesuit Herman Hugo.<sup>2</sup> This work, with strong mystical traits, was translated into Dutch and adapted by Roman Catholics, Spiritualists and Dutch Puritan-minded people (the so-called Further Reformers), Anabaptists, as well as those in the age of Enlightenment. Earlier scholarship regarded these adaptations as indications of the so-called 'ecumenicity of every day life' (*omgangsoecumene*) that should have functioned within the social and economical realm of the Dutch Republic. However, Dietz has contested this view, showing that Reformed publishers did not use material from Roman Catholic colleagues, such as illustrations, but used material from fellow Protestants from outside the Netherlands.

The second publication, by Elizabeth Bouldin, deals with the processes of exchange between radical Protestants in Europe and the British Atlantic from ca. 1670 until 1730, the period between the Restoration and the Great Awakening. A push for further reforms, often arisen by millenarian views, drove dissenting groups, like English Philadelphians, French Prophets, radical German Pietists, Quakers, Bourignonians, and Labadists to reach out to find "Fellow Pilgrims" beyond linguistic, national and confessional boundaries. Bouldin describes the modes of communication, like letter writing and travelling, as well as the expected ways of behavior during meetings between different groups. In the end, differences regarding theology and rituals often proved to be barriers for permanent contacts.<sup>3</sup>

Dietz' study gives an important contribution to debates about confessionalization and literature, and Bouldin's to the study of religious dissent in early-modern times. Their hypotheses need to be tested by further research. Other aspects need to be addressed too, varying from theology in its relationship to piety to innovative culturally historical approaches. To give just one final example, Alec Ryrie, in his *Being*

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<sup>2</sup> Feike Dietz, *Litteraire levensadvers. Internationale uitwisseling van woord, beeld en religie in de Republiek*, Hilversum 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Bouldin, 'In Search of 'Fellow Pilgrims': Radical Protestants and Transconfessional Exchanges in Europe and the British Atlantic, c. 1670–1730', in: *Church History*, 83 (2014), 590-617.

*Protestant in Reformation in Britain* has studied the impact of Protestantism on beliefs and customs. In this excellent synthesis he has given an overview of emotions, the ritual of prayer, communication processes like reading and writing, the Protestants in company (worship and household), and the meaning and stages of life. Interestingly, Ryrie has studied British Protestantism as a “broad-based religious culture” and challenges scholarship by stating that “some individuals held puritan views on particular issues, [but] that does not mean that they *were* [italics in original, editors] ‘puritans’”.<sup>4</sup> Similar broad-based studies on earnest Reformed people within the whole of religious cultures in other countries are highly needed.

As these examples are from diverse disciplines, e.g. literary studies, church history, and cultural history, JHRP welcomes contributions from all historical disciplines.

Within the field of church history and the history of religion diverse models and definitions have been used with regard to strands of piety in the early-modern world. As the attentive reader may have observed, we as editors use the model of an international network of pious circles beginning around 1600 as a reaction to a perceived crisis of piety. According to other scholars, the major religious shift occurred about 70 years later. At that time, religious leaders no longer primarily addressed authorities of church, state, and of societal corporations with reform proposals, but gathered small groups of pious people in conventicles, which they regarded as the road to a reform of church and religion.

More important than discussing the genealogy and essence of Pietism, however, is its approach by current researchers. Most fruitful seems to be a contextual approach: religious reform should be studied in its local and regional contexts, as well as in the larger framework of major religious, philosophical, social, and political developments. Lehmann, for example, has related the rise of Pietism to the rise of secularization in which various processes, like individualization, privatization, and marginalization went on. All these contexts need to be discussed, and hypotheses on the relations with major developments need to be tested. To this contextual approach also belongs an analysis of perceptions: how did Pietists perceive of themselves and the world around them, and how did others perceive them?

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<sup>4</sup> Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation in Britain*, Oxford 2013, 6.

This first issue of JHRP contains contributions on the Dutch Willem Teellinck and on Swedish and Finnish translations – by Lutherans – of Puritan writings. In addition, a number of books on strands of piety in different countries and confessions are here reviewed. Together, these contributions might give further impetus for an international discussion of international, interconfessional, and interdisciplinary approaches to Reformed Pietism.

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## The eventful sojourn of Willem Teellinck (1579-1629) at Banbury in 1605

*Willem J. op 't Hof*

### Introduction

It has been after careful forethought that I have decided to submit, for the first edition of this journal on international Reformed Pietism, an article about the Dutchman Willem Teellinck<sup>1</sup> (1579-1629). He is widely regarded as the father of the Dutch Pietist movement known as the Further Reformation, or *Nadere Reformatie*<sup>2</sup>. What is appealing about taking Teellinck as a theme for the initial number is that both his person and his written work are emblematic of the Dutch enculturation and character of the Further Reformation, besides the fact that his writings enjoyed great influence in Germany — and not with the Reformed alone, but among Lutherans also. The onward impact of Teellinck among the Reformed in Germany was of such a nature that a couple of scholars have recently advocated seriously in academic literature that one may speak of a German Further Reformation.<sup>3</sup> This father of the Dutch Pietist movement, himself the product of a Puritanism flourishing across the North Sea, was equally one of the sources of German Reformed Pietism in general and the major initiator of the German Further Reformation in particular. As such, Teellinck is a convincing proof of the international nature of Reformed Pietism and reveals in microcosm the role of the Netherlands as a transit country not only for material goods but also for spiritual values.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Joel R. Beeke, 'Introduction', in: Willem Teellinck, *The Path of True Godliness*, Annemie Godbehere (trans.) and Joel R. Beeke (ed.), Grand Rapids 2003, 11-29; W.J. op 't Hof, *Willem Teellinck. Leven, geschriften en invloed*, Kampen 2008; W.J. op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, Kampen 2011.

<sup>2</sup> For this movement, see Joel R. Beeke, *Assurance of Faith: Calvin, English Puritanism, and the Dutch Second Reformation*, New York 1991, 383-413; C. Graafland, W.J. op 't Hof and F.A. van Lieburg, 'Nadere Reformatie: opnieuw een poging tot begripsbepaling', in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 19 (1995), 105-84; Fred A. van Lieburg, 'From Pure Church to Pious Culture: The Further Reformation in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in: W. Fred Graham (ed.), *Later Calvinism: international perspectives*, Kirksville, MO 1994, 409-29.

<sup>3</sup> Op 't Hof, *Willem Teellinck*, 520-2; Jan van de Kamp, *Op verzoek van vromen vertaald. Duitse vertalingen van gereformeerde stichtelijke lectuur 1667-1697 en de rol van netwerken*, Zoetermeer 2012, 155-6.

<sup>4</sup> W.J. op 't Hof, 'Piety in the wake of trade. The North Sea as an intermediary of Reformed piety up to 1700', in: Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma van Voss (eds.), *The North Sea and*

A second reason to make Teellinck the first to be brought into the spotlight here among the global cadre of academic researchers of international Reformed Pietism is the fact that it was particularly in his striving for further reformation that he was most clearly internationally-minded. In the preface to his magnum opus, *Noodwendigh vertoogh* [A needful protest] (1627), in which he for the first time ever in the history of Reformed Protestantism set out an integrated programme for reform, Teellinck explicitly stated that in promulgating his reform ideas, he had a mind not just to the Dutch church but to the Reformed church worldwide.<sup>5</sup> In the work itself, Teellinck urged readers to correspond not merely nationally but internationally on the issue of what means in general should be brought to bear to remedy the prevailing abuses. This correspondence, he argued, should not only be between individuals but should also proceed via official ecclesiastical bodies at all levels, from congregations through presbyteries to synods.<sup>6</sup>

One detail from the first decade of the twenty-first century amply bears out our subject's status as role model for international Reformed Pietism: it is the fact that the most recent edition of a work of Teellinck's was a Korean translation by Munjae Pak, published by Turanno, which also carried a brief overview of Teellinck's life. This was an onward translation from the English translation of the work done by Annemie Godbehere, published in 2003 by Joel R. Beeke in Grand Rapids, Michigan.<sup>7</sup> With this publication, then, the father of the Further Reformation has assumed intercontinental significance in our century.

Jonathan Israel's standard work on the Dutch Republic is of great relevance to this article in two respects. In the first place, this is the first book offering a general survey of Dutch universal history to pay extensive attention to the Reformed devotional movement of the Further Reformation: no fewer than two whole sections, totalling twelve pages in all, are devoted to this subject.<sup>8</sup> Secondly, Israel makes the following

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*Culture (1550-1800). Proceedings of the International Conference held at Leiden 21-22 April 1995*, Hilversum 1996, 248-65.

<sup>5</sup> Willem Teellinck, *Noodwendigh vertoogh*, Middelburg, Jacob van de Vivere, 1627, 5\*3r.; Op 't Hof, *Willem Teellinck*, 363; Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 114.

<sup>6</sup> Teellinck, *Noodwendigh vertoogh*, 181; Op 't Hof, *Willem Teellinck*, 367; Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 175.

<sup>7</sup> Op 't Hof, *Willem Teellinck*, 512-4, 582.

<sup>8</sup> Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806*, Oxford 1995, 474-7, 690-9.

remark on the father of the Further Reformation, Willem Teellinck: “As a young man, he had studied for a time in Scotland, and England, and become strongly influenced by the attitudes of the English Puritans.”<sup>9</sup> Who was Willem Teellinck; what part did his stay in England, and in particular at Banbury, play in his development from a conventional Dutch Reformed figure into a Puritan; and how did this change manifest itself in the rest of his life and in his writings?

### **Teellinck’s youth and studies**

Willem Teellinck was born at Zierikzee, a major city of Zeeland, on 4<sup>th</sup> January, 1579, the sixth of the nine children of Joos Teellinck (1543-1594) and Johanna de Jonge (1552-1609). Joos held various high offices in government. From 1573-78, he was steward of the ecclesiastical goods on the island of Duiveland, and he was elected annual mayor of Zierikzee in both 1576 and 1577. In the latter capacity, he witnessed the conclusion of the Union of Holland and Zeeland at Delft on 25<sup>th</sup> April, 1576. On 8<sup>th</sup> November of the same year, he was a delegate of Zeeland to the Pacification of Ghent. From 1579-1588 he was Representative Advisor in the States of Zeeland. In 1584 he reached the peak of his governmental career, being appointed to the Council of State by the Earl of Leicester, Robert Dudley (1532/3-1588), which membership he held until his death in 1594.<sup>10</sup> It is likely that he had a good working relationship with this Englishman of Puritan sympathies. It is remarkable, at the very least, that Dudley appointed Teellinck senior a member of the Chamber of Finance in 1586, a body intended by the Earl of Leicester to deprive the Council of State of its control over the monies of the States.<sup>11</sup> His duties gave Joos a direct involvement with the army of the States and accordingly he was often found in the immediate circle of Prince Maurits of Nassau<sup>12</sup> (1567-1625). It is obvious that the Teellincks were one of the most exalted patrician families not only of Zeeland but of the Republic as a whole.

Had father Joos not been a convinced Calvinist, he would never have had such a career, because the abovementioned offices were in

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<sup>9</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 474.

<sup>10</sup> P.D. de Vos, *De vroedschap van Zierikzee van de tweede helft der 16<sup>de</sup> eeuw tot 1795*, Middelburg 1931, 116-21.

<sup>11</sup> J. van der Baan and P.D. de Vos, ‘Genealogie Teellinck’, in: *Maandblad van het Genealogisch-Heraldiek Genootschap ‘De Nederlandsche Leeuw’*, 11 (1893), 5-10, here 6.

<sup>12</sup> A.Th. van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau 1567-1625. De winnaar die faalde*, Amsterdam 2000.

Zeeland open only to confirmed members of the Reformed Church. It was he who drafted the definitive version of the Reformed school ordinances for Zeeland in 1583.<sup>13</sup> We can safely assume that Joos held the same religious views as his younger sister Cornelia Teellinck (1554-1577); she drew up a personal confession of Reformed faith in 1573, which was published posthumously in 1607.<sup>14</sup>

That Joos did not allow his political assignments to deflect him from his duties as husband and father can be concluded from the request he sent to the States of Zeeland on 19th August, 1593. In it, he mentions the fact that for many years, both orally and in writing, he had asked to be discharged of his duties as a member of the Council of State. This request had never been complied with, so in 1593 he repeated his petition (in vain), citing the size of his family and his great number of children. At the same time, he asked to be reinstated as Representative Advisor, which was possible at this juncture, as the man who had succeeded him in this former position had died.

On that same day Joos submitted another request to the States of Zeeland. On the grounds that he held the right of patronage in a chapter linked to the Pieterskerk in Middelburg, the provincial capital of Zeeland, he applied for scholarships for his two sons, who were to study at Leiden.<sup>15</sup> We do not know the outcome, but it is probable that Joos did not have to pay his sons' tuition fees, in spite of the fact that financially he was very able to do so.

On 29<sup>th</sup> November, 1593, Willem Teellinck matriculated at Leiden University, together with his elder brother Johannes Teellinck (1577-1623).<sup>16</sup> They were registered as Arts students, which implies that they had to start their studies from scratch. This bachelor's degree in Arts was at the time seen as preparation for further, vocational, studies. Both brothers intended to go on to study law. A law degree was an excellent grounding

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<sup>13</sup> H. Uil, 'De Nadere Reformatie en het onderwijs in Zeeland in de zeventiende eeuw', in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 15 (2001), 1-18, here 2.

<sup>14</sup> P.J. Meertens, 'Cornelia Teellinck', in: *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, New Series, 28 (1936), 209-11.

<sup>15</sup> Zierikzee, Gemeentearchief Schouwen-Duiveland (GAS-D) [Municipal Archive of Schouwen-Duiveland], Stad Zierikzee [City of Zierikzee], *Notulen van de Ed. Mog. Heren Staeten van Zeelandt, d'Anno 1593* [Minutes of the Honourable Gentlemen of the States of Zeeland, 1593], 149-50. I am greatly indebted to the municipal archivist, Mr. Huib Uil, for his kind co-operation; this applies likewise to footnotes 32, 48, 50, 56 and 58.

<sup>16</sup> Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek (UB) [University Library], Archieven van Senaat en Faculteiten (ASF) [Archives of Senate and Faculties] 7, 67r.

for young men who wished to carve out a career for themselves in the administrative machinery of a city, a province or of the Republic. The Teellinck brothers boarded with Nicolaus Stochius (1534-1593),<sup>17</sup> rector of the local Latin school, who had dozens of academic students in his house and under his tutelage.

In the course of his studies Teellinck also travelled abroad, like many other students from the upper echelons of society. According to a statement by Willem's son Maximiliaan Teellinck<sup>18</sup> (1605-1653), Willem visited French, English and Scottish universities over a period of no less than seven years, before preparing himself for the ministry at Leiden University.<sup>19</sup> He arrived at Leiden in 1606, so he will have commenced his student tour in 1599. Seven years is an extremely long time for such a tour; it proves that he was descended from a very wealthy family.

The earliest available information on Teellinck's foreign travels concerns his enrolment at St Andrews University in 1600.<sup>20</sup> What is remarkable is the fact that he was enrolled at the theological faculty, St Mary's College. According to his son Maximiliaan, Willem devoted all his time and faculties to the study of law, even though his original intention had been to read theology.<sup>21</sup> Willem's enrolment and stay at St Andrews, and more particularly St Mary's, imply that he did not in fact apply himself to the study of law as fully as his son surmised.

One of the other university cities where Teellinck stayed during his student tours abroad was Paris. On 21<sup>st</sup> July, 1601, he wrote a contribution to the *liber amicorum* of a student of theology, Samuel Naeranus<sup>22</sup> (1582-1641). Teellinck's amicableness with a student of theology corroborates the abovementioned supposition that he had by this time already

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<sup>17</sup> Leiden, UB, ASF 23, 12v.

<sup>18</sup> T. Brienen, 'Maximiliaan Teellinck (ca. 1606-1653)', in: J.B.H. Alblas et al., *Figuren en thema's van de Nadere Reformatie*, vol. 3, Rotterdam 1993, 69-82; Op 't Hof, *Willem Teellinck*, index.

<sup>19</sup> Willem Teellinck, *De worstelinghe eenes bekeerden sondaers*, Vlissingen, Samuel Claeys Versterre, 1631, \*3v.

<sup>20</sup> St Andrews, University Muniments, UY 305.3, 131; James K. Cameron, 'Some students from the Netherlands at the University of St Andrews in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries', in: Chris G.F. de Jong and Jacob van Sluis (eds.), *Gericht verleden. Essays on church history dedicated to prof. dr. W. Nijenhuis on the occasion of his 75th birthday*, Leiden 1991, 49-72, here 50, 54-5.

<sup>21</sup> Teellinck, *De worstelinghe eenes bekeerden sondaers*, \*3r.

<sup>22</sup> Sibbe Jan Visser, *Samuel Naeranus (1582-1641) en Johannes Naeranus (1608-1691). Twee remonstrantse theologen op de bres voor godsdienstige verdraagzaamheid*, Hilversum 2011.

conceived a great interest in theology. In his contribution, Teellinck's distanced wording clearly shows that he was not of one mind with Naeranus, who was later to become a convinced Remonstrant.<sup>23</sup>

Teellinck's detailed letter to the Leiden professor of theology Franciscus Junius<sup>24</sup> (1545-1602), which was written on 13<sup>th</sup> September, 1602 at the latest, is of eminent importance for a better understanding of the young man from Zierikzee in his student days.<sup>25</sup> It provides a profound insight into Teellinck's inner self, and from it we can learn something about his spiritual development. He seems to have been a man with many doubts, and he turned to Junius for help in this respect. The fact that he called on Junius points to Teellinck's commitment to Reformed theology.

There were more healers of the mind than Junius. Why did Teellinck resort to Junius rather than to anyone else? In his letter, Teellinck himself intimates that it was not a question of personal ties. He knew Junius only by face and by name. As a (former) Calvinist student at Leiden, he must undoubtedly have known Junius. It is likely that he attended divine service on several occasions where Junius was preaching. This would explain the phrase in which Teellinck states that he knows Junius to be an excellent physician for the illness he suffers from. But it is even more probable that in these words Teellinck was referring to Junius' famous work *Le paisible chrestien, ou de la paix de l'église catholique. Comment il faut garder saintement la paix, la nourrir, & entretenir, mesmes en la diversité & difference d'opinions* [The peaceable Christian, or, on the peace of the catholic church: how peace is to be guarded in sanctity, nourished and maintained, even amid diversity and difference of opinions], which had been published in Leiden in 1593. This was a plea for peace and tolerance among Christians of varying stances. Junius framed this eirenic appeal, moreover, with no detriment to his own Reformed stance. This aspect in particular may have appealed to Teellinck and have led him to confide in him and impart his doubts to him.

In his letter, Teellinck writes that he worries about the great number of different persuasions within the Christian faith. He himself

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<sup>23</sup> The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek [Royal Library], 74 H 21, 272r.

