

Mission Sparks



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500 years
Church

Reformation

And its influence to
Churches and Societies today

MISSION SPARKS: Academic Journal of Asia Region

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An Editorial Note

In 2017 the worldwide Protestantism will celebrate the 500th anniversary of the Church Reformation.

Actually, there had been efforts to reform the Roman Catholic Church even earlier. At the beginning of the 15th century, a Czech, Jan Huss, already questioned some of the theology and practices of the church and suggested new paradigms. But these Biblical corrections were rejected by the church hierarchy; Huss was condemned as a heretic and, on the 4th of July 1415, burned on the stake in Konstanz. Tradition has it that Huss prophesied the coming of an even greater Reformer a century later. Many Protestants believe that Huss' prophecy was fulfilled in the person of Martin Luther, who sparked off the reformation movement when he put his 95 theses against indulgences on the door of the palace church in Wittenberg, on 31st of October 1517.

This date, indeed, is generally considered to mark a major change in the course of world history.

Dr. Martin Luther was not alone in his struggle. Other big names, such as Philipp Melanchthon, Huldrych Zwingli and Jean Calvin (just to mention a few), are considered as equally important founders of the Protestant churches.

From August 1st until 10th, 2016, Eukumindo (European Working Group for Ecumenical Relations with Indonesia; UEM is a member of Eukumindo) facilitated a study tour for 17 church historians from Indonesia and Malaysia to Germany and Switzerland. This 10-days journey to places of the Protestant Church Reformation of the 16th century was carried out under the guidance of Dr. Uwe Hummel (Ecumenical Co-worker of Mission21 at STT GKE, Banjarmasin). Two members of Eukumindo Board, Huub Lems (PKN, Treasurer Eukumindo) and Sonia Parera-Hummel (JEM, President Eukumindo), also accompanied this group of academics from various theological

colleges.

The articles in this second edition of *Mission Sparks* contain theological reflections on some of the historical achievements of the reformers. They are products of the intensive deliberations of the participants during this study trip. Some non-participants write also on the impact of the reformation in their respective churches and communities. What does the Reformation mean for us in Southeast Asia today?

Zacharias Ngelow describes this historical movement. The spiritual struggle of the monk Martin Luther, who was disturbed by the unbiblical teachings and corrupt practices of the Roman Catholic Church in his time. His search for a merciful God was shared by many at his time, including several political leaders. Some of them grabbed the chance to liberate themselves from the domination of the Papacy and its power structures. However, this reformation movement created the division in Christianity.

Fortunately, the reformation did not only caused divisions in Christianity. Yusak Soleiman and Huub Lems write on an effort made in Jakarta to reunite two protestant churches.

An important question is, whether the Reformation had been a male movement only. Of course not! Many women played important roles, both as supporters in the background, as well as thinkers and custodians. Rebecca Giselbrecht looks into this subject matter in her essay titled "Church Reformation: Roles and Meaning for Women".

Another woman, Liz Vibila, discusses the significance of the Reformation from an African perspective. Her contribution, "Church Reformation and the Empowerment of Women in the Democratic Republic of Congo", focuses on the liberating message of Jesus Christ for African women.

Jan Aritonang describes the importance of reformation for the human empowerment in Indonesia. He critically discusses this in his article: "The reformation and its relevance for education

in Indonesia”.

Martin Luther had not only been concerned about doctrinal issues inside the church of his time. Kai Horstmann gives a clear overview of this Reformer’s attitude toward other religions such as Judaism and Islam. What does this mean for current inter-religious relations in Germany? In another essay, Horstmann reflects on Jews and Muslims as German citizens today.

Although Martin Luther was quite concerned about issues of peace and reconciliation, this doesn’t show very much in his sermons and writings about the Jews and Muslims in his days. An impressive but also shocking example of this are Luther’s last sermons delivered in Eisleben before his death. Uwe Hummel, in his essay, discusses this dichotomy between the peace-maker and the antagonist Martin Luther during the final days of his life.

Refugees, who have escaped from sectarian violence and who desperately seek asylum and help, is not just a contemporary problem. In fact, Calvin was faced with a similar challenge in Geneva. Berthalyna Tarigan’s contribution in this edition, gives an impressive insight in the strategies developed by Calvin in order to successfully cope with this enormous challenge of his day.

Hazel Corro-Navarra pictures the struggle of her communion, the United Church Christ in the Philippines (UCCP), particularly Davao Jurisdiction, in protecting the refugees today, namely the indigenous people who are being robbed of their ancestral lands.

How can the principle of “constant and continuous reformation” (*ecclesia semper reformanda est*) be understood and implemented in Indonesia? Petrus Sugito and Debora Suparni write on how their Javanese Church, the GKJTU, is motivated for change. Appropriate change is necessary not only in worship, but also in the church’s involvement in social, economic and political life.

Jozef Hehanussa pays attention to the discussion between Zwingli and his opponents on the issue of fasting. His description of the praxis of fasting in early Christian communities, as well as later developments, is of great importance for churches as minority communities in a country like Indonesia, where the majority of citizens are Muslims who practice fasting.

Different from most other trees planted by single churches in the Luther Gardens in Wittenberg, tree number 384, which was planted by Eukumindo during this study trip, forms a bridge between the two continents of Asia and Europe. During the solemn tree-planting ceremony, Eukumindo President, Sonia Parera-Hummel, delivered a meditation based on Isaiah 11: 1. This, too, is included in here.

May the readers of this second edition of *Mission Sparks* gain not only some additional knowledge, but also much pleasure and real inspiration to serve God and the world in a renewed way.

Sonia C. Parera-Hummel, M.Th.
Chief Editor and
UEM Executive Secretary for Asia



Reformation and Church Division in XVI Century: An Ecumenical Perspective

Dr. Zakaria J. Ngelow

Reformation of the Church in sixteenth century Europe was initiated by Martin Luther, a young Roman Catholic monk and a Biblical lecturer at Wittenberg University in 1517. It began with his personal spiritual enquiry about how was a man as sinner can get salvation. His long and hard spiritual struggle came to an end as he gets the meaning of Romans 1:17: "For in it the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith; as it is written, 'The one who is righteous will live by faith.'" God graciously justifies sinners through their faith in Christ. It was different from the church teaching that salvation is only granted to people with good works. With this new insight of salvation, Martin Luther questioned some teachings and practices of the church, such as the selling of the indulgences to save souls from purgatorio. Luther published his personal thoughts in a list of theses in Latin, "*Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum*" (Disputation on the Power of Indulgences), known as Ninety-five Theses,¹ to his colleagues and students in Wittenberg University. But these theses were

translated into German and distributed among intellectuals, thanks to the newly found rapid printing machine of Gutenberg. The main purpose of Luther was to correct the unbiblical teachings and practices of the church, notably the selling of indulgence and the authority of Pope. But negative reaction of the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church and positive support of local political authorities divided the unity of the Roman Catholic Church. This short account of the progress of Reformation in Germany and division of the church will be seen in a perspective of ecumenical movement.

Roman Catholic Reactions

Luther was a member of the Augustinian order. Johannes Staupitz, the head of the order in Germany, called for a formal disputation on Luther theses in Heidelberg. At Heidelberg Disputation on 26 April 1518, Luther presented his thought in 28 theses² defended the doctrine of human depravity and the bondage of the will. This disputation attracted Johann Eck, a defender of Catholic doctrine and a highly respected Dominican friar, to propose a debate with Luther. In 12-14 October 1518 Luther was interrogated by Cardinal Cajetan, the Pope representative, in Augsburg.

Cajetan was directed by Rome neither to debate Luther, nor make a final judgment on his theology, but