<sup>24</sup> Christiaan de Jonge, *De irenische ecclesiologie van Franciscus Junius (1545-1602). Onderzoek naar de plaats van het geschrift "Le Paisible Chrestien" (1593) in zijn theologisch denken*, Nieuwkoop 1980; Tobias Sarx, *Franciscus Junius d.Ä. (1545-1602). Ein reformierter Theologe im Spannungsfeld zwischen späthumanistischer Irenik und reformierter Konfessionalisierung*, Göttingen 2007.

<sup>25</sup> Leiden, UB, Pap. 2.

firmly believes in the truth of the gospel as expressed in the Apostles' Creed. Other religions he regards as human inventions. He wonders whether a person can only be saved by Reformed faith. Or might a Roman Catholic be saved as well? Teellinck exclusively has in mind here Christians who both believe in Christ and live a godly life. He alludes to the martyrs who died because of their faith during the reign of Henry VIII (1491-1547; reigned from 1509). Both Roman Catholics and Protestants yielded life and property in like faith and strength. According to Teellinck, in God's eyes it suffices if a man seriously seek to serve Him and sincerely attempt to know Him better.

This letter reveals that around the turn of the seventeenth century, Teellinck was in a deep spiritual crisis, one in which confessional differences were the stakes. It is possible that his interest in theology in 1600 and 1601 was linked with this crisis. When and how he overcame his doubts is not known. Was Junius' reply an effective means to that end, or did he find peace and confidence when he came under the spell of Puritanism in England? His enthusiastic and exhaustive reportage on the Puritan atmosphere, which he twice and in different wordings offered to the readers of his oeuvre, points to the latter supposition.<sup>26</sup> Whatever the truth of the matter, it is safest to assume both that he was saved from his great distress through Junius' good offices and that his experiences of English Puritanism represented a decisive turn in his life.

According to a seemingly rather stand-offish note written by Teellinck to Naeranus, who in the meantime had become a professor at Saumur, Teellinck was living at Poitiers at the beginning of July 1603. He was accompanied there by his brother Johannes. Before coming to live with Willem, Johannes had been staying at Naeranus' house. The reason for his evidently hasty departure from Saumur was the prevailing plague. Like Willem, Johannes had been a student for a period of ten years by 1603.<sup>27</sup> It was at Poitiers that Willem reached the pinnacle of his academic exertions: on 28<sup>th</sup> September, 1603, he took his doctor's degree in both branches of law.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> William Whately, *Corte Verhandelinghe van de voornaemste christelicke oeffeninghen*, Willem Teellinck (trans.), Middelburg, Adriaen van de Vivere, 1609, A3r.-A7r.; Willem Teellinck, *Huys-boecxken*, vol. 1, Middelburg, Heirs of Adriaen van de Vivere, 1618, 2\*5r.-3\*5r.

<sup>27</sup> Amsterdam, UB, A. 82.

<sup>28</sup> Teellinck, *De worstelinghe eenes bekeerden sondaers*, 3\*r.

## Teellinck in England

In the last quarter of 1603, Teellinck went to England and — possibly with some interruptions when he may have paid visits to his parental home — remained there until the beginning of 1606. Soon after his arrival in England, he drifted into the circle of acquaintances of Arthur Hildersham (1563-1632). At the time, Hildersham was a dissenting vicar at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire and one of the nation's most prominent Puritan leaders. When Hildersham held a private day of prayer together with the well-known Puritan John Dod (1550-1632) and other Puritan ministers, Teellinck experienced a radical conversion. According to his son, from that day on, he forsook the world, desired to keep God's commandments and turned to the most godly ministers.<sup>29</sup> In all probability this private day of prayer was one of the gatherings held in January 1604 by about thirty ministers — including Hildersham and Dod — as a preparation for the Hampton Court Conference, the gathering at which the Millenary Petition (1603) and subsequent petitions submitted to King James VI of Scotland and I of England (1566-1625) were discussed.<sup>30</sup> In concrete terms, this petition stipulated the points on which the Church of England ought to be further reformed.

The intimate ties that later arose between William Whately (1583-1639) and Willem Teellinck warrant the inference that it was Whately who invited his Dutch friend to come to Banbury when Hildersham was deposed from his ministry in 1605. Most probably, Teellinck found accommodation not at William Whately's home but with his father, Alderman Thomas Whately, for in both accounts that Teellinck gives of the religious structure of daily life of the family with whom he stayed, he speaks of a citizen's family. That Thomas Whately's family was definitely Puritan is revealed not only by William's religious views but also by the fact that the Puritan minister Robert Harris (1581-1658) married one of Whately's daughters.

It was in Banbury that Teellinck was completely won over to Puritan ideals and practices. From the two autobiographical accounts, it emerges that he was especially, and permanently, impressed by the strictly-

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<sup>29</sup> Teellinck, *De worstelinghe eenes bekeerden sondaers*, 3\*r.

<sup>30</sup> Stuart Barton Babbage, *Puritanism and Richard Bancroft*, London 1962, 63-4; Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, London 1967, 456; L.F. Groenendijk, 'De oorsprong van de uitdrukking 'Nadere Reformatie'', in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 9 (1985), 132. One of the Puritan spokesmen at Hampton Court, John Rainolds, was later reported to have described the proceedings of the Conference to Dod at Banbury: Babbage, *Puritanism and Richard Bancroft*, 223.

regulated family worship and the observance of the Lord's Day as practised there by the Puritans.<sup>31</sup> It was in this Puritan climate, too, that he felt the calling to the ministry arising in him. After his Puritan friends had examined him with regard to this vocation and had held a day of prayer with him, they declared that this was indeed God's calling and that he was to obey it.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, Teellinck returned to his own country in early 1606. He was, however, not alone, but in the company of a wife, Martha Greendon, whom undoubtedly he had come to know in Puritan circles and with whom he had had the banns called at Zierikzee on 26<sup>th</sup> September, 1604. It is possible that the marriage was celebrated at Derby, because in the register of the banns we read that Martha was a Derby woman and was still living there at the time.<sup>33</sup> However, research has indicated that Willem and Martha did not say their wedding vows in the city of Derby. Might the Dutch banns have been referring to the county rather than the city of Derby?

The following document corroborates Maximiliaan's testimony on his father's sojourn at Banbury and provides evidence which up to now has been unknown to researchers outside the Netherlands. I found it in an unlikely place, the Archives of the Dutch Royal Family.<sup>34</sup>

Universis in Christo fidelibus ad quos hoc praesens scriptum pervenerit, nos, quorum nomina infra scripta sunt, pro cuiusque personae merito et dignitate debitam reverentiam. Cum Guilielmus Teelingius literas nostras testimoniales de vita sua pia morumque integritate sibi concedi peteret: nos tam honestae eius petitioni volentes quantum in nobis est obsecundare testamur et testatam facimus per praesentes praedictum Guilielmum Teelingium ab ornatissimo doctissimo gravissimoque domino Hildershamo cuiusdam ecclesiae anglicanae

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<sup>31</sup> In another place, I have pointed out the similarities between this domestic worship and medieval monastic daily schedules: Willem J. op 't Hof, 'Protestant pietism and medieval monasticism', in: Fred van Lieburg (ed.), *Confessionalism and Pietism. Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe*, Mainz 2006, 31-50, esp. 38, 42 footnote 42.

<sup>32</sup> Teellinck, *De worstelinghe eenes bekeerden sondaers*, \*3v.

<sup>33</sup> Middelburg, Zeeuws Archief (ZA) [Archives of Zeeland], Verzameling P.D. de Vos [Collection of P.D. de Vos], inv. no. 8, *Uittreksels uit de (in 1940 verloren gegane) trouwboeken van Zierikzee* [Copies of entries in the marriage registers of Zierikzee (the registers being lost in the invasion of 1940)]. Copies are deposited with the Municipal Archives of Schouwen-Duiveland at Zierikzee.

<sup>34</sup> The Hague, Koninklijk Huisarchief [Archives of the Royal Family], inv. no. G 15-4199 (4638). It is most curious that the former Director of the Koninklijk Huisarchief, Bernard Woelderink, in his article about Zeeland-related documents held in that archive, has not a word to say regarding this extremely significant English attestation of Teellinck's character and conduct. B. Woelderink, 'Zelandica' in het Koninklijk Huisarchief', in: *Archief. Mededelingen van het Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen*, 1994, 1-19.

tum pastore, nobis commendatum vitam apud nos Banburiae sobriam piam pacificam et vere christianam et ab omni nostra repraehensione prorsus immunem per semiannum et amplius instituisse; sacros item et publicos coetus, tum ad conciones ecclesiasticas audiendum, tum ad sacram coenam dominicam celebrandum diligenter frequentasse: insuper in rebus iis quae ad religionem spectant nihil unquam quod novimus aut credidisse aut tenuisse contra fidem evangelicam veram orthodoxam in veteri et novo testamento comprehensam. In cuius rei testimonium nomina nostra praesentibus literis apposuimus. Datum Banburiae duodecimo die septembris stylo veteri anno Domini 1606.

Joannes Dod  
Robertus Cleaver  
Joannes Lancaster  
Guilielmus Whately.

[Translation]

To all believers in Christ to whom this present writing comes, we, the undersigned, give each the respect that his personal merit and dignity deserve. As Willem Teellinck has requested us to provide him with a testimony of his godly life and purity of morals, we hereby testify that we readily comply with this honourable request, and we hereby declare that the said Willem Teellinck, who was recommended to us by the most illustrious, most learned and most reverend Mr. Hildersham, at that time pastor of an Anglican<sup>35</sup> parish, has for a period of well over six months lived a modest, godly, peaceable and truly Christian life here with us at Banbury. He has done so without in any respect giving any cause for criticism. We further declare that he has all the while faithfully attended divine service, both for hearing sermons in the congregation and for partaking of the Lord's Supper. Moreover, to our knowledge, in religious matters he has never believed or supported anything contrary to the evangelical, true and orthodox faith as contained in the Old and the New Testament. As evidence of all which, we have signed our names underneath this present letter.

Banbury, 12<sup>th</sup> September, in the year of our Lord 1606, Old Style.

John Dod  
Robert Cleaver  
John Lancaster  
William Whately.

This document justifies the following historical reconstruction. When Hildersham was deprived of his living on 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1605, Teellinck also left Ashby-de-la-Zouch and spent about nine months at another central English town, Banbury, which was a centre of Puritanism and, as such, a haven of

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<sup>35</sup> The author is aware that contemporary English historians avoid the use of the term 'Anglican' for the period before 1640 but maintains this translation of the Latin adjective here for the sake of straightforward representation of the usage of the signatories of this testimony. It would seem radically ahistorical to the present author to render the word otherwise in this documentary context.

refuge for various discharged Puritan ministers who, in turn, served as lecturers at weekday services. Their stipends were paid by private individuals.<sup>36</sup> In Banbury, on weekdays, Teellinck was among the audience of Dod, Robert Cleaver (d. 1613), John Lancaster and Whately.

### William Whately

The last-named of these, William Whately, who from 1605-1611 was to serve as lecturer and from 1611-1639 as vicar of Banbury,<sup>37</sup> became a particular friend of Teellinck's.<sup>38</sup> It is to be assumed that it was Whately who took his foreign friend along to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where Scripture conferences aimed at better equipping would-be preachers for their future office were held from the mid-1580s onwards. Minutes of the only such meeting for which records survive indicate that John Cotton (1585-1652) delivered the main lecture, on the timing of the weekly day of rest, and Whately served as co-referee. Such meetings were also held at various colleges of the university and in less official contexts. There was, for instance, a weekly conference which Dod attended. Hildersham and Cotton were members of other comparable study groups.<sup>39</sup>

Teellinck kept up a correspondence with Whately after his return to his native country. Furthermore, over the course of 1607, the Englishman sent his Dutch friend various manuscripts.<sup>40</sup> One of these had been especially dedicated to Teellinck and dealt with the main Christian practices, such as reading Scripture, prayer, Christian discussion, hearing the Gospel, the use of the sacraments, Sabbath-keeping, religious fasting and paying vows. This work was probably Whately's response to a request

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<sup>36</sup> Barton John Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces: Banbury, Oxfordshire, 1554-1660* (unpublished PhD thesis, Yale University 1989); Katie Wright, *'The Performance of Piety'. Exploring Godly Culture and Identity in England c.1580-1640* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham 2008).

<sup>37</sup> Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces*, 453-87; Wright, *'The Performance of Piety'*, index.

<sup>38</sup> According to Tom Webster, Walter (sic!) Teellinck studied at Whately's household seminary at Banbury and left a vivid description of his time in that seminary. Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England. The Caroline Puritan Movement c. 1620-1643*, Cambridge 1997, 27; Tom Webster, 'Household Seminaries', in: Francis J. Bremer and Tom Webster (eds.), *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America. A Comprehensive Encyclopedia*, 2 vols., Santa Barbara 2006, 416b-7a. His claim rests on a number of misinterpretations arising from an insufficient familiarity with Teellinck. Indirectly, this indicates the level of importance to be attached to that article.

<sup>39</sup> Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England*, 15-23.

<sup>40</sup> According to Teellinck in his dedication of William Whately, *Corte verhandelinge van de voornaemste christelicke oeffeninghen*, Middelburg, Adriaen van de Vivere, 1609, A2r.

by Teellinck. The latter considered it instructive not only for himself but also for others, and thus translated it into Dutch and had it printed, but only after prefacing it with an enthusiastic account of his experiences in a Puritan family at Banbury in the dedication to future ministers and the Christian congregations in the Netherlands. In this dedication, he minutely describes the religious programme of that family and its spiritual activities, both on weekdays and particularly on the Lord's Day.

According to Teellinck's description, each member of the family, including the servants, offered a prayer and read a chapter from the Bible before going to work in the morning. For dinner, the entire family gathered around the table. First of all a chapter was read from the Bible, then there were prayers and during dinner they discussed what had been read. After dinner, a psalm was sung, after which everyone went back to work. This ritual was repeated at suppertime. Before retiring for the night, each household member meditated on the day's events and commended himself to God in prayer. On Saturday afternoons the unlearned, the servants and the children were taught in catechism.

On the Lord's Day, the household gathered in the morning, read a chapter and offered prayers. They then went to church. After service, some of them wrote out the sermon that they had heard. Each of them applied to himself what he had learned and asked for a blessing. In the afternoon, the sermon was discussed while seated around the table together. After singing a psalm, they all retreated to prepare themselves for the afternoon sermon in prayer and meditation. After returning from church again, they contemplated the sermon, privately or in company. In the evening, the whole family came together again and the servants and children were asked to retell the sermon. Following collective prayers, each member of the household concluded the day in his customary manner.

On Lord's Days, when going for a recreational walk, they sought the company of a person who was able to expound a psalm or a chapter. During the week, when coming across something that they did not fully understand whilst reading, meditating or discussing, they made a note of it. As soon as they came into the company of some wise persons, especially ministers of God's Holy Word, they put their question to them in order to be enlightened. On special occasions, the entire family humbled themselves in prayer and fasting.

The fruits of this Christian conduct were displayed in giving to the poor, visiting and comforting the sick and oppressed, teaching the ignorant, convincing those who erred, reprimanding sinners, and the like.

This was not only the case in the family with whom Teellinck had stayed for about nine months, but for several families at Banbury. Christian conduct there was so edifying and convicting that no Roman Catholics or adherents of other sects were to be found in the town.

Teellinck deduced two key reasons for the conditions at Banbury, which he represented as ideal. In the first place, the ministers there preached in such a manner that they could be understood by all, and dogmatic points of contention were avoided. The sermons consisted of teachings and applications. In the second place, they did much in the way of pastoral visitation, and on calls they spoke exclusively about spiritual matters. They had accustomed members of their congregations to ask many questions about their sermons and about Holy Writ. That was the reason why Teellinck dedicated this work especially to future ministers in the Netherlands. It was his desire that they would hold the works of godliness discussed in this book before Dutch congregations and that they themselves would set their people an example of great devotion. After stating that Whately intended to write a work in Latin on the practice of theology,<sup>41</sup> Teellinck highly recommended *Sacra theologia, sive veritas quae est secundum pietatem*<sup>42</sup> [Holy theology, or the truth that is after piety] by the Puritan author Dudley Fenner (d. 1587), owing to that work's discussion of the practice of piety.<sup>43</sup> In 1609, Teellinck's translation of Whately's manuscript was published at Middelburg, entitled *Corte verhandelinge van de voornaemste christelicke oeffeninghen* [A short treatment of the chief Christian exercises].

Teellinck's experiences of devotion at Banbury exerted a decisive influence upon the rest of his entire life. This is a logical conclusion from the fact that in a preface to the fathers of families in his Middelburg congregation in his *Huys-boecxken* [Little domestic manual], Teellinck almost literally repeats the account of his sojourn at Banbury, be it with a few digressions and amplifications. One of these is that he now gives not two, but four reasons for the exemplary situation at Banbury. The third and fourth reasons, according to him, can be ascribed to the fathers of families

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<sup>41</sup> In all probability, this plan was never put into effect, because no such work by Whately is known: A.W. Pollard et al., *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. II, London 1976, nos. 25296-324.

<sup>42</sup> Pollard et al., *A Short-Title Catalogue*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 1, London 1986, no. 10773.5.

<sup>43</sup> Whately, *Corte Verhandelinge van de voornaemste christelicke oeffeninghen*, A3r.-A7r.; W.J. op 't Hof, 'Willem Teellinck in het licht zijner geschriften (4)', in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 1 (1977), 105-14, here 106-9.

there: they took great care that all members of the household sanctified the Lord's Day according to the fourth commandment, and that they did their Christian duties on working days in a faithful manner.<sup>44</sup> This amplification is entirely congruent with the content of the *Huys-boecxken*, in which we find an explanation intended for the home catechesis of questions and answers 1 to 42 of *Kort begrijp der christelicker religie* [Brief summary of the Christian religion], a catechetical textbook presenting the Heidelberg Catechism in a condensed and simplified form, which had been drawn up by Teellinck's colleague in Middelburg, Herman Faukelius<sup>45</sup> (d. 1625), in 1608 and published there in 1611.

In 1633, a second tract by Whately, translated by Teellinck, was published posthumously: *Cana Galileae, oete houwelijcks predicatie* [Cana of Galilee, or a wedding sermon], edited by Teellinck's eldest son Maximiliaan. Its original was called *A bride-bush, or a wedding sermon* (1617).<sup>46</sup> Two small texts were added to the translation: *Een gulden cleynoot, behelsende twaelf christelijcke plichten om de ziele van een christen in wendich te vercierren; een ander cleynoot. bestaende uyt twee douzijn costelijcke medaelien ofte christelijcke plichten en betrachtinge van een godsalich man, ontrent zijn gheloove* [A golden jewel, containing twelve Christian duties to ornament the soul of a Christian inwardly; another jewel, consisting of two dozen precious medals or Christian duties and meditation(s) of a godly man upon his faith]. The second edition (1619) of *A bride-bush* is more than four times as copious as the first.<sup>47</sup> In this second edition, Whately includes a dedication to his father-in-law which contains a number of details that shed more light on the background and editorial history of the work. The author tells us, among other things, that he had preached a wedding sermon "some tenne or eleven yeeres since" (i.e., circa 1608) and "delivered a copie thereof unto a friend", the result being that the sermon had been "published without my privity" in 1617. This had induced Whately to publish the current, much fuller version,

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<sup>44</sup> Teellinck, *Huys-boecxken*, vol.1, 2\*5r.-3\*5r; W.J. op 't Hof, 'Willem Teellinck in het licht zijner geschriften (8)', in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 2 (1978), 97-105, here 100-2.

<sup>45</sup> J. Borsius, 'Hermannus Faukelius, zijn leven, karakter en letterkundige verdiensten', in: *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis*, 4 (1844), 183-348; B.A. Venemans, 'FAUKELIUS (FAUCKEL), HERMANNUS', in: D. Nauta et al. (eds.), *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse protestantisme*, vol. 3, Kampen 1988, 111a-3a.

<sup>46</sup> Pollard et al., *A Short-Title Catalogue*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 2, no. 25296.

<sup>47</sup> The details that follow were kindly supplied to me by Christopher Godfrey M.A., M.Sc.

drawing on “certaine larger notes, which I had lying by me of that subject”.<sup>48</sup>

It is remarkable that although the first edition of *A bride-bush* was published in 1617, its preface dates from 1608. Apparently, Whately by that date had already made the work ready for press, but had not been able to find a publisher for it. Might he then not have repeated what he had done in 1607; that is, have sent a copy of the text to his spiritual friend in Middelburg? If that was indeed done, then it is very probable that Teellinck will also have translated this work into Dutch before it even came up for sale in the English language in 1617. All this may also well explain the striking fact that the translation of 1633 has a title greatly different from that of the English 1617 edition: *Cana Galileae*, rather than *A bride-bush*. The Dutch title might well be the original title of 1608, altered to *A bride-bush* in 1617 when it came into circulation. Whately left this latter title unchanged for his own 1619 edition of the work.

One aspect of *Cana Galileae* fits well into this hypothesis. The second and the third part of this book, consisting of Christian duties, have obscure origins. No author’s name is mentioned; neither is it clear whether this is an original Dutch text or a translation from English. Because the wedding sermon is said to have been translated from English, the two other parts may well have flowed from the pen of Teellinck himself. In view of the content, this is not unlikely. As regards the content, Whately could equally well have been the author. It is striking that duties are the subject matter of all three parts of *Cana Galileae* and that in both the first and the second part, the author expostulates that one should look to one’s own sins and not at those of others.

If Whately did also write the second and third parts, we may in this connection remind ourselves of other manuscripts that Whately sent Teellinck in 1607 or on other occasions. Perhaps, when Maximiliaan made *Cana Galileae* ready for the press, he came across these translations and added them to the translation of Whately’s wedding sermon, in order to obtain a publication of reasonable size. If this reconstruction is right, it would indicate that as a rule, Teellinck translated the manuscripts he received from his friend and colleague into his mother tongue whether or not he could interest a publisher in it. In the light of these considerations,

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<sup>48</sup> William Whately, *A bride-bush: or, a direction for married persons*, London, Thomas Man, 1619, A1r.

*Cana Galileae* could well have been translated in 1608 or shortly thereafter.<sup>49</sup>

### Teellinck in Zeeland

Having arrived in Zeeland, Teellinck and his wife moved into his mother's house, who was still living in Zierikzee. On 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1606, he underwent confirmation there, as did his wife on 29<sup>th</sup> July.<sup>50</sup> It was probably physical conditions, such as illness, pregnancy or childbirth, which had prevented her from being confirmed together with her husband.

Well over a month after his confirmation at Zierikzee, Teellinck left his native town for Leiden to study theology there, in the possession of a glowing letter of transfer. About three months later, he returned to Zierikzee, again with a favourable letter of transfer, dated 13<sup>th</sup> July, 1606, signed by Festus Hommius<sup>51</sup> (1576-1642).<sup>52</sup> Apparently, then, his level of knowledge was such that he had been able to complete his studies of theology within a quarter of a year. This is another strong indication that in the preceding years he may have attended both law and theology lectures. Teellinck must have requested a testimonial letter from his friends at Banbury with an eye to his forthcoming examinations for entry to the church ministry. This was drafted no earlier than 12<sup>th</sup> September, 1606, and was signed by Dod, Cleaver, Lancaster and Whately.

Within two months, Teellinck, who according to Maximiliaan's later record had come back to live with his mother again in the interim, received a calling from the parish of Haamstede and Burgh on the island of Schouwen, dated 4th September, 1606. The fact that the Teellincks were one of the most powerful patrician families at Zierikzee, and consequently in the entire islands of Schouwen and Duiveland, may have played a part in this call. By the end of 1606, Willem had been installed at Haamstede and Burgh. After having preached the Word there for about seven years, he was honoured with a call to Middelburg, Zeeland's provincial capital, where

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<sup>49</sup> W.J. op 't Hof, 'Willem Teellinck in het licht zijner geschriften (48) *Cana Galileae*', in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 27 (2003), 81-90, here 87-9.

<sup>50</sup> Zierikzee, GAS-D, Archief Kerkenraad Hervormde gemeente te Zierikzee [Church Officers' Archive of the Reformed Congregation at Zierikzee], inv. no. 29, Lidmatenregister [Membership Register], 1577-1626. This part of the register was damaged as a result of the flooding in 1953. P.D. de Vos has made extracts: Middelburg, ZA, Verzameling P.D. de Vos, inv. no. 8.

<sup>51</sup> Pieter Janszn Wijminga, *Festus Hommius*, Leiden 1899.

<sup>52</sup> Zierikzee, GAS-D, Archief Classis Zierikzee (ACZ) [Archives of the Zierikzee Presbytery], inv. no. 70.

Willem's eldest brother Eeuwout Teellinck<sup>53</sup> (1581-1629) was a church officer. Eeuwout was also Collector-General of the States of Zeeland, due to which office he wielded great influence in politics and church affairs. Indirectly, Willem may have been indebted to Eeuwout for this call to the regional metropolis, where he continued to discharge his duties until his death on 8th April, 1629.

During Teellinck's life, no fewer than 47 texts of his were published, another thirteen works being brought out after his decease.<sup>54</sup> As such, it is not surprising that Teellinck's name can be found on the list of best-selling Dutch Protestant authors of the middle of the seventeenth century,<sup>55</sup> and that one of the publishers of his works introduced a new advertising technique: the commercial list of a popular author's works.<sup>56</sup>

### Teellinck's Puritan contacts

First and foremost, the above sections have demonstrated that Teellinck remained in written contact with his Banbury friend after his return to the Netherlands. Although hard evidence for their exchange of letters dates exclusively from the year 1607, the wording of that evidence allows for no other conclusion than that this was no mere incidental correspondence but rather that the surviving letters are components of a coherent whole. A previously unknown piece of evidence supports this claim:<sup>57</sup> on 25th July, 1623, a testimony regarding one Levinus Coolman was read out to the presbytery of Schouwen-Duiveland. This testimony had been penned by Whately, who had had Coolman as a house-guest.<sup>58</sup> Unknown to us as the particular circumstances leading up to this testimony are, it is very plausible that Coolman, a Dutchman, had found his way to Whately by way of Teellinck, a former member of that presbytery.

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<sup>53</sup> W.J. op 't Hof, *Eeuwout Teellinck. Leven, werk en betekenis*, Rumpt 1999.

<sup>54</sup> Op 't Hof, *Willem Teellinck*, 94-454.

<sup>55</sup> Willem Heijting, 'Protestantse bestsellers in de Republiek rond het midden van de zeventiende eeuw', in: *De zeventiende eeuw. Cultuur in de Nederlanden in interdisciplinair perspectief*, 13 (1997), 283-92; W.J. op 't Hof, 'De religieuze leescultuur in het Nederlands gereformeerd piëtisme tijdens de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis*, 9 (2006), 44-53.

<sup>56</sup> W.J. op 't Hof, 'The oldest Dutch commercial *oeuvre* lists in print', in: *Quaerendo. A quarterly journal from the Low Countries devoted to manuscripts and printed books*, 23 (1993), 265-90.

<sup>57</sup> I owe this find to the kind negotiating assistance of my VU Amsterdam colleague, Prof. Fred. A. van Lieburg.

<sup>58</sup> Zierikzee, GAS-D, ACZ, inv. no. 1, Acta Classis Schouwen-Duiveland (ACS-D) [Proceedings of the Presbytery of Schouwen-Duiveland], 23<sup>rd</sup> July, 1623, art. 1.

What made this lifelong continuance of Teellinck's contact with Whately so important was that the latter sent his friend in Zeeland a number of manuscripts of his own composition. This correspondence was of such significance to Teellinck that he presumably translated the manuscripts rapidly upon their receipt; moreover, he published his translation of one of them without delay, in 1609. One or more manuscripts that Willem Teellinck had translated were published posthumously by Maximiliaan in 1633.

Even Teellinck's debut publication was a translation of a Puritan work: *A dialogue of the state of a christian man*<sup>59</sup> by the father of English Puritanism, William Perkins (1558-1602). Yet it is not just the choice of matter for his first publication that indicates how strongly Puritan-oriented Teellinck was. The contents of his preface, which he wrote on 5th December, 1607, likewise reveal his mindset, for the preface is one long diatribe over nominal Christianity.

Teellinck will not have remained in written contact only with this Puritan friend (and others); he will also have continued to meet them in person on the occasions when he was back in England to visit his in-laws. We do know for certain that Teellinck was in England during the latter half of 1610<sup>60</sup> and in late summer 1615<sup>61</sup>.

Yet this proponent of the Further Reformation did not have to travel so far afield from Middelburg to keep in contact with Puritans: many of them had settled in the Netherlands after finding that the lie of the land at home had become too hostile to them. One of these English Puritans in the Dutch Republic was Thomas Brewer, the financier of the celebrated Pilgrim Fathers' Press at Leiden, who was arrested by mistake during the suppression of that printing press in 1619. Even though he had been picked up by chance, he turned out to be an interesting catch for the authorities. Brewer enjoyed academic immunity but returned to England voluntarily for trial. Sir William Zouche, although not in government service, put himself forward for the duty of judicially repatriating Brewer to England. The party called in at Middelburg on their way to Flushing, where they were to board ship for the North Sea crossing. At Middelburg, Zouche and Brewer dined with four of Brewer's sympathisers: Eeuwout Teellinck, Johannes Teellinck, Willem Teellinck and Josias van Vosbergen. Johannes Teellinck and Josias van Vosbergen were both employees of the Accounting Chamber of

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<sup>59</sup> Pollard et al., *A Short-Title Catalogue*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 2, no. 19646.

<sup>60</sup> Zierikzee, GAS-D, ACZ, inv. no. 1, ACS-D, 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1610; Op 't Hof, *Willem Teellinck*, 122.

<sup>61</sup> London, British Library, Harley 7013, 233r.-v.; Op 't Hof, *Willem Teellinck*, 160.

Zeeland, while Eeuwout Teellinck was the head of the same service. During the meal, the four hosts made the most favourable impression they could upon Sir William on Brewer's behalf.<sup>62</sup>

Another friend of Teellinck's was John Robinson (d. 1625), minister of the English nonconformist congregation at Leiden to which Brewer adhered. A deposition by Antonius Walaeus<sup>63</sup> (1573-1639), since lost,<sup>64</sup> preserved the knowledge that Robinson, aided by Teellinck and Walaeus, was seeking to persuade Middelburg citizens to fund the tuition fees of one of Robinson's sons, this taking place by 10th September, 1619, at the latest, the date on which Walaeus left Middelburg<sup>65, 66</sup>.

Willem Teellinck also enjoyed cordial relations with a Puritan actually resident in Middelburg: John Forbes<sup>67</sup> (d. 1634), a Scot who served as Gospel minister to the English Merchant Adventurers in the city from 1610 to 1621. In 1619, his nephew, also John Forbes (1593-1648; later to become Professor of Theology at Aberdeen), visited him for several months, and Scots church historian Andrew L. Drummond (1902-66) concludes that Forbes junior came under Teellinck's influence during that stay.<sup>68</sup> Besides, more generally, Teellinck was a close follower of how the English-speaking churches in his area were faring, these being congregations of Puritan sympathies. When the English Church at Flushing was reinstated in 1620 and a Puritan, John Wing, was appointed its first minister, it was Teellinck who preached his installation sermon on 19th June.<sup>69</sup> Not a month had passed before Teellinck had a meeting with

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<sup>62</sup> London, Public Record Office, SP 84/93, 110r.-111v.; Op 't Hof, *Willem Teellinck*, 191-192.

<sup>63</sup> Jan Daniël de Lind van Wijngaarden, *Antonius Walaeus*, Leiden 1891; G.P. van Itterzon, 'WALAEUS, ANTONIUS', in: D. Nauta et al. (eds.), *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse protestantisme*, vol. 2, Kampen 1983, 452b-4b.

<sup>64</sup> At any rate, a written reply to this author from Amsterdam municipal archives dated 9<sup>th</sup> February, 1994, states that the document could not be found.

<sup>65</sup> F.A. van Lieburg, *Repertorium van Nederlandse hervormde predikanten tot 1816*, vol. 1, Dordrecht 1996, 271.

<sup>66</sup> Henry Martyn Dexter and Morton Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, Boston 1905, 592; A. Eekhof, 'Over John Robinson, den prediker der Pilgrim Fathers en zijne poging tot vereeniging der Kerken door kolonisatie', in: *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, New Series, 24 (1931), 263-8, here 264-5; D. Plooi, *The Pilgrim Fathers from a Dutch Point of View*, New York 1932, 93-5.

<sup>67</sup> Christiaan George Frederik de Jong, *John Forbes (ca. 1568-1634)*, s.l., 1987.

<sup>68</sup> Andrew L. Drummond, *The Kirk and the Continent*, Edinburgh 1956, 86.

<sup>69</sup> Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism. A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Leiden 1982, 201.

another Puritan, Thomas Gataker (1574-1654), who was passing through Middelburg as part of a Dutch tour that he made from 13th July to 14th August, 1620. Gataker formed a high regard for Teellinck upon making his acquaintance during this visit.<sup>70</sup>

In 1626-27, Teellinck had a fairly high degree of contact with a Puritan professor at Franeker in Frisia, William Ames (1576-1633). This contact must have been established, or at least maintained, by Teellinck's two sons, who matriculated at Franeker in 1624 as theology students. These were Maximiliaan Teellinck (studied 1624-25) and Justus Teellinck<sup>71</sup> (1624-27).<sup>72</sup> Their study dates indicate that only Justus was still enrolled in 1626-27. The Middelburg preacher and the Franeker professor developed such a rapport that the latter not only ensured that Teellinck's initial proposal for his magnum opus *Noodwendigh vertoogh* was supplied with an approbation by the Franeker Faculty of Theology, but also saw to it that another work of Teellinck's, *Christelijke aensprake aen alle opsienderen van Gods kercke* [A Christian address to all overseers of the church of God] (1626), was laid to press by the Franeker University printer himself, Ulderick Balck. Ames was clearly doing his utmost to support Teellinck's reforming zeal, using all the means at his disposal. The wording of the approbation was that no more useful works could be published than the type of matter represented by the work in question (*Noodwendigh vertoogh*). In addition, the approbation contained a supplication that God would be pleased to move all preachers to implement in their own congregations the reformation set out by the author. Ames also made sure that when Teellinck's magnum opus came out in its definitive version in 1627, it was likewise prefaced by a warm approbation from the Franeker Faculty of Theology, ending with the words "hoping and trusting that this true and earnest warning will be fruitfully read and put into action by all pious and upright patriots".<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Gataker calls Teellinck "Reuerend Diuine" and "that worthy man": Thomas Gataker, *A sparke toward the kindling of sorrow for Sion*, London, William Sheffard, 1621, A4r. and A4v. respectively.

<sup>71</sup> W.J. op 't Hof, 'Een onbekende zoon van Willem Teellinck', in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 25 (2001), 84-89.

<sup>72</sup> Maximiliaan was enrolled as a student at Franeker on 25<sup>th</sup> October, 1624, Justus four days later: *Album Studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis*, 75 nos. 2162 and 2164.

<sup>73</sup> Teellinck, *Noodwendigh vertoogh*, \*2v.: "verhopende, ende vertrouwende, dat dese getrouwe, ende yverige vermaninghe, van alle vrome ende oprechte patriotten, vruchtbaerlijck gelesen, ende in 't werck gestelt sal worden".

Once Teellinck's eldest son Maximiliaan left Franeker, he became a candidate for the ministry in the presbytery of the island of Walcheren, on 8<sup>th</sup> September, 1625.<sup>74</sup> On 11<sup>th</sup> July, 1627, he was ordained the minister of the English Church at Flushing by Forbes, the then minister of the English Church at Delft, assisted by the minister of the English Church at Middelburg, John Drake. The service was also attended by the minister of the English Church at Gorinchem (also spelt at the time as Gorkum), Samuel Bachiler,<sup>75</sup> and by Teellinck senior.<sup>76</sup>

From Cotton's published correspondence, we know that Maximiliaan had been across the North Sea and moving in Puritan circles between the dates of his candidature and ordination, following in the footsteps of his father, who had had an English stay at the same stage of his own life at the turn of the seventeenth century.<sup>77</sup> The minister of the Dutch Church in London, Timotheus van Vleteren (d. 1641), wrote Cotton a letter on 26<sup>th</sup> October, 1629, in which he reported that Maximiliaan Teellinck had received papers from the Netherlands together with a request to forward them to Cotton. Van Vleteren added that he was a close spiritual companion of Maximiliaan's, that they had studied at school and university together, that the first congregations of each of them after ordination had not been far apart, that Maximiliaan had studied at Cotton's household seminary in Boston together with Isaac Bisschop (d. 1661), van Vleteren's successor as minister at Zoutelande on Walcheren, and that Maximiliaan had handed van Vleteren a number of manuscripts of Cotton's. Cotton's reply, dated 16<sup>th</sup> December, 1629, indicates that Maximiliaan had brought him, via van Vleteren, a letter and a memorial poem upon his father's death. Yet the most intriguing detail in Cotton's letter is the request in it that van Vleteren chase up with Maximiliaan what had become of a manuscript of his in which he had propounded that no amount of human effort nor dose of common grace could suffice to cause regeneration. Cotton had drafted this little treatise at Willem Teellinck's request, never actually having met Willem personally. He wondered in the letter whether the delivery might have gone astray, since he had never had acknowledgement of receipt of the manuscript that he had sent Teellinck.

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<sup>74</sup> Brienen, 'Maximiliaan Teellinck', 70.

<sup>75</sup> W.J. op 't Hof, 'BACHILER (BATCHILER, BATCHELER, BATILER, BACHELOR, BAZILER), SAMUEL', in: Nauta et al. (eds.), *Biografisch lexicon*, vol. 3, 28a-9a.

<sup>76</sup> De Jong, *John Forbes*, 103.

<sup>77</sup> Sargent Busch, Jr. (ed.), *The Correspondence of John Cotton*, Chapel Hill, NC 2001, 133-6.

It is unclear whether there was any direct correspondence between Willem Teellinck and Cotton; it is a distinct possibility that all contact between them was done through the former's son Maximiliaan. Be that as it may, the discussion in the letter of a manuscript indicates that the relationship between the father of the Further Reformation and the prominent Puritan was no superficial or casual one.

Willem Teellinck had a hand not only in the reinstatement of the English Church at Flushing but also of the English Church at Middelburg, in 1623.<sup>78</sup> At the time that Bachiler was called to serve as its first minister, he was the incumbent of the English Church at Heusden in the province of Brabant,<sup>79</sup> which made him an immediate ministerial colleague of Gisbertus Voetius<sup>80</sup> (1589-1676), who was also at Heusden. Given the close friendship between Teellinck and Voetius,<sup>81</sup> it is an evident conclusion that the Middelburg minister had heard from Voetius of the qualities of his local English colleague and that it was Teellinck who thus recommended Bachiler to the church officers of the English congregation in his own city. In 1625 Bachiler published his *Miles christianus, or the campe royal in briefe meditations on Deut. 23, 9, 14* at Amsterdam. At that time he was minister of the English Church at Gorinchem. He sent a number of friends and ministerial colleagues a copy of the book, by the hand of his fellow Gorinchem minister Johannes Spiljardus<sup>82</sup> (1593-1658). One of these recipients was Teellinck, who in his letter of thanks to Spiljardus expresses the hope that a work of Bachiler's which he refers to as "*Essais op Iosua*" [Essays on Joshua] might be published.<sup>83</sup> This indicates that Teellinck's familiarity with Bachiler ran rather deep.

How intimately Teellinck followed the life of the English Church at Middelburg is seen in the fact that he participated in the first communion

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<sup>78</sup> Middelburg, ZA, Archief Engelse Gemeente te Middelburg (AEGM) [Archive of the English Church at Middelburg], inv. no. 1, Kerkenraadsnotulen (KN) [Church Officers' Minutes], 47.

<sup>79</sup> Middelburg, ZA, AEGM, inv. no. 1, KN, 2.

<sup>80</sup> A.C. Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, 3 vols., Leiden 1897-1915; J. van Oort et al. (eds.), *De onbekende Voetius. Voordrachten wetenschappelijk symposium Utrecht 3 maart 1989*, Kampen 1989; Andreas J. Beck, *Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676). Sein Theologieverständnis und seine Gotteslehre*, Göttingen 2007.

<sup>81</sup> W.J. op 't Hof, 'Gisbertus Voetius en de gebroeders Willem en Eeuwout Teellinck', in: Van Oort et al. (eds.), *De onbekende Voetius*, 92-108.

<sup>82</sup> W.J. op 't Hof, 'Johannes Spiljardus (1593-1658)', in: Alblas et al., *Figuren en thema's van de Nadere Reformatie*, vol. 3, 31-42.

<sup>83</sup> Samuel Bachiler, *Miles christianus ofte het coningliick veld-leger*, Groningen, Hans Sas, 1628, A1v.

service held in that congregation, as did his wife — herself an Englishwoman.<sup>84</sup> His involvement with the English congregation became even more pronounced towards the close of his life: when the church's own minister, Drake, was incapacitated by sickness for six weeks in 1629, Teellinck shared with the minister of the English Church at Flushing the duties of standing in for him.<sup>85</sup> Even once Drake was up and about again, he was only able to go to church on Sundays, yet he did as a sole exception also make himself visit Teellinck on his sickbed, which as it turned out would be his deathbed. He made several visits to Teellinck, until the time that — as it is put in the church officers' records of the English Church at Middelburg — “to our perpetuall grief that excellent and moste deservedly famous instrument of mens true turning to the Lorde in this city was by death taken from us.” The record proceeds to describe the manner of Teellinck's passing and concludes that it is an incalculable loss not only for the capital city of Zeeland but for the entire country, for the church universal, and for the departed's own congregation in particular. The reason why it was such a loss, the clerk writes, is that Teellinck had played a vital role not only in the reinstating of the city's English Church but also in frequently preaching to that congregation, while always remaining willing to offer a helping hand. The writer concludes his tribute to Teellinck with the words, “In regarde whereoff we finde our selves bound to yeeld here this honourable recorde unto the holy mans memory, blessed for ever.”<sup>86</sup>

### Traces of Puritan influence in Teellinck's works

The two enthusiastic accounts that Teellinck wrote of his time at Banbury, already mentioned more than once in this article, furnish proof that he remained profoundly and permanently affected by the Puritan atmosphere he had been immersed in in Oxfordshire. It also appears from these two records that it was Teellinck's aim to have these Puritan views and practices take root in the Netherlands. As a final consideration on this point, the fact that Teellinck announces in the dedication of *Corte verhandelinge* (1609) that Whately intended to bring out an academic work on the practice of theology, and that in the same dedication Teellinck also recommends Fenner's Puritan dogmatic work, indicates that he was an admirer and promoter of this English piety movement. There follows an overview of

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<sup>84</sup> Middelburg, ZA, AEGM, inv. no. 1, KN, 18.

<sup>85</sup> Middelburg, ZA, AEGM, inv. no. 1, KN, 46.

<sup>86</sup> Middelburg, ZA, AEGM, inv. no. 1, KN, 47.

quotations, themes, trains of thought, and convictions that Teellinck acquired from Puritans.

The Puritan most mentioned and cited by Teellinck is William Perkins. Perkins is named even in the first published account of his experiences at Banbury. Teellinck also cites Perkins' *Een ghereformeerde catholijck*<sup>87</sup> [A reformed catholicke] in his own anti-Roman Catholic work, *Ontdeckinge des vermomden Balaams* [Disguised Balaam laid bare] (1611).<sup>88</sup> In his tract on days of fasting and prayer, *Den christelijcken leytsman aen-wijsende de practijcke der warer bekeeringhe* [The Christian pilot, pointing out the practice of true repentance] (1618), Teellinck borrows, as part of a treatment of self-examination drawing on the Ten Commandments, the catalogue of sins written by Perkins in a brief work on conviction of sin.<sup>89</sup> This list takes up more than a full four pages of Teellinck's own book.<sup>90</sup> In the second section of *Den volstandigen christen* [The steadfast Christian] (1620), Teellinck's work against the Remonstrant movement, he devotes two pages to a defence of a controversial passage in a book by Perkins that Teellinck himself had translated into Dutch.<sup>91</sup> In the fourth discourse in *Bueren-cout* [Neighbours' gossip] (1620), a book whose theme is that men may not beat their wives, Teellinck defends another passage which had proved controversial from that same translation.<sup>92</sup> When identifying in his magnum opus devotional authors who encouraged the practice of piety, the three men whom he mentions are, in sequence, two English Puritans, Perkins and Richard Rogers (1550/1-1618), and finally Gilbert Primrose (1566/7-1642), minister of the French Reformed Church in London.<sup>93</sup> This last fact would on its own serve to demonstrate the extent to which Teellinck was moulded by Puritanism.

In one of his major works, *Sleutel der devotie* [Key of devotion] (1624), Teellinck includes four unaccredited quotations from the Dutch translation of one of the most successful of all Puritan piety manuals, *The*

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<sup>87</sup> Pollard et al., *A Short-Title Catalogue*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 2, no. 19735.8.

<sup>88</sup> Willem Teellinck, *Ontdeckinge des vermomden Balaams*, Middelburg, Adriaen van de Vivere, 1611, 464.

<sup>89</sup> Pollard et al., *A Short-Title Catalogue*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 2, no. 19758.

<sup>90</sup> Willem Teellinck, *Den christelijcken leytsman aen-wijsende de practijcke der warer bekeeringhe*, Middelburg, Hans van der Hellen, 1618, 44-8.

<sup>91</sup> Willem Teellinck, *Den volstandigen christen*, Middelburg, Geraert van de Vivere, 1620, 62-3 (second page numbering).

<sup>92</sup> Willem Teellinck, *Bueren-cout*, Leiden, David Jansz van Ipendam, 1620, 35-6.

<sup>93</sup> Willem Teellinck, *Noodwendigh vertoogh*, Middelburg, Jacob van de Vivere, 1627, 405b.

*practise of pietie* (1612)<sup>94</sup> by Lewis Bayly (d. 1631).<sup>95</sup> The first three quotations concern, in this order, the following hindrances to the practice of piety: 1. a misconceived trusting to God's mercy alone; 2. the fancy that one still has plenty of time left to live; 3. the impression that practising piety will turn people melancholy, especially the young. The final quotation is one combating the foregoing three objections with the contention that one must strive in all earnestness for the life of grace.

In the posthumously published work *Ordere* [Order] (1660), written at the end of Teellinck's life,<sup>96</sup> he makes passing reference to a work by Robert Bolton (1572-1631) while discussing Sabbath-keeping.<sup>97</sup> Research has indicated that the work of Bolton's being referred to is *A discourse about the state of true happiness* (1611)<sup>98,99</sup>

Various of Teellinck's original works reveal characteristically Puritan themes. The content of *Een getrou bericht* [A true report] (1608) concerns the earnest pastoring of the sick; the two volumes of *Huys-boecxken* (1618 and 1621) are written for family instruction; days of prayer and fasting are the theme of *Den christelijcken leytsman* (1618) and the sabbath is the theme of *De rust-tydt* [The time of rest] (1622), sabbatarianism also returning as a prominent subject in *Noodwendigh vertoogh* (1627). *Soliloquium* [Soliloquy] (1628) is a spiritual autobiography. *Tydt-winninghe* [Redeeming the time] (1629), in three volumes, falls under the genre of the spiritual journal. An overarching motif in all these works is that of general reformation. Many of Teellinck's titles are devoted to that cause: *Philopatris* [Philopatris], *Den christelijcken leytsman*, *Den spiegel der zedicheyt* [The mirror of morality], *Bueren-cout*, *Zions basuyne* [Trumpet of Zion], *Balsem Gileads* [Balm of Gilead], *Kole van den altaer* [Coal from the altar],  *Davids wapen-tuygh* [David's panoply], *Zephaniae waerschouwinge* [Zephaniah's admonition], *Gesonde bitterheyt* [Healthful bitterness], *Godes handt* [God's hand], *Wraeck-sweet* [Sword of vengeance], *Geestelijcke couranten* [Spiritual news], *Voor-looper*, *Christelijcke aensprake*, *Tweede geestelijcke couranten* [Second spiritual news], *Christi*

<sup>94</sup> Pollard et al., *A Short-Title Catalogue*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 1, no. 1602.8.

<sup>95</sup> Willem Teellinck, *Sleutel der devotie*, vol. 1, Amsterdam, Jan Evertsz Cloppenburgh, 1624, 318a-9b, 230a[=330a]-335b, 337b-9a, 339b-43a. These passages correspond with Lewis Bayly, *De practycke ofte oeffeninge der godsaligheyt*, Amsterdam, Jan Marcusz, 1627, 144-7, 150-9, 148-50, 160-5.

<sup>96</sup> Op 't Hof, *Willem Teellinck*, 451.

<sup>97</sup> Willem Teellinck, *Ordere*, Utrecht, Johannes van Sambix, 1660, 30.

<sup>98</sup> Pollard et al., *A Short-Title Catalogue*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 1, no. 3228.

<sup>99</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 247.

*waerschouwinge* [Christ's admonition], *Noodwendigh verdoogh*, *Den politycken christen* [The politic Christian] and *Ordere*.

It can also be stated overall that the theological and devotional insights of the father of the Dutch Further Reformation and those of the father of English Puritanism, Perkins, are like two peas in a pod. The commonalities between them are countless.<sup>100</sup> Like Perkins, Teellinck calls the understanding the driver of man; uses the image of swine that cannot look upwards; suggests lying in the grave as a possible meaning of Christ's descent into Hades; teaches that in the covenant of grace, God promises man Christ and His merits out of grace but that He simultaneously requires of man that he accept Christ by faith and turn from his sins; teaches that there is but one sense of Scripture; presents a range of descriptions of the *ordo salutis*, dominated by the relationship between law and gospel and by the distinction common versus special, the passageway between which is provided by the act of applying or embracing doctrine, which is done by way of a closing word of application; reduces, for pastoral reasons, faith to the *seed* of faith; posits, for the same reasons, that God accepts the intent as if it were the deed; states that in the battle spiritual, Satan seeks to tempt the believer to one of two attitudes of shipwreck, namely presumption on the one hand and spiritual despair on the other; ascribes major importance to the pastoral role of preachers and of mature Christians, in that he writes that those at a spiritual impasse ought to turn not only to God but also to those two categories of helpers; distinguishes between weak and strong believers; describes preachers, with reference to Job 33:23, as "messengers, one among a thousand"; invokes the analogy that as Elisha stretched himself out upon the body of the dead boy (II Kings 4:34), one must stretch himself out over the crucified Christ<sup>101</sup> and emphasises the role of Christ as man's Example<sup>102</sup>.

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<sup>100</sup> For Teellinck's views, see Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 33-203; for Perkins' views, see Jan Jacobus van Baarsel, *William Perkins. Eene bijdrage tot de kennis der religieuse ontwikkeling in Engeland ten tijde van Koningin Elisabeth*, 's-Gravenhage 1912, 65-291; W.J. op 't Hof, *Engelse piëtistische geschriften in het Nederlands, 1598-1622*, Rotterdam 1987, 324-88.

<sup>101</sup> Willem Teellinck, *De nieu-maecker, ende sijn nieu werck*, Amsterdam, Marten Jansz Brandt, 1624, 84; William Perkins, *Verclaringe van de rechte maniere om te kennen Christum den ghecruysten*, Amsterdam, Laurens Jacobsz, 1599, 7.

<sup>102</sup> Op 't Hof, *Engelse piëtistische geschriften*, 362; W. Perkins, *Breede uytlegginge ende grondighe verclaringhe over het elfste capittel van den brief des apostels Pauli tot den Hebreen. Ten tweeden, over den gheheelen sendt-briefdes apostel Jude*, Amsterdam, Jan Evertsz Cloppenburgh, 1612, 32r.a (second folio numbering).

Moreover, a good many of the views of Perkins' most significant pupil, Ames, run in parallel with those of the Dutchman,<sup>103</sup> such as that theological study must be so crafted as to familiarise trainee preachers with the practice of piety; that there is only one sense of Scripture that ought to be applied spiritually, namely the literal sense; and that games of chance are to be repudiated.

Perkins and Ames were Englishmen. However, Puritanism also put down deep roots in Scotland, where John Knox's views lent themselves outstandingly well to fertilization by English Puritanism. One exponent of Scots Puritanism was Forbes, who served as minister of the English merchants' church at Middelburg for seven years and who was thus a colleague of Teellinck's. Forbes' biographer states that much of his theology can be traced back to Teellinck.<sup>104</sup> Examples of positions shared by the two men include their belief that the true meaning of Scripture can be understood by the elect alone; their rejection of state interference in the liturgy or sacraments; their advocacy of the conditionality of the covenant; their insistence on believers' conformity to the image of the Son of God; and their rejection — contra Knox — of the doctrine that subjects had any right to resist their government.<sup>105</sup>

There are also matters raised in Teellinck's writings that, while they cannot be ascribed to any particular Puritan, are traceable to Puritanism in general. These include the individual and collective closing of covenants;<sup>106</sup> the use of Dutch expressions underlain by the English terms 'free offer of grace',<sup>107</sup> 'further reformation',<sup>108</sup> and 'market-day of the soul',<sup>109</sup> the viewing of all manner of natural affairs in a spiritual light;<sup>110</sup> the regarding of grace as preparatory to regeneration;<sup>111</sup> the insistence on saints' leading exemplary lives;<sup>112</sup> the detailed regulation of the Sabbath;<sup>113</sup> the moral

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<sup>103</sup> For Ames' views, see Hugo Visscher, *Guilielmus Amesius. Zijn leven en werk*, Haarlem 1894, 81-206.

<sup>104</sup> De Jong, *John Forbes*, 120.

<sup>105</sup> De Jong, *John Forbes*, 118-34.

<sup>106</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 85-86.

<sup>107</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 102-103.

<sup>108</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 169-170.

<sup>109</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 160.

<sup>110</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 149-150.

<sup>111</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 109.

<sup>112</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 150-151.

<sup>113</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 159.

interpretation of the Fourth Commandment as a creation ordinance;<sup>114</sup> fasting;<sup>115</sup> the order of life;<sup>116</sup> the advocacy of family devotions (household religion);<sup>117</sup> extemporaneous prayer;<sup>118</sup> the holding of conventicles;<sup>119</sup> the practice of preaching simply and edifyingly without displays of erudition;<sup>120</sup> the belief in evident sanctification being a touchstone of justification;<sup>121</sup> an aversion to the pagan-derived word 'Sunday';<sup>122</sup> and his remarkably woman-friendly theology.<sup>123</sup>

If we even can speak of a distinction between Teellinck's religious views and Puritan theology, then such lies in the ecclesiological context alone, with England having a semi-reformed Church of England as its established denomination and the Netherlands having its Reformed Church. In addition, considerations that could be viewed as differences between Teellinck and the Puritans are that while it is Puritan of Teellinck to observe a rather detailed outworking of the *ordo salutis*, he links this to and embeds it in the tripartite salvific scheme (misery, delivery and gratefulness) of the Heidelberg Catechism, a scheme not typically followed by Puritans; and that he has next to nothing to say about the doctrine of reprobation.

## Conclusion

Having undergone his conversion and experienced his call to the ministry in the Puritan environment of Banbury, Teellinck's ministry was in fact nothing but a propagation and dissemination in his own country — in sermons, pastoral visitations, publications and contributions at ecclesiastical meetings — of the Puritan views on, and practices of, piety that he had come to learn in England. In his drive to foster devotion in the Netherlands, Teellinck especially emphasized the Puritan elements of family worship (with all its appurtenances) and Sabbath observance; elements under whose influence he had come while at Banbury. In fact,

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<sup>114</sup> Willem Teellinck, *De rust-tydt*, Rotterdam, Harman Huygensz Moininx, 1622.

<sup>115</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*,

<sup>116</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 162-163.

<sup>117</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 163-166.

<sup>118</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 158

<sup>119</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 148, 160.

<sup>120</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 47.

<sup>121</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 134.

<sup>122</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 160.

<sup>123</sup> Op 't Hof, *De theologische opvattingen van Willem Teellinck*, 166-168.

Teellinck was the man who gave the impetus to the ‘puritanizing’ of Reformed devotion in the Netherlands.

Teellinck stripped Puritan devotion of its particular English idiosyncrasies and adapted it to the situation in the Dutch Republic. For instance, he severed Puritan devotion from its characteristically English ecclesiological framework of the dichotomy between episcopalianism and Puritan nonconformity, and integrated it into the fabric of the Dutch Reformed Church and Dutch society. Teellinck deserves praise for having introduced a wealth of distinctive Puritan motives and practices into Dutch life and for having ensured their long retention among Dutch ecclesiastical and devotional priorities. Examples of these introductions include the moral conception of and the strict observance of the Sabbath; the prescribed manner of daily life of families and individuals; the plain preaching, including extensive applications, whether with or without the use of a method of classification; an avoidance of the word ‘Sunday’; a preference for extempore prayers; the prevalence of accounts of conversions and of all kinds of experiences in the inner spiritual life; the writing of spiritual journals; a stringent sanctification of life; and the felt needs for discipline, continuous soul-searching, the necessity of conventicles and the urgency of an all-embracing further reformation.

In the Netherlands, the devotional movement of Dutch Reformed Pietism came into being in 1588. Within this Pietism, we can speak of the Further Reformation as a distinct movement<sup>124</sup> whose aim was the absorption of Puritan piety into the Dutch framework. In imitation of Puritanism, the Further Reformation gave concrete expression to its pursuit of piety in the form of programmatic activities. Without neglecting the aspect of inner experience, the Further Reformation converted prior Pietistic expressions and grievances into actions: not only by developing detailed programmes that outlined which aspects of church, politics, society and family were to be reformed and in what manner, but also by submitting these programmes as concrete reform proposals to the relevant ecclesiastical, political and social authorities. This movement of the Further Reformation owes the fact of its historical origin at all, as well as its initial period of vigorous growth, largely to Teellinck, who had become thoroughly familiar with the notion of a reform programme in 1604 due to the Millenary Petition.<sup>125</sup> Not for nothing, then, has Teellinck

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<sup>124</sup> W.J. op 't Hof, *Het gereformeerd Piëtisme*, Houten 2005, 52-9.

<sup>125</sup> In all probability, the expression *Nadere Reformatie* (with or without capitalization) was intended at the time as nothing more than a straight Dutch translation of the

been called the Father of the Further Reformation. I hope in a subsequent article to explore the Puritan influence that Teellinck brought to bear upon his own land.<sup>126</sup>

### Summary

The Reformed minister Willem Teellinck was the father of the Dutch Reformed devotional movement known as the Further Reformation. In his vast body of work, Teellinck twice stated that he was profoundly influenced by the Puritan way of life that he had experienced in the central English town of Banbury. His eldest son and colleague Maximiliaan later elaborated on these declarations, explaining that his father's conversion had taken place among Puritans in England and that it was at that very time that he had immediately felt his call to the ministry. In spite of the fact that there is no reason to doubt the historicity of any of this, there remains a need for objective historical evidence to corroborate it. The present author fortunately came across just such evidence in an unthought-of place. This source not only provides corrections to the customary dates of Teellinck's stay in Banbury but also proves that Teellinck was long in close contact with several Puritan leaders, including Arthur Hildersham, John Dod and William Whately. In the present article, the author also mentions his discoveries with regard to Teellinck's student days. Finally, he demonstrates that Teellinck's sojourn at Banbury was of great importance to the later life and writings of the initiator of the Further Reformation.

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contemporaneous Puritan concept of further reformation: Groenendijk, 'De oorsprong van de uitdrukking 'Nadere Reformatie'', 128-34.

<sup>126</sup> I wish to express my special gratitude to one of my reviewers for his corrections and suggestions.

## English Puritan Literature in the Swedish Realm in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – translation phases.

### Searching for pure doctrine in the seventeenth century

*Tuija Laine*

#### Swedish attitudes towards Calvinists and English Christianity

After the Convention of Uppsala (1593) Sweden became a Lutheran country. Besides Catholicism, the doctrines of the Calvinists and Zwingli were repudiated. The clergy in particular aimed at religious unity, considering it advantageous for both church and state.<sup>1</sup>

The nature of English Christianity gave rise to distrust among the clergy. The contacts between Englishmen, both Anglicans and nonconformists, and the Calvinists in Europe during the confession controversies in the sixteenth century, had transformed English Christianity into Reformed Christianity. For that reason the Church of England was considered Calvinistic in Sweden. The differences between the Lutheran and Reformed churches primarily involved the doctrine of predestination, the denial of the doctrine of real presence and the denial

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<sup>1</sup> Knut B. Westman, *Uppsala möte och dess betydelse*, Stockholm 1942; Ingun Montgomery, 'Värjostånd och lärostånd. Religion och politik i meningsutbytet mellan kungamakten och prästerskapet i Sverige 1593–1608', in: *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*, 22 (1972), 110–112; Martti Parvio, *Confessio fidei. Suomen luterilaisuuden ensimmäinen tunnustuskirja*, Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran toimituksia 162, Helsinki 1993, 176–189. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Kingdom of Sweden had become the dominant power in the Baltic. Besides seizing territories from Denmark, Poland, Germany, and Russia, it had even established New Sweden, a short-lived colony at the mouth of the Delaware River in North America. In the Peace of Stolbova (1617), the Swedish Crown gained the province of Käkisalmen around Lake Ladoga and the area along the Gulf of Finland's southeastern coast known as Ingria. With the signing of the Peace of Uusikaupunki in 1721, Russia annexed the kingdom's eastern Baltic provinces and took southeastern Finland. The Peace of Turku of 1743 gave Russia another slice of Finland; the southeastern border was now pushed west to the Kymi River. In the years 1808 to 1809, Russian troops occupied Finland for the third time in less than a century. This time Russia returned none of Finland to the Swedish kingdom. Jason Lavery, *The History of Finland*, London 2006, 41, 43, 49.

of images in churches; these were beliefs that the Lutheran church could not accept.<sup>2</sup>

After the Convention of Uppsala, Swedish and Finnish students could not visit Catholic Universities during their peregrination, but had to attend Lutheran Universities in Northern Germany, for example in Wittenberg. Studying at a heretical university threatened the career of a student as well as the social status position of his parents.<sup>3</sup>

A religious decree by the Diet of Örebro (1617) forbade Catholics to visit Sweden. The clergy had hoped for a stricter decree that would have also prohibited the entrance of Calvinists to the Realm and controlled the peregrination of students, but this was not proposed by the state, which was given the control of peregrination in 1620. Students aiming at careers in government or commerce were allowed to study at heretical universities, but others had to attend universities teaching only pure Lutheran doctrine. At the same time noblemen were given permission to peregrinate freely.<sup>4</sup>

Few Finnish students aspiring to the priesthood were brave enough to visit heretical areas, but after 1618 they had to find new places to study; education in Northern Germany's universities was severely hindered during the Thirty Year's War. From the 1620s onwards, those aiming at secular positions found their way to Reformed Holland. Theologians generally studied in domestic universities, or in Uppsala and Tartu.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> David Lindqvist, 'Tysk och engelsk linje i svensk andaktslitteratur', in: *Forum theologicum. Årsbok för Härnösands stifts teologiska sällskap VII* (1950), 48; Lars Österlin, *Svenska kyrkan i profil. Ur engelskt och nordiskt perspektiv*, Borås 1994, 107–108, 157. The question of icons was eagerly discussed in different geographical areas – Central Europe, England and the Nordic countries – from the Reformation until beginning of the seventeenth century; Bengt Arvidsson, *Bildstrid, bildbruk, bildlära. En idéhistorisk undersökning av bildfrågan inom den begynnande lutherska traditionen under 1500-talet*, Lund 1987, 31. The term Anglican/Anglicanism is generally used by several researchers, at least from the Reformation onwards. See for example articles in Religion Past and Present Online.

<sup>3</sup> Sven Göransson, *De svenska studieresorna och den religiösa kontrollen från reformationstiden till frihetstiden*, Uppsala 1951, 7-8, 19; Jussi Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti ennen Turun akatemian perustamista 1640*, Helsinki 1997, 286.

<sup>4</sup> Göransson, *De svenska studieresorna*, 19–20, 23; Lars Niléhn, *Peregrinatio academica. Det svenska samhället och de utrikes studieresorna under 1600-talet*, Lund 1983, 106; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, 286–287, 380.

<sup>5</sup> Göransson, *De svenska studieresorna*, 31–32, 35–36; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, 359–360, 371, 375, 380.

Papists and Calvinists could not hold civil service positions in Sweden, but they could engage in commerce and serve the country as soldiers. King *Erik XIV* (1533–1577) had already invited tradesmen from Holland to come to Sweden and even previously, during the reign of his father King Gustav Vasa (1496–1560), many Scottish Presbyterians had served in the Swedish army, after which they had also become tradesmen. The well-known Dutch businessman Louis de Geer (1587–1652) employed a considerable number of Vallonians at his ironworks.<sup>6</sup>

The clergy distrusted the Reformed immigrants, who were accepted only if they refrained from spreading their doctrines among the Swedish people. In actuality, however, the Reformed were rarely silent, justifying the clergy's concern with the state of pure doctrine in the Realm. It became necessary to construct enclosed spaces for the Reformed immigrants' meetings because they continuously required permission to assemble. Naturally they were not allowed to espouse their religious views in public.<sup>7</sup>

In the late seventeenth century (1684) the issue of Russian-English trade became timely. From the English perspective, the view was that English tradesmen could confess to Anglicanism. An expert opinion was sought from Johannes Gezelius the Younger (1647–1718), the Superintendent of Livonia, who clearly differentiated between Anglicanism and Reformed Christianity. In his opinion, Anglicanism was quite close to Lutheranism, but the Reformed Church, as well as Puritans and Presbyterians, belonged outside the Swedish Realm. In reality things were not so simple, but Gezelius' point of view was important because he understood the differences between Anglican and Puritan theology, even though several Puritan writers were actually Anglicans.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Arthur Sundstedt, *Striden om konventikelplakatet*, Stockholm 1958, 44-46; Jonas Berg and Bo Lagercrantz, *Scots in Sweden*. Stockholm 1962, 23–24; Bernt Douhan, *Arbete, kapital och migration. Valloninvandringen till Sverige under 1600-talet*, Uppsala 1985, 26; Bengt Åhlen, *Ord mot ordningen. Farliga skrifter, bokbål och kättarprocesser i svensk censurhistoria*, Stockholm 1986, 17-18; Pentti Laasonen, *Luterilaisuus Rooman ja Geneven välissä. Luterilaisuuden identiteettitaistelu 1577– n. 1590*, Helsinki 1998, 104.

<sup>7</sup> Turku, Turun maakunta-arkisto, Turun tuomiokapitulin arkisto, Kuninkaallisen Majesteetin kirje Turun tuomiokapitulille [The Provincial Archives of Turku, The Archives of the Cathedral Chapter of Turku, Royal Majesty to Diocese of Turku], El:1, 1.9.1664 § 1, 23.12.1672 § 1, 15.11.1680 § 1, 4.7.1689 § 12; *Prästeståndets riksdagsprotokoll 1642–1786*. I–XXV, Stockholm 1949–1994 III, 21, 52, 151, 369; Martti Takala, *Lex Dei – Lex politica Dei. Lex politica Dei -teos ja Kaarle IX:n lainsäädäntö*, Helsinki 1993, 163.

<sup>8</sup> Lars Hagberg, 'Johannes Gezelius d.y. och engelsmännens religionsfrihet i Narva 1684', in: *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift*, 48 (1948), 113–116.

Gezelius was one of few Swedish theologians who, already in the seventeenth century, were capable of grasping the differences between Anglicanism and Calvinism. Those who understood this distinction gained a familiarity with English Christianity during their peregrinations, while others continued to view Anglicanism and Calvinism in a very dark light.<sup>9</sup>

### Translations purified of heresies

Although many members of the clergy saw Calvinists, Puritans, and Anglicans as enemies of the Lutheran church, English devotional literature had already found its way to the Swedish Realm in the first decades of the seventeenth century. This literature, primarily written by English Puritans, was primarily Low Church in nature; the Puritan characteristics of these books facilitated their acceptance in Sweden. Despite its Reformed influence, Puritan literary production was often more Lutheran than High Church Anglican literature because the Reformed doctrine was not always taken into consideration, and High Church Anglican books still exhibited many Catholic features. In the early seventeenth century, Sweden-Finland held the Catholics in lower regard than the Calvinists, even if the clergy felt somewhat uneasy about the Calvinist invasion that arrived in the guise of promoting trade and industry. As late as 1647, the clergy at the Diet considered Catholicism more dangerous, with Calvinism coming in a close second.<sup>10</sup>

The route through which English devotional literature made its way to Sweden was circuitous, but it was just this elongated trail that also made the literature less suspect. Books often came through the Netherlands and German Reformed areas to Lutheran Germany where they were purified and revised as Lutheran versions that continued onwards to Sweden and

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<sup>9</sup> Hagberg, 'Johannes Gezelius d.y.', 115; Lars Hagberg, *Jacob Serenius' kyrkliga insats*, Stockholm 1952, 36–37; Österlin, *Svenska kyrkan i profil*, 107, 137–138.

<sup>10</sup> Yngve Brilioth, *Den svenska kyrkans internationella förbindelser*, Stockholm 1922, 8; Lindqvist, 'Tysk och engelsk linje i svensk andaktslitteratur', 48–49, 52; Richard C. Lovelace, 'Puritan Spirituality: the Search for a Rightly Reformed Church', in: Louis Dupré and Don E. Saliers with John Meyendorff (eds.), *Christian spirituality. Post-reformation and Modern*, New York 1989, 296; Elizabeth K. Hudson, 'The Catholic Challenge to Puritan Piety, 1580-1620', in: *Catholic Historical Review*, 77, nr. 1 (1991), 1-20; Laasonen, *Luterilaisuus Rooman ja Geneven välissä*, 103–105.

Finland, where they were often accepted without problems, because they had already been purified.<sup>11</sup>

The importance of the Swedish language was crucial to the reception of English devotional literature in Finland. Only a few of the books known in Finland were translated into Finnish; most were read in Swedish. With the passing of time, however, many Finnish translations were made from the Swedish versions.

Compared to German Lutheran devotional literature, the amount of English devotional literature was still quite small. Only fifteen books – eight of which were known in Finland – were translated into Swedish during the seventeenth century, among them Arthur Dent's *The Plaine Man's Pathway to Heaven* and John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the two most popular English devotional books in Finland during the Swedish Realm. At the same time more than a hundred first editions of German devotional books translated into Swedish were published. For example devotional texts of Johann Gerhard and Johann Arndt were popular in Finland at that time.<sup>12</sup>

John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* is the first religious novel, a story about a man, who noticing the distressed state of his soul, sets off on a pilgrimage to find mercy and heaven. On his way he encounters various dangers, but also gains faithful friends. It is indisputable that *The Pilgrim's Progress* is one of the best-known English-language religious books in the world, and it has been translated into many languages.

### **Resistance to published English devotional literature**

The reign of Charles XI (1655–1697) on the Swedish throne coincided with the rise of Absolutism. In all fields the importance of unity was remarkable. With its particular fear of heretical literature and its influences, the clergy wholeheartedly supported Absolutism's concern with heresies, disunity, and the preservation of pure doctrine. In 1688, a special censorship body,

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<sup>11</sup> David Lindqvist, *Studier i den svenska andaktslitteraturen under stormaktstidevarvet. Med särskild hänsyn till bön-, tröste- och nattvardsböcker*, Uppsala 1939, 415–416; Lindqvist, 'Tysk och engelsk linje i svensk andaktslitteratur', 51; Udo Sträter, *Sonthom, Bayly, Dyke und Hall. Studien zur Rezeption der englischen Erbauungsliteratur in Deutschland im 17. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen 1987, 112–113.

<sup>12</sup> Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600-talet*, Uppsala 1942–1946, different sections. I have compared all the translations in detail in my dissertation *Ylösherätys suruttomille. Englantilaisperäinen hartauskirjallisuus Suomessa Ruotsin vallan aikana*, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 775 and 778, Helsinki 2000. In this article I shall concentrate on the main lines.

the *Censor librorum*, was founded to oversee the censorship of all printed materials and imported literature.

The task of censoring religious literature was assigned to the dioceses; the *Censor librorum* only confirmed their decisions. The clergy's concerns were not without justification; at that time Reformed Christianity and Pietism threatened the purity of Lutheran doctrine in the Swedish Realm. Pietistic influences had approached the Realm in the last decades of the seventeenth century from the Baltic and German regions, and Pietism was seen as a threat to the unity of the Realm as well as its religion. Puritan devotional literature was also extremely popular among moderate and radical Pietists. Asceticism, individualism, and the meaning of moral life were important for both movements.<sup>13</sup> Opposing English devotional literature was also a way to control the spread of Pietism.

### Background of repression

During the seventeenth century, the 1670s were without question the liveliest decade regarding translations of English devotional literature. During the Thirty Years War only a few translations were published. None of the books translated in the 1650s and 1660s had been granted printing permission, but in the 1670s a total of eight devotional books – only three of which were known in Finland – were translated. Most of the books were translated by Olof Lemwijk (born ca. 1640) from the original English texts, which were still extremely rare. At that time, even reprints from Lewis

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<sup>13</sup> G. E. Klemming and J. G. Nordin, *Svensk boktryckerihistoria 1483–1883*, Stockholm 1883 [reprint 1983], 288–291; Lindqvist, 'Tysk och engelsk linje i svensk andaktslitteratur', 52–53; Ove Nordstrandh, *Den äldre svenska pietismens litteratur*, Lund 1951, 156–160; Pentti Laasonen, *Johannes Gezelius vanhempi ja suomalainen täysortodoksia*, Helsinki 1977, 482; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800*, London 1990, 154; Österlin, *Svenska kyrkan i profil*, 128; Esko M. Laine, *Yksimielisyyt – sota – pietismi. Tutkimuksia suomalaisesta papistosta ja yhteiskunnasta kolmikymmenvuotisesta sodasta pikkuvihaan*, Helsinki 1996, 79. In the seventeenth century before Pietistic influences, devotional literature in the Swedish realm represented mostly Lutheran orthodoxy and its authors were widely read. In inventory estates, for example, works by Johann Gerhard and Johann Arndt were popular. David Lindqvist has written about devotional literature in the Swedish Realm; *Studier i den svenska andaktslitteraturen under stormaktstidevarvet. Medsärskild hänsyn till bön-, tröste- och nattvardsböcker*, Uppsala 1939 and Sigfrid Estborn, *Evangeliska svenska bönböcker under reformationstidevarvet : med en inledande översikt över medeltidens och över reformationstidens evangeliska tyska bönelitteratur*, Lund 1929.

Bayly's (d. 1631) *Praxis pietatis* and Emanuel Sonthom's *Gudz barns gyllende klenod (A Booke of Christian Exercise)* were published in Sweden.<sup>14</sup>

The rapid pace of translations almost dried up in the 1690s due to the rise of Absolutism. There was strong resistance against the publication of English devotional literature in the diocese of Stockholm. Control was strict; besides the chair of the consistory, other members also read the manuscripts before their fates were decided.<sup>15</sup>

The members of the consistory were split into two opposing factions. The conservatives strictly opposed the publication of any books that might contain anything suspicious concerning doctrine; Calvinism was considered particularly subversive. The moderates understood the problems that Calvinism might pose, but considered the Reformed literature worthwhile because they appreciated its devotional content and believed that minor edits could be made to the texts before releasing them to publishers and the wider public.<sup>16</sup>

The Swedish researcher of Pietism Ove Nordstrandh has studied the length of time that Pietistic literature had to wait in consistories before anyone spoke of their publication. Occasionally this process took years.<sup>17</sup> The situation regarding English devotional literature, however, was totally different; the censorship process progressed rapidly, during the 1690s in as little as two weeks. Perhaps Puritan and Calvinistic literature was easier to comprehend than the Pietistic texts, facilitating and speeding up the process. If the author was known, conclusions regarding his confession could already be made on that basis alone.

It is probable that the strict censorship of English devotional literature at the end of the seventeenth century resulted partly from the religious policies of the Brandenburg Prussian Calvinistic elector who oppressed the Lutherans. The fights for Lutheranism by the Lutheran opposition in Germany, as well as the struggle for Syncretism, were probably known even in the Swedish Realm. Sweden's strictness was

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<sup>14</sup> Bengt Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelse-litteratur i svensk översättning intill 1700-talets mitt*, Samlingar och studier till Svenska kyrkans historia 10, Stockholm 1944; Tuija Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille. Englantilaisperäinen hartauskirjallisuus Suomessa Ruotsin vallan aikana*, Helsinki 2000, 77–79, 117–118.

<sup>15</sup> Anders Burius, *Ömhet om friheten. Studier i frihetstidens censurpolitik*, Uppsala 1984, 110.

<sup>16</sup> Nordstrandh, *Den äldre svenska pietismens litteratur*, 10–11, 19, 29–30, 32–33.

<sup>17</sup> Nordstrandh, *Den äldre svenska pietismens litteratur*, 17.

shared by Lutherans in Germany, and strengthened the image of Sweden as a stalwart Lutheran fortress.<sup>18</sup>

The most important factor in publication policy was the appreciation of Swedish literature. The 1690s was a decade that witnessed the translation of a considerable quantity of literature into Swedish; translation activity related to, for example, German devotional books was particularly lively. In any case, this was an extremely difficult period for English devotional literature, which was almost impossible to get into print owing to the strict censorship.<sup>19</sup> During the 1690s, the Consistory of Stockholm refused to approve two manuscripts but reluctantly granted it to another one, almost against its will. One edition furnished to the Consistory was printed, proving that it had been already published without permission. Only one devotional book, unknown in Finland, passed through the censorship process unscathed, but that work consisted primarily of secular aphorisms.<sup>20</sup>

The suspicious attitude of the Consistory towards English literature could even be seen in the small number of reprints existing at the end of the century; the publishing of reprints virtually ceased during the 1690s. Of the books known in Finland, only the second translation *Ethica sacra* (*Salomons ethica*) of Joseph Hall's (1574–1656) *Salomons Divine Arts* was printed in 1691. It was a new translation by Olof Moberg, the Rector of the University of Tartu. The book contains a lengthy letter of recommendation by the *Censor librorum's* Claes Arvidsson Örnhielm (1627–1695), including special praise for the translator. Örnhielm writes that the book gives advice on how to live with pure conscience, adding that “rebellious Papists and Anabaptists” teach in a very different way.<sup>21</sup>

The heretical or Calvinistic content of the manuscripts was not always the real reason for the negative attitudes and denials of publication;

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<sup>18</sup> Pentti Laasonen, ‘Die Rezeption der deutschen Spätorthodoxie im Norden. Ernst Salomon Cyprian und Erik Benzelius d.J.’, in: Ernst Koch and Johannes Wallmann (eds.), *Ernst Salomon Cyprian (1673–1745) zwischen Orthodoxie, Pietismus und Frühaufklärung. Vorträge des Internationalen Kolloquiums vom 14. bis 16. September 1995 in der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha, Schloß Friedenstein, Gotha 1996*, 71–81; Laasonen, *Luterilaisuus Rooman ja Geneven välissä*, 196–197, 199–201, 206, 216.

<sup>19</sup> Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600-talet*; Stina Hansson, *Afsatt på swensko. 1600-talets tryckta översättningslitteratur*, Göteborg 1982, 17, 106–107.

<sup>20</sup> Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelselitteratur i svensk översättning*, 89–90.

<sup>21</sup> Joseph Hall, *Ethica sacra [...] uplagd af Bängt Höök, och finnes hoos honom till köps*, Stockholm, Niclas Wankijf, 1691, l. )(5r., )(8; Gustav Benzelstjerna, *Censorsjournal 1737–1746*, L. Bygden and E. Lewenhaupt (eds.), [Stockholm 1884–1885], XVII.

in many cases, the members of the Consistory had no knowledge of the origin of the books and their translations. Occasionally publication was denied even if no Reformed doctrine remained in the manuscript. It was often a question of image politics; if there was any reason to suspect that a manuscript might be Calvinistic, or that there were hints that attempts were being made to conceal the true origin of the book, the Consistory became extremely suspicious and printing permission was pitilessly forbidden.<sup>22</sup>

## Towards a freer publication policy (1700–1759)

### The weakening grip of censorship

Attitudes towards English devotional literature changed radically during the first decades of the eighteenth century. The Consistory of Stockholm that had strictly controlled doctrinal purity and attempted to block all heretical influences from entering the Realm at the end of the seventeenth century loosened its grip.

The first Swedish translation granted printing permission in the early eighteenth century was made from Arthur Dent's (d. 1607) book *A Sermon on Repentance* (1582). Dent had been the Vicar of South Shoebury in Essex from 1580. His refusal to wear a cassock during the mass and make the sign of cross led to difficulties with his bishop.<sup>23</sup>

Dent writes about repentance, its properties, timing as well as the things that lead a man towards or away from repentance. In Dent's view, repentance is sorrow for a sinful life, then turning to God's mercy and the grace of Christ. Those unwilling to repent are destined for the Last Judgment and the torments of Hell.

Dent's Swedish translation *En sann omvändelses öfning*, based on the first German translation, contains a lengthy preface written by the German translator who clarified the strong emphasis on repentance in the original book and explained that it was the reason he had wished to add remarks and observations about faith to his preface. He had not, however,

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<sup>22</sup> Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 121–122.

<sup>23</sup> Arthur Dent, *En sann omvändelses öfning*, [...] beskrijfwen af Arthur Dent, och nu effter mångas åstundan och begäran, af tyska språket, på swänskan transfererat och öfwersatt, Götheborg, Zacharias Hagemann, 1702; Thomson Cooper, 'Dent, Arthur', in: *Dictionary of National Biography XIV*, London 1888, 376; Edgar McKenzie, 'British Devotional Literature and the Rise of German Pietism', PhD-thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1997, 160.

made any changes to the text itself. The German translator's preface was also added to the Swedish translation that became the basis for the Finnish translation (*Totisen käändymisen harjoitus eli tie*) thirty years later in 1732.<sup>24</sup> Dent's work was the first English devotional book translated into Finnish. Samuel Wacklin (1710–1780), an Apologist in the Oulu school (later vicar of Laihia) who was a known Finnish Pietist, made the Finnish translation. Dent's book also became very popular in Finland; for example, the Diocese of Turku frequently recommended it for the laity and clergy in letters and other documents.<sup>25</sup>

The last attempt by the Consistory to block the publication of an English devotional book based on perceived Reformed influences took place in 1727. At that time they had the Swedish version (*Christens resa till ewigheten*) of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* on the table. The Vicar Johan Possieth (1667–1728), a member of the conservative faction, stated that there was no reason to translate Reformed literature into Swedish because it was alien to Lutheran doctrine. The Consistory, however, took a different position compared to previous cases. In the seventeenth century, all doctrine-related discussions had resulted in the denial of printing permission, or alternatively the stipulation of special conditions for the printer. In this case, the opponents' opinions were overruled; it was no longer difficult to obtain printing permission if the comments and remarks made by the censor were included in the text.<sup>26</sup>

After 1727, translations of English devotional books sent to the Consistory of Stockholm did not provoke any further discussions. When printing permissions were given, the books' practical usefulness and doctrinal purity were emphasised. Any remarks made by the censor were included as references in the printed text.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Arthur Dent, *En sann omvändelses öfning eller wäg. [...] Beskrifwen af Arthur Dent. Och efter mångas åstundan och begäran af tyska, på swänska språket öfwersatt, nu med 100. bifogade christendoms reglor, i Gudz hel. ord gundade, Gudoch boot-älskandom til en märckelig vplysning.* Stockholm, A. Holm, 1714, )(1v, )(5, )(8; Erkki Kansanaho, 'Samuel Wacklin ja Tukholmassa v. 1732 painetut suomenkieliset hartauskirjat', in: *Ramus virens in honorem Aarno Maliniemi*, Helsinki 1952, 123.

<sup>25</sup> Henrik Schück, *Den svenska förlagsbokhandels historia I–II*, Stockholm 1923, vol. II, 320–323; Kansanaho, 'Samuel Wacklin ja Tukholmassa v.1732 painetut suomenkieliset hartauskirjat', 111–112, 114–115, 117; Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 129, 131, 273.

<sup>26</sup> Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 136–137.

<sup>27</sup> Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 195–196.

### New attitudes towards printing permissions

Attitudes towards printing permissions were also changing. Literature that could be considered subversive was already being published continuously without printing permissions, which were not even always requested. In any case, during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, translators, printers, and the publishers of translations of English devotional literature had sought printing permissions from the Consistory, and usually abided by its decisions. This all changed in the mid-eighteenth century.

In 1720, the Consistory had expressed indignation when the preliminary section of a book by William Beveridge (1637–1708) had been printed without permission. In 1743, however, while the censorship process of the third part of John Bunyan's allegory was being delayed, the Consistory made a proposal to a publisher that enabled him to take the manuscript out of the Consistory. This can be seen as a suggestion to print the text without official printing permission. *Tractatus de officio hominis* (*The Practice of Christian Graces*), denied publication permission in 1699, was also printed as a new translation in 1741, still possibly without printing permission. In 1759 it was even translated into Finnish in Reval with the title *Jumalisuden harjoitus* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition in Turku 1802). The patron financing the Finnish translation was probably Christian Adrian Lado, a wealthy tradesman and exponent of Halle Pietism from Viipuri. The longer and more morally stringent Finnish translations differ substantially from the German and Swedish editions.

The only English devotional book not approved for publication at that time was James Janeway's (1636?–1674) book on the conversion of children, *Andelig exempel-bok för barn* (*A Token for Children*). It is difficult to ascertain if the English origin of the manuscript was the real reason for its publication ban because the book was subsequently revised several times. This book was also printed quite soon after its negative printing permission decision in 1746.

Printing permissions were naturally not requested for mystical or heretical texts, for example the works of Thomas Bromley or John Pordage. Most of these were read in Finland as manuscripts, especially among the so-called Ostrobothnian Mystics, who were often engaged in the translation, copying, and sales of illegal literature during the late eighteenth and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 196; Laine, 'From England to Ostrobothnia – The long journey of Thomas Bromley's mystical writing', in: Dorrit Gustafsson and Kristina

At the beginning of the Age of Liberty (1725–1731), the strictly orthodox vicar of the Nicolai parish and leader of the Consistory Nicolaus Barchius (1676–1733), attempted to defend his point of view against a small minority headed by Herman Schröder (1676–1744), who had a more favourable attitude towards English devotional literature and Halle Pietism. Schröder had also corresponded with August Herman Francke and his son for two decades. Andreas Kalsenius (1688–1750), the stepbrother of Barchius and a follower, also supported strictly orthodox views. Nevertheless, the entire ambience in the Consistory shifted in a more tolerant direction when Eric Alstrin (1683–1762) became its head. None of his followers wished to assume the role of judge regarding theological points of contention.<sup>29</sup> The change in the composition of the Consistory directly affected the publishing of English devotional literature.

### **New attitudes towards Pietism and Calvinism**

The spiritual atmosphere in the Realm also changed during the first decades of the eighteenth century as the emphasis on individual conversion and religious experience became increasingly important. This was also seen in more tolerant attitudes towards Pietism as moderate Pietism gradually gained additional supporters. The first positive references to Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705) appeared in the late 1730s in dissertations written at the Turku Academy. The more positive attitude towards Pietism also influenced attitudes towards English devotional literature, which had similar ideals.

The unity valued by Lutheran orthodoxy and Absolutism gradually gave way to diversity. Publications popular among radical Pietists, for example works by the Philadelphians Thomas Bromley (1629–1691), Jane Lead (1623–1704), and John Pordage (1607–1681), were still in any case denied publication permission. The Philadelphians, a community organized ca. 1670 by the mystical writer Jane Lead, focused on God's Earthly Kingdom, the love for one's neighbours, and the battle against carnality. Members of the society had mystical and supernatural experiences, and Millenarianism played a key role in the society's beliefs.

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Linnovaara (eds.), *Essays on Libraries, Cultural Heritage and Freedom of Information. Festschrift published on the occasion of Kai Ekholm's 60<sup>th</sup> birthday on 15 October 2013*, Helsinki 2013.

<sup>29</sup> Gunnar Hellström, *Stockholms stads herdaminne från reformationen intill tillkomsten av Stockholms stift*, Stockholm 1951, 439–442; Burius, *Ömhet om friheten*, 110.

John Pordage's *Sophia* as well as Thomas Bromley's *Hengellinen tutkistelemus Israelin lasten waelluxesta* (*The Journeys of the Children of Israel*) and *Tie lepo sapattihin* (*The Way to the Sabbath of Rest*) were disseminated in Finland's Ostrobothnia region in manuscripts during the late eighteenth and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The latter (*Wägen till hwilo-sabbathen* in Swedish) was printed in Swedish in 1740 without printing permission and without the names of the publication location or printer. It is known that the book was used in Finland, also in a Swedish translation. Bromley's book is a description of spiritual growth toward divine perfection and light through rebirth and constant self-denial. The book comprises 16 chapters which allow the reader to follow the path step by step. Even though the mystical dimensions of the book were anti-church, the 1655 first edition bore both the name of the printer and the publication location, a consequence of it being printed during the era of Oliver Cromwell's republic.

The idea of linking Calvinism and Lutheranism gained increasingly enthusiastic support in Germany at the turn of the eighteenth century. Serious negotiations about a unification project (*Corpus Evangelicorum*) were conducted in 1722 in Regensburg. Although the Lutheran orthodoxy rejected the proposals, the ambience had already changed; German Lutheranism could no longer encourage the Swedish church to stand against Calvinism. In many places, people acquiesced and accepted views which had been strictly rejected two decades earlier.<sup>30</sup>

### The emergence of translated literature

One factor that mitigated the severity of censorship processes was the rapid emergence of translated literature. German examples reveal that as translations began to proliferate widely, there was less enthusiasm for the protection of doctrinal purity than previously.<sup>31</sup> A similar trend was discernible in the Swedish Realm. Censorship officials simply had no time to control all the publications and bookshops as the supply of books proliferated. By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, only a few English devotional books had been published, but their translations, as well as reprints, began to spread in the 1720s. One reason was that as

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<sup>30</sup> Rudolf Buddensieg, 'Bromley, Thomas', in: *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd, rev. ed., vol. 3, Leipzig 1897, 417; Otto Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus von Otto Ritschl. IV. Band Orthodoxie und Synkretismus in der altprotestantischen Theologie*, Göttingen 1927, 464.

<sup>31</sup> Sträter, *Sonthom, Bayly, Dyke und Hall*, 11.

the demand for Pietistic literature dwindled, English devotional literature took its place. Another reason was weaker censorship.<sup>32</sup>

### A dry spell in the translation of English devotional literature

The lively pace of translations of English devotional literature slowed in the mid-eighteenth century; except for five reprints, no new translations were published during the 1750s. The newspaper *Stockholms Post-tidningar* also reflected this diminished intensity. English devotional books were seldom advertised for sale; only the bookseller *Lars Salvius* (1706–1773) tried to sell previously unsold books by Richard Baxter and Sonthom.<sup>33</sup>

The reason for the paucity of publishing activities during the 1750s was the fear of Calvinism that re-emerged in the 1740s. In earlier times, members of the Reformed society could only practice their religion privately behind closed doors. In any case, His Majesty granted Anglicans and the Reformed limited freedom of religion in August of 1741. Despite the Lutheran clergy's opposition to the resolution in the diet of 1741, Calvinists were given permission to build their own churches.<sup>34</sup>

Another threat to “pure Lutheran doctrine” was the influx of Moravians arriving in the Realm from Baltic areas; more attention was thus paid to censorship and immigration policies. Letters sent by His Majesty to dioceses warned of the Moravians. In the Turku and Oulu regions Moravians caused “all kinds of trouble” when their missionaries arrived to assist their “brothers in faith”. Many Finnish Moravians were laity, for example craftspersons, but certain priests also belonged to their society. For example Samuel Wacklin, the vicar of Laihia who translated Arthur

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<sup>32</sup> Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 198.

<sup>33</sup> Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 198; *Stockholms Posttidningar*, 10.12.1753 number 93, 25.2.1754 number 16, 25.3.1754 number 24.

<sup>34</sup> Turku, Turun maakunta-arkisto, Turun tuomiokapitulin arkisto, Kuninkaallisen Majesteetin kirje Turun tuomiokapitulille [The Provincial Archives of Turku, The Archives of the Cathedral Chapter of Turku, Royal Majesty to Diocese of Turku] El:7, 12.9.1743 § 1; R. Modee, *Utdrag utur alle ifrån [...] utkomne publique handlingar, placater, förordningar, resolutioner ock publicationer, som riksens styrsel samt inwärtens hushållning ock författningar i gemen, jämväl ock Stockholms stad i synnerhet, angå; [...] ett fullkomligt orda-register öfwer des innehåll [...] I–XV*, Stockholm, Lorentz Ludwig Grefing, 1742–1829 III, 1698, 27.8.1741; Sven Wilskman, *Svea rikets ecclesiastiqve verk, i alphabetisk ordning sammandragit utur lag och förordningar, privilegier och resolutioner, samt andra handlingar; förra delen*, Örebro, Joh. Lindh, 1781, 569–573; *Prästeståndets riksdagsprotokoll*, X, 428.

Dent's book into Finnish in 1732, associated himself for a while with his Moravian brethren.<sup>35</sup>

In their research studies, the Swede Bengt Hellekant and German Udo Sträter have ascertained how the original English texts and their Reformed translations were purged of any Calvinistic influences. Modifying the texts to better suit the Lutheran public, often necessary for their reception, facilitated their dissemination in Lutheran Germany and the Nordic countries. On the other hand, it was impossible to eliminate all ostensibly subversive features from the texts. Calvinism not only manifested itself in special words or expressions, but in many cases it "contaminated" the entire work in one way or the other. Whether a work was "purified" or not did not necessarily influence its printing permission; the same work might have received different receptions from consistories at different times. There were periods when it was almost impossible to print anything and others when it was quite easy; even text modifications often had no bearing on the matter. The most powerful influence was the attitude of the clergy towards Calvinists and Pietists; at times a prevailing fear led to inertia in publication activities, while at other times, in a more tolerant atmosphere, it was fairly easy to even publish English devotional literature.<sup>36</sup>

### **Improved book publishing conditions, a new phase in the translation of English devotional literature in Sweden (1760–1809)**

The translating of English devotional literature into Swedish that had dried up in the mid-eighteenth century enjoyed a new Renaissance in the 1760s, which would become the liveliest period in the publication of English devotional literature during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Before 1809, ten new translations and series, also known in Finland, were published, most of them in 1760s.

At that time the first Swedish translations from English devotional books in Danish were made. The amount of English devotional literature in the Danish language was greater than in Swedish; according Frans Huisman

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<sup>35</sup> Turku, Turun maakunta-arkisto, Turun tuomiokapitulien arkisto, Kuninkaallisen Majesteetin kirje Turuntuomiokapitulille [The Provincial Archives of Turku, The Archives of the Cathedral Chapter of Turku, Royal Majesty to Diocese of Turku] EI:7, 15.12.1748, 2.5.1751; Martti Ruuth, 'Itämeren maakunnat ja erittäinkin Rääveli uskonnollisten liikkeiden välittäjänä Suomeen varhaisemman herännäisyyden aikana', in: *Suomen uskonnollisten liikkeiden historiasta asiakirjoja ja tutkimuksia*, I, Helsinki 1915, 278–279, 302.

<sup>36</sup> Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 200.

it was approximately double during each phase (1636–1699, 1700–1759, and 1760–1809), but there were no major fluctuations regarding the authors whose writings had been translated. The same authors popular in Germany and Sweden, for example Sonthom, Lewis Bayly, Daniel Dyke, John Bunyan, Richard Baxter, Arthur Dent, Philip Doddridge, and James Hervey were also well represented in Denmark. The end of the century witnessed a quiet period in Sweden with respect to new translations, but even then reprints were being made (see Appendix). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the translation of English devotional literature into Swedish and Finnish again flourished. Besides larger works and books, various kinds of tracts were translated.<sup>37</sup>

With the publication of Philip Doddridge's works during the 1760s and 1770s, the Swedish Realm turned to a newer kind of English devotional literature. Books translated into Swedish during the last decades of the eighteenth century had originally been written in English during the eighteenth century. These works no longer reflected the religious struggles or fears of civil war prevailing in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Censorship policies in consistories were now more relaxed; the new books did not expound the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination or the Eucharist if there was any mention of the sacraments at all. Attitudes in Sweden and Finland also differed compared to the previous century; the public did not expect doctrinal discussions from devotional literature. Calvinistic doctrines certainly held their own in English devotional literature,<sup>38</sup> but translators were no longer interested in those kinds of books. Doctrine-oriented books were not being offered for sale; the Enlightenment now commanded readers' attention.

During the seventeenth century, English devotional literature had generally been translated into Swedish directly from the original English texts (owing to Olof Lemwijk, who made most of the translations) and in the first decades of the eighteenth century mostly from German. During the 1760s and 1770s, translators also began to use the original English texts or Danish translations as the interest in the English language grew. The German book market no longer dominated translating policies in Sweden

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<sup>37</sup> Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*; F.W. Huisman, 'Puriteins-piëtistische invloeden in het lutherse Denemarken tot 1800', in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 32, nr. 1, (2008), 183–186.

<sup>38</sup> Richard Baxter, *The saints everlasting rest: or, A treatise of the blessed state of the saints in their enjoyment of God in glory. [...] and now published by Richard Baxter, teacher of the church of Kederminster in Worcestershire*, London, Rob. White, 1650.

because Swedish translators were no longer relying on German translations. This must have also been one reason for the selection of non-doctrinal books for translation. The Enlightenment and French literature also diversified the book market; especially in the fields of fiction and philosophy, German literature had to take a back seat.

Many translations now concentrated on providing condolence, spiritual guidance, or reflections on the Bible; personal conversion was no longer required. Fiction and poetry became increasingly popular. Philip Doddridge's *Den sanna gudsfruktans början och framsteg* (*The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*) and other works, however, continued to emphasise conversion.

At the end of the century, the translating of English devotional literature into Finnish became livelier. Until the 1760s, only two Finnish translations had been published; during the period 1760–1809 a total of 5 translations were published: William Cowper's *Lohdullinen kanssapuhet*, 1770 (*A Most Comfortable and Christian Dialogue, Betweene the Lord, and the Soule*), Thomas Wilcox's *Kallihit hunajan-pisarat*, 1779 (*A Choice Drop of Honey from the Rock Christ*), John Bunyan's *Se paras sanoma sille pahimmalle ihmiselle*, 1781 (*The Jerusalem Sinner Saved*), Thomas Gouge's *Sana syndisille, ja sana pyhille, eli ylösherätys suruttomille* 1800 (*A Word to Sinners, and a Word to Saints*) and John Bunyan's *Yhden kristityn waellus autuahan ijankaikkisuteen*, 1809 (*The Pilgrim's Progress*). Four of these had been made from Swedish translations, but the last one had been translated from German. Two of these, Wilcox and Gouge, became quite popular in Finland.

The red thread of Wilcox's booklet is salvation through Christ. The author posits that people do not turn enough to the merit of Christ, but attempt to seek Salvation on their own. It makes no sense to look at one's own merits or sins; Salvation comes only through a belief in Christ. Gouge's book emphasises the spirit of law. Although the author writes about the necessity of rebirth and uses even threats to convert the reader, he also comforts repentant sinners, explaining the responsibilities that come with rebirth.

From all the Swedish translations, books emphasising conversion were chosen for translations even though this theme was no longer as popular in Swedish translations as it had been previously. The reason was that many Finnish translations had been made by members of various revival movements where conversion was a crucial issue. The Finnish

translations were thus stricter and even more archaic than the Swedish translations made at the same time.<sup>39</sup>

Compared to the early 1700s, publication conditions improved dramatically by the end of the eighteenth century. At that time a Swedish political party, the “Caps”, even advocated freedom of the press, a freedom that was ratified in the Diet of 1766. The publishing of newspapers and political literature began to proliferate dramatically. Although the newly acquired freedom of the press did not always affect the publishing of religious literature because of older resolutions remaining in force,<sup>40</sup> the new and more positive atmosphere in publishing policies indirectly influenced the publication of religious literature.

As the economic situation improved, the marketing of books became increasingly important. The *Stockholms Post-tidningar* regularly printed advertisements for earlier editions and novelties on its pages. Published by vicar Anders Lizelius, the *Suomenkieliset Tieto-sanomat*, the first Finnish newspaper at that time, was short-lived (one year, 1771), but its Swedish contemporary *Tidningar utgifne af et sällskap i Åbo* published a considerable number of book advertisements and book auction announcements. Book advertisements also appeared in women’s magazines. New possibilities enabling private persons to buy books through subscriptions also spurred the publication of larger series. With respect to English devotional literature, these improved possibilities did not always lead to greater literary quantity, but bolder risk-taking and higher-quality marketing.<sup>41</sup>

## Summary

As early as the first decades of the seventeenth century, English devotional literature began to proliferate in the Kingdom of Sweden. This literature was mainly Low Church in nature, primarily written by the English Puritans, whose conservatism facilitated the acceptance of these books in Sweden. Despite its Reformed influence, Puritan literary production was often more Lutheran than then the High Church Anglican literature that still exhibited many Catholic features.

The content of devotional books that found their way to the Kingdom of Sweden through the Netherlands as well as Reformed and Lutheran areas in Germany was constantly rearranged by purging the text of Reformed influences.

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<sup>39</sup> Laine, *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 242.

<sup>40</sup> Tuija Laine, ‘Sensuuri ja sen asettamat julkaisurajoitukset’, in: Tuija Laine (ed.), *Kirjahistoria. Johdatus vanhan kirjan tutkimukseen*, Helsinki 1996, 205.

<sup>41</sup> Laine *Ylösherätys suruttomille*, 242–243.

The earliest Swedish editions passed the censors in the Stockholm Consistory without difficulty, even if times were turbulent because of the Thirty Years' War. Attempts to publish Swedish editions of English devotional books in the 1690s, however, encountered strong opposition. Fears and fantasies substantially affected attitudes towards English devotional literature and printing permissions. Whenever Calvinism, Pietism, or the Moravians were perceived as a dangerous threat to national unity and the Lutheran faith, attitudes towards English devotional literature became more rigid; whenever this perceived menace receded, the censorship authorities could afford to be more indulgent.

The mass production of Swedish editions began in the 1720s, which was soon reflected in the reception of English devotional literature in Finland. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Swedish editions had changed their profile; a concern with dogma gave way to a growing interest in practical issues such as the education of children and romantically picturesque garden design.

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## Appendix

Table 1. Printed Swedish translations, new prints and translation languages of English devotional literature in 1630–1699. Equivalent information of devotional books known in Finland in brackets.<sup>42</sup>

| Decade              | Amount of Swedish translations | Translations from German | Translations from English | New prints | Total number of editions |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| 1630–1639           | 1 (1)                          | 1                        | -                         | -          | 1                        |
| 1640–1649           | 1 (1)                          | 1                        | -                         | -          | 1                        |
| 1650–1659           | -                              | -                        | -                         | -          | -                        |
| 1660–1669           | -                              | -                        | -                         | -          | -                        |
| 1670–1679           | 8 (5)                          | -                        | 8                         | 5          | 13                       |
| 1680–1689           | 1 (1)                          | 1                        | -                         | -          | 1                        |
| 1690–1699           | 3 (2)                          | -                        | 3                         | 1          | 4                        |
| <b>Total number</b> | <b>14 (10)</b>                 | <b>3</b>                 | <b>11</b>                 | <b>6</b>   | <b>20</b>                |

<sup>42</sup> Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelse-litteratur i svensk översättning*; Libris (<http://libris.kb.se/>): Richard Baxter, Lewis Bayly, Joseph Hall, John Hayward, Olof Swensson Lemwijk, Richard Lucas, Henry Smith, Emanuel Sonthom, Thomas Watson. According to Hellekant (33) there were also editions of Sonthom's work *Gudz barns gyllende klenod* in 1674 and in an unknown year. In Libris there are no mentions of these editions. Unfortunately there are no sources, which would tell us about the number of copies of these editions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Table 2. Printed Swedish translations, new prints and translation languages of English Devotional literature in 1700–1759. Equivalent information of devotional books known in Finland in brackets.<sup>43</sup>

| Decade              | Amount of Swedish translations | Translations from German | Translations from English | New prints | Total number of editions |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| 1700–1709           | 1 (1)                          | 1                        | -                         | -          | <b>1</b>                 |
| 1710–1719           | 1 (-)                          | -                        | 1                         | 2          | <b>3</b>                 |
| 1720–1729           | 8 (8)                          | 6                        | 1                         | 8          | <b>16</b>                |
| 1730–1739           | 3 (3)                          | 1                        | 2                         | 5          | <b>8</b>                 |
| 1740–1749           | 10 (8)                         | 8                        | 2                         | 5          | <b>15</b>                |
| 1750–1759           | -                              | -                        | -                         | 5          | <b>5</b>                 |
| <b>Total number</b> | <b>23 (20)</b>                 | <b>16</b>                | <b>6</b>                  | <b>25</b>  | <b>47</b>                |

Table 3. Printed Swedish translations, new prints and translation languages of English Devotional literature in 1760–1809.<sup>44</sup>

| Decade              | Amount of Swedish translations | Translations from German | Translations from English | Translations from Danish | New prints | Total number of editions |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| 1760–1769           | 8                              | 1                        | 4                         | 3                        | 11         | 19                       |
| 1770–1779           | 5                              | -                        | 3                         | 2                        | 8          | 13                       |
| 1780–1789           | 3                              | -                        | 4                         | -                        | 10         | 13                       |
| 1790–1799           | -                              | -                        | -                         | -                        | 6          | 6                        |
| 1800–1809           | -                              | -                        | -                         | -                        | 3          | 3                        |
| <b>Total number</b> | <b>16</b>                      | <b>1</b>                 | <b>11</b>                 | <b>5</b>                 | <b>38</b>  | <b>51</b>                |

<sup>43</sup> Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelse litteratur i svensk översättning*; Libris (<http://libris.kb.se/>): William Assheton, Richard Baxter, William de Britaine, Thomas Bromley, Thomas Brookes, John Bunyan, Arthur Dent, Thomas Goodwin, Thomas Gouge, James Janeway, Richard Lucas, Matthew Mead, John Rawlet, John Shower, *Tractatus de officio hominis*, *Tungans styrelse*.

<sup>44</sup> Hellekant, *Engelsk uppbyggelse litteratur i svensk översättning*; Libris (<http://libris.kb.se/>): Richard Baxter, Thomas Brookes, John Bunyan, William Cowper, Arthur Dent, Philip Doddridge, Thomas Gouge, James Hervey, James Janeway, Richard Lucas, Matthew Meade, Thomas Sherlock, John Tillotson, Thomas Wilcox. John Tillotson's and James Hervey's works consist of several parts, which have been counted in table separately.

## Book reviews

Kristiina Savin, *Fortunas klädnader: Lycka, olycka och risk i det tidigmoderna Sverige*, Lund: Sekel bokförlag, 2011; 501 pp.; ISBN 9789185767847; SEK 187,00.

In her doctoral thesis, *Fortunas klädnader: lycka olycka och risk i det tidigmoderna Sverige (Fortuna's Guises: Fortune, Misfortune, and Risk in Early Modern Sweden)*, Kristiina Savin examines issues concerning the uncertainties of life.<sup>1</sup> It is a subject of some urgency, not least in relation to current tendencies of trying to reduce reality to computable variables by means of forecasts, risk assessment, and cost-benefit analyzes. Somehow, we seem to fear uncertainty to such an extent that measurability is pursued in almost every aspect of life. Early modern society saw different patterns of thought.

Savin's analysis consists of three sections. The first one treats conceptions of fortune. By studying, for example, images of the achievements of Gustavus Adolphus as well as improbable feats the author shows how fortune and success were often viewed as fickle, but was nevertheless reliant on the mercy of God.

The second section deals with misfortune, which could be understood either as divine punishments, warnings or trials. When times were difficult, early modern people often searched for consolation in reliance on the fact that God's good intention was somehow behind all the suffering that one must endure.

In the last section of the analysis, an early modern concept of risk is applied to actions of active risk taking in the early modern times. Among the examples, one finds dangerous voyages of discovery, dangerous work environments within mining, as well as the management of moral decisions.

The issues surrounding *Fortuna* and the uncertainties of life also brings to the fore a vast number of conceptions concerning the qualities of man as well as the world. Savin's depiction is rich with contextualizations and every example is thoroughly presented. This, for sure, brings a sense of analytical depth; however, the price is somewhat paid in efficiency. The dissertation is a hearty brick of 501 pages.

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<sup>1</sup> This review is a translation and was originally published in *Historisk tidskrift*, (2014), vol. 2, 310-312.

The vastness of the source material is also striking. In order to list her sources, which consists of more or less all available Swedish prints from late 16th century to early 18th century, Savin needs 16 pages. As a selection principle she has made use of sources which are associated with a general level of education during the period. Savin claims that the examined conceptions belonged to what was known by every school boy in his late teenages.

Following this argument, she, for instance, makes use of the work *Elementa rhetorica* by the Dutch philologist Gerhardus Johannes Vossius, published in 1630, as a guide for analyzing what emotions different texts sought to emulate among its recipients. Using a 17th century rhetoric manual as a methodological tool for analysis must be considered an unusual approach that brings with it certain risks. The emotional logic of Vossius might have been over-generalized through projection onto other texts that are studied in the thesis. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is another work that is made use of in order to reinforce a number of analyzes concerning early modern emotions.

At the same time, this is an interesting approach in the sense that it creates a proximity to a contemporary emotional vocabulary. *Elementa rhetorica* was mandatory reading in Swedish schools for a period of 200 years. It is therefore likely it was part of a general body of thought among educated Swedes up until the mid 19th century. In fact, this method for identifying 'emotion words' in early modern text bears resemblance with an approach advocated by Barbara Rosenwein (Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions", *Passions in Context I* 2010).

In such a manner, Savin, in chapter 7, concerning perceptions of misfortune as God's trials, analyzes how emphasizing human suffering actually was a means for infusing a sense of consolation. Savin identifies a genre that she labels consolation-literature, which is defined by texts meant to be read during difficult times or shortly after misfortune. Here, man's existence was often metaphorized as Jesus' passage to Golgotha, the place to which he was forced to carry his own cross. The metaphor, thus, provided human suffering with a sense of righteousness which made it easier to cope with.

However, emotions are not the primary objects of investigation in Savin's thesis. The theme is mainly used as a tool for characterizing different genres according to their purposes of evoking different emotional

reactions. Nevertheless, there would have been no harm in occasionally questioning the definitions of Vossius and Aristotle.

The main conclusion of the thesis is that the idea of man's lack of control over the timely world still was not part of a fatalistic worldview. The responsibility for one's own actions still remained. The virtues and knowledge of man were necessary for being able to cope with the challenges that Fortuna laid out in her path. What was favoured was an awareness of the mercy of God. Behind this insight lies the study of numerous texts from various genres, written for different occasions. This is a great merit which has been made possible by the vastness of the source material.

*Fortunas klädnader* is a solid book. It deals with several aspects concerning conceptions of the uncertainties of life during the early modern period. We are shown numerous well-founded empirical examples. However, Savin's perspective on the history of emotions is somewhat fragile. Vossius together with Aristotle is perhaps ascribed a bit too much authority over the interpretation of emotions. Nonetheless, this has inspired the author to make interesting interpretations, something which in itself possesses a value. The use of a conspicuously large amount of sources makes possible particularly interesting conclusions about how different genres can give us clues to how conceptions of fortune and misfortune are to be understood. Savin has made an enormous effort which deserves appreciation.

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Feike Dietz, *Litteraire levensaders. Internationale uitwisseling van woord, beeld en religie in de Republiek*, Hilversum: Verloren, 2012; 396 pp., ISBN 978-90-8704-280-6, € 37,00.

A number of academic disciplines have in recent years seen considerable attention being paid to the aspects of internationality and interconfessionality.<sup>2</sup> Feike Dietz' doctoral thesis is a fine example and

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<sup>2</sup> The text of this review earlier appeared in Dutch, and in a slightly different form, in: *Ons geestelijk erf*, 83 (2013), 372-6.

proof that literary history is one such discipline. It is a contribution that also makes very clear how crucial a role publishers played in international and interconfessional exchanges of word and image.

Inspired by a spiritual song of the Dutch Reformed Pietist and Utrecht preacher Jodocus van Lodensteyn (1620-1677), Dietz commences her dissertation with medical terminology. Indeed, the main title is translated in the English summary as *Literary Lifelines*. She even launches a new concept, by analogy from the medical world: that of religious transfusion. This concept chimes soundly with the Reformed Pietist tradition<sup>3</sup>, whether she is aware of this or — perhaps more likely — was not so mindful of the resonance. What Dietz means by literary lifelines is supply routes which literature depended upon, and equally channels whereby literature was disseminated and transmitted. A religious transfusion is a process of transference enabled by religious concurrence between the parties.

In this study, Dietz presents a correct analysis of the reworkings in the Northern Netherlands of the Roman Catholic *Pia desideria* [Pious yearnings] (1624), an emblems-of-love anthology published in the Spanish Netherlands by the Jesuit missionary Herman Hugo (1588-1629). It is a fortunate choice for several reasons that she chose *Pia desideria* as her research focus. Firstly, her work is taken up with the interrelationship of word and image — not a particularly unusual combination in the Roman Catholic piety tradition but very much so in Reformed Protestantism, the primary religious affiliation of the Northern Netherlands. This brings us implicitly to the second fortunate aspect of the choice: interconfessionality. *Pia desideria* spread beyond the bounds of Roman Catholicism, even finding a place in the territories of the Reformed and Lutheran confessions. Thirdly, and related to that last fact, is the aspect of internationality. Dietz covers, in turn, the Spanish Netherlands, the Northern Netherlands, England, Germany and France. The last of the fortunate aspects of this research is its diachronicity: the research spans two centuries.

The main aim of the study is to investigate whether the interconfessional literary exchange in the Dutch Republic can be explained

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<sup>3</sup> M.J. van Lieburg, 'Zeeuwse piëtisten en de geneeskunde in de eerste helft van de 17<sup>e</sup> eeuw. Een verkenning van het werk van W. Teellinck en G.C. Udemans', in: *Worstelende Wetenschap. Aspecten van wetenschapsbeoefening in Zeeland van de zestiende tot in de negentiende eeuw*. (a special edition of *Archief. Mededelingen van het Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen*), 1987, 63-86.

by reference to the social contacts between book producers of various denominations. Anyone with much prior exposure to this branch of historical research will recognize that in this respect, Dietz is following squarely in the footsteps planted by her supervisor, Els Stronks, in her *Negotiating Differences* (2011)<sup>4</sup>. No wonder, then, that the subtitles of these two studies are very redolent of each other.

In six chapters, Dietz introduces the reader to the figures in the early Dutch Republic who reworked *Pia desideria*. The first on whom she shines the spotlight is Amsterdam printer and publisher Pieter Paets, who between 1628 and 1657 presented readers in the Northern Netherlands with the contents of *Pia desideria* in various ways. These include his reprinting of the original Latin text of *Pia desideria* in 1628 and his 1645 special prose edition of *Goddelycke wenschen* [Godly yearnings] (1629), a Dutch adaptation of *Pia desideria* written by Antwerp priest Justus de Harduwijn (1582-1636). Two new elements injected into the bloodstream of *Pia desiderata* upon its arrival in the Republic were its iconographical motifs and meditative directions. Dietz skilfully reveals the cautious tactics employed by Paets in his project of releasing a range of devotionalia into circulation in the Northern Netherlands. To her great credit, Dietz succeeds in demonstrating that works ascribed heretofore to Antwerp printers were actually assembled by Paets. She is convincingly on the right track when she posits, contra Joris van Eijnatten and Fred van Lieburg<sup>5</sup>, that the general Christian ideal of piety in the form of the inward experience of faith was receiving plenty of attention in the Republic as early as the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, she is overreaching when she attempts to reconstruct — on the basis of these Amsterdam editions — a network in the Spanish Netherlands of which Paets was supposedly a lynchpin. Even if she herself is convinced of this thesis due to Paets' having issued works of his own under the names of several Spanish Netherlands printers and to his passing himself off as a business partner of theirs, an objective and critically-minded reader will want proof rather than assumptions.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Els Stronks, *Negotiating Differences. Word, Image and Religion in the Dutch Republic*, Leiden 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Joris van Eijnatten and Fred van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis*, second and improved edition, Hilversum 2006, 219.

<sup>6</sup> Feike Dietz, *Litteraire levensaders. Internationale uitwisseling van woord, beeld en religie in de Republiek*, Hilversum 2012, 52.

<sup>7</sup> Dietz, *Litteraire levensaders*, 52-62.

Dietz' second chapter tackles two Roman Catholic reworkings of *Goddelycke wenschen*: one, by Jan Krul, is entitled *Christelycke offerande* [Christian sacrifice] (1640) and was written with a large, diverse and — in Dietz' view — predominantly female readership in mind, while the other is an anonymous, undated (but pre-1666) manuscript that circulated in a closed community of religious virgins or nuns.

Chapter 3 focuses on *Goddelycke aandachten* [Godly considerations] (1653) by the Protestant spiritual mysticist Petrus Serrarius (1600-1669). Dietz argues persuasively that in making this adaptation of *Pia desideria*, Serrarius drew upon a Latin edition of it that was a major source of inspiration to the English Protestant tradition of emblems of love. Serrarius transformed the classic Roman Catholic practice of meditation with images into an inner dialogue between God and man, a dialogue in which Scripture was assigned an important role. That he achieved a measure of success with this work is evidenced by the reprint of 1657. The readers of spiritual works on the theme of emblems of love were strongly internationally oriented, as is seen by the fact that a German-language adaptation of *Goddelycke aandachten* was published at Amsterdam in 1661 under the title *Emblemata sacra* [Sacred emblems]. Various reprints and a reworking of the latter were published in the German states themselves. Also printed in Germany was a separate reworking of *Pia desiderata*, entitled *Gottselige Begierden und andächtige Seufzer* [Godly desires and pious sighs] (1706). The following is offered to supplement the information Dietz provides in her study. The illustration used by Gillis Joosten Zaagman in his reprint of *Goddelycke aandachten* (late C18<sup>th</sup>), an image which he borrowed from editions of *The practise of pietie* by Lewis Bayly (d. 1631), probably bears a relation to the engraved title page of the first edition of the Dutch translation of the latter work.<sup>8</sup>

It was only towards the end of the seventeenth century that *Pia desideria* took root among the Dutch Reformed in the Republic, when an Amsterdam Reformed Pietist publisher and poet, Johannes Boekholt (1656-1693), published his *Goddelyke liefde-vlammen* (Godly flames of love) in 1691. He did so in the wake of the Protestant tradition ensuing from *Pia desideria*, orienting his work not only towards the Northern Netherlands emblem tradition built up by a Doopsgezinde, Jan Luyken (1649-1712), but also towards German-language Lutheran Pietist emblem

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<sup>8</sup> A.A. den Hollander, 'De practycke in beeld', in: W.J. op 't Hof et al. (eds.), *De praktijk der godzaligheid. Studies over De practycke ofte oeffeninghe der godtzaligheydt (1620) van Lewis Bayly*, Amstelveen 2009, 171-9. This study is missing in Dietz' bibliography.

books. The German influence consists in his harnessing the experiences of the senses — in words, image and sound — as he exhorts the reader to present to God the sacrifice of a heart burning with love. Dietz finds Boekholt's use of images an innovative aspect. As she puts it: "Even the title pages of Further Reformation books remained unillustrated."<sup>9</sup> In a footnote intended to support this interpretation, Dietz cites a short article by her supervisor and also mentions an article by the writer of this review. However, even that latter article itself by the present writer gives a summary of more than fifty Further Reformation books that bore title page prints!<sup>10</sup>

Dietz' fifth chapter examines *De Godlievende ziel* [The God-loving soul] (1724), written by Jan Suderman (1680-?) and published by Marten Schagen (1700-1770); both men were Doopsgezinden. This work appears to be an adaptation of a French source in which the meditative experience is formed by means of rational analyses of the findings of science.

In her sixth chapter, Dietz demonstrates — from the reprints of several reworkings of *Pia desideria*, from an Enlightenment Protestant children's book illustrated with *Pia desideria* plates, and from similar penny prints — that the stage of international transfusion had by this point come to an end, that the original work was now embedded in Dutch literary fashions, and that an effort was now being made to reach as large a reading public as possible with the material. With this, *Pia desideria* had accomplished what it had been produced to achieve.

Although it is an impediment to researchers abroad that the thesis is in Dutch, the work does not remain entirely inaccessible to them. A seven-page English summary<sup>11</sup> allows a more international readership to gain a good overall impression of this promising first taste of the author's scholarship.

This is a study that, using an interdisciplinary approach, expertly conducts an intriguing quest and arrives at a remarkable finding. Cutting against the prevailing view, Dietz argues that interconfessional exchange also took place in the absence of any direct social or professional contacts

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<sup>9</sup> Dietz, *Litteraire levensaders*, 183-4.

<sup>10</sup> It appears to have escaped Dietz' notice that the article appeared in an amended form in 2004. In that version, the present writer lists 33 frontispieces and six engraved title pages: W.J. op 't Hof, 'Het Nederlands gereformeerd Piëtisme en de Nadere Reformatie in relatie tot de (beeld)cultuur in de zeventiende eeuw', in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 28 (2004), 2-33, especially 21-2.

<sup>11</sup> Dietz, *Litteraire levensaders*, 378-84.

between media producers of differing confessions. Such indirect exchange was a result of the international dynamics of the book market in the Dutch Republic. In practice, it was largely Pietist Protestants that were involved in that process. The fact that the production networks consisted largely of co-religionists and that the editions of *Pia desideria* adaptations were intended for their publishers' own spiritual circles indicates that in the Dutch Republic, the religious subcultures existed independently of each other, side by side. Dietz' findings are sufficient reason to endorse her own plea to shift the focus within Dutch literature studies from the peculiarities of Dutch writing to the international, interconfessional and social encounters to which it testifies. Her results also make the question more urgent of whether the international context might not likewise have been far more significant to non-Dutch literary expressions of culture than is typically assumed at present.

As with any review, a few matters for regret have to be voiced after the positive notes. The first of these is the terminology. After all, *Pia desideria* is not just any book, nor even a publication that merely happens to have religious content, but is a piety work par excellence. In this regard, the subtitle of Dietz' study — which refers to “the international exchange of word, image and religion in the Republic” — is not entirely correct and even a little misleading. Religion cannot be equated with piety in the way that this book implies. As a phenomenon, religion necessarily involves the admixture — or, if one will, the tension — of confession with devotion. Given that these two concepts are not clearly distinguished in Dietz' argument, the image that is evoked is at times needlessly diffuse. This failure to define the terms employed is a peccadillo of which many academic studies are guilty. In general, the work would have been more valuable if piety had been more explicitly handled as a component within religion.

Wherever the author sticks to her specialist field, she gives every indication of good, thorough expertise. However, it has to be said that as soon as she permits herself excursions further afield, there is a risk of something being taken out of proportion. To give a few examples: in her introductory chapter, Dietz informs us that the background to her thesis was the persistence of two debates, one of which was the place that Pietism had within the various Early Modern churches. She goes on to devote less than a page to describing that debate, in contrast to the nearly five whole pages addressing the discourse on the coexistence of confessions. While it is proverbially true that there is a kind of brevity that

concentrates wisdom, this shortness is not of that kind: the au-fait reader is left with the impression that the author has not read very widely around this material. Moreover, terminological imprecision takes its toll here, too: Pietism is equated in the text with Further Reformation, although elsewhere — in a footnote — a greater grasp is shown of the distinction between the two.<sup>12</sup> Numerous questions suggest themselves from some of the things that Dietz infers about the Further Reformation and about the way in which the study of that movement has developed.<sup>13</sup> For instance, in the last-cited place, the difference of views that she notes has to do with the diversity among the researchers in the field, but it cannot be extrapolated as if it were a tendency in the overall research into that piety movement. In truth, the international context of Further Reformation was acknowledged as of great significance to it — or even as its crucial aspect — well before 2005, as is thoroughly reflected in the bibliographical approach taken to the study of this Reformed piety movement. Between 1980 and 1999, J. van der Haar (1917-2001) brought out four standard works on that topic, fully three of which treated in turn the English, German and French context!<sup>14</sup> It was in 1995 that F.W. Huisman began developing the bibliographical electronic database Pietas, which holds both bibliographical descriptions and content gists of the editions of all Dutch-language Reformed Pietist works. This database is now being completed in close collaboration with the Study Center for Protestant Book Culture at VU University Amsterdam. It was with good reason that it was decided to open up first of all the records on Dutch translations of British Puritan works on the website [pietasonline.nl](http://pietasonline.nl)<sup>15</sup>; access to this first tranche has been provided

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<sup>12</sup> Dietz, *Litteraire levensaders*, 176 footnote 14.

<sup>13</sup> Dietz, *Litteraire levensaders*, 34, 179 and 175-6 respectively.

<sup>14</sup> J. van der Haar, *From Abbadie to Young. A Bibliography of English, Most Puritan Works, Translated i/t Dutch Language* (title sic), Veenendaal 1980; J. van der Haar., *Schatkamer van de gereformeerde theologie in Nederland (c. 1600 - c. 1800). Bibliografisch onderzoek*, Veenendaal 1987; J. van der Haar., *Internationale ökumenische Beziehungen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Bibliographie von aus dem Englischen, Niederländischen und Französischen ins Deutsche übersetzten theologischen Büchern von (1600-1800)* (title sic), Ederveen 1997; J. van der Haar., *Drielandenverkeer. Bibliografische Studie Betreffende 1: Uit het Duits in het Nederlands vertaalde theologische boeken 2: Uit het Frans in het Nederlands vertaalde theologische boeken*, Rumpst 1999. These four works, too, are missing in Dietz' study.

<sup>15</sup> [www.pietasonline.nl](http://www.pietasonline.nl). An extensive rationale for and description of Pietas Online can be found in: F.W. Huisman, 'Pietas Online! Pietas als schatkamer van gereformeerde vroomheidsliteratuur', in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 35 (2011), 1-22.

since 17 May 2011. In this connection, this reviewer sometimes noticed that important literature references were lacking.<sup>16</sup>

Some closing remarks: Dietz' doctoral thesis marks her out as a skilled researcher in her own literary field, one who is not timid about challenging received opinion. It is above all this robustness that will make her an asset if, as is hoped, she continues to pursue academic research. Much can then be expected of her, as long as she becomes as familiar with related fields as she is with her own research area. It is thanks to this kind of study that the academic picture of historical reality acquires the fine nuances it needs, which helps shrink the gap between the picture and the reality.

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*Joel R. Beeke and Paul M. Smalley, Prepared by Grace for Grace: The Puritans on God's Ordinary Way of Leading Sinners to Christ, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Reformation Heritage Books, 2013; 297 pp.; ISBN 978-1-60178-234-2; \$ 25.00; € 21,99.*

Varied are opinions on the implications of the Puritans' teaching on the preparation of the individual prior to believing.<sup>17</sup> Perry Miller regarded this teaching as a deviation from the original Reformation doctrine of grace, and interpreted it as a shift towards Arminianism. Others have taken the doctrine of preparation to grace as evidence that the Puritans failed to live up to the unconditional nature of the gospel declared in the Reformation.

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<sup>16</sup> For example, on Voetius: A.J. Beck, *Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676). Sein Theologieverständnis und seine Gotteslehre*, Göttingen 2007; regarding the relationship of Voetius and Coccejus to Pietism: W.J. op 't Hof, 'De verschillen tussen voetianen en coccejanen in het licht van hun verklaringen van de Heidelbergse Catechismus', in: F.G.M. Broeyer en E.G.E. van der Wall (eds.), *Een richtingenstrijd in de Gereformeerde Kerk. Voetianen en coccejanen 1650-1750*, Zoetermeer 1994, 54-73; regarding Pietist reading matter in general: F.A. van Lieburg, 'Piëtistische lectuur in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 13 (1989), 73-87.

<sup>17</sup> A Dutch version of this review has been published in *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 38.2 (2014), 91-93.

In this book, Joel Beeke and Paul Smalley reveal, from their painstaking research of the sources, the continuity between the Reformation and Puritanism. The Puritan doctrine of preparation to saving faith is an outworking of that dichotomy — so fundamental to the Reformation — of law and gospel, and of the pattern in which the law prepares the way for the gospel. Not only Luther but also Calvin was convinced that one could only grasp the meaning and power of the gospel once he had learnt to see himself condemned. For Calvin, the dominant strand here is that true conversion, and its concomitant sorrow over sin, is a fruit of faith. However, Calvin is also found speaking of a self-knowledge that readies the individual on his way to a true knowledge of Christ.

It was out of pastoral considerations that the Puritans elaborated this element of the Reformation. What they opposed was a nominal Christianity that takes up talk of Christ and his grace without knowing a brokenness of heart or a renewal of life. William Perkins, whose influence over the later Puritans was second to none, taught extensively on the way leading to salvation. He and other Puritans emphatically contrasted the concept of being made ready for faith from the semi-Pelagian, Roman Catholic-tinted concept of *præparatio*. The consideration that a person cannot prepare himself for grace does not imply that the Holy Spirit does not render people susceptible to grace. Knowledge of sin is fundamental to this preparation. Perkins distinguishes this knowledge of sin from godly sorrow, which is a fruit of faith. In making this distinction, he points out that sorrow over sin can precede one's consciousness of believing in Christ.

With varying accents, these doctrinal lines can be traced through all Puritans. The position of a number of New England Puritans — and here we must particularly name Thomas Shepard and Thomas Hooker — prompted opposition by other Puritans. The debate concerned the following points. Shepard and Hooker felt that an aversion to sin must be felt even at the stage of preparation for regeneration. Chronologically, they placed being cut off from Adam before being grafted into Christ. They also spoke of a saving knowledge of sin as a separate matter than faith in Christ. A number of Puritans including Giles Firmin explicitly distanced themselves from Shepard and Hooker on these points. Later, John Newton would rehearse the same criticism.

While Beeke and Smalley seek to do the best justice they can to Shepard and Hooker's good intentions, they do state that the mainstream of Puritanism took another direction on this point.

This was very much the case in the matter of Hooker and Shepard's view that in coming to Christ, a person must learn to be satisfied if he does not receive salvation. On this point, the Dutch Further Reformer Jacobus Koelman, who in other respects had great esteem for the two New England men, joined the criticism of them. Beeke and Smalley point out that some of Shepard's published works were actually edited together from notes by his hearers and thus cannot automatically be taken to reflect his views accurately. From a letter written to Firmin, it is apparent that what Shepard meant on this point was that a person must learn that he has no entitlement whatsoever to be saved. Shepard and Hooker's view differs from that of Roman Catholic mystics who taught that one must continue to love God even after one understood what it entailed to be lost altogether. I would note here that this latter notion, phrased as 'approving one's own doom', has since the nineteenth century cropped up now and again in Dutch Reformed Protestant traditions, without the questionable nature of the proposition being much understood. I say 'questionable' because if true, this would imply that a person could love God outside Christ, and that runs contrary to the heart of Reformed doctrine.

The Puritans tended to voice the conviction that it would often be the case that a Christian could not lay his finger on the exact moment of his regeneration. This also means that it is typically no easy matter to identify where stages of preparation that lack a salvific character end and where the new life begins. That overlap is described masterfully in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*: the distance described in that allegory between the Wicket Gate and the Cross is not placed in the story because Bunyan thought that any faith could be present without the knowledge of Christ, but rather because he was convinced that there could be faith without assurance

Beeke and Smalley underline the pastoral intent of the Puritans and their desire to shake the unrepentant out of their sleep and to lead the awoken to Christ. They point out that it is not the concept of preparation to grace as such that is a hindrance to the proclamation of the Gospel to all with the command to believe and repent, but rather an imbalanced emphasis on this aspect that is the hindrance. There are also differences between Puritans in this regard.

Beeke and Smalley have delivered us a thorough study. I can encourage anyone who wishes to know more about Puritanism to become familiar with it. I join Beeke and Smalley in their certainty that the Puritans can yield us many insights on this very matter of preparation to grace, or

put differently, on the relationship between law and gospel. This is particularly so if we continue to broaden our individual understanding of Puritanism and thereby gain an awareness of differences in nuance.

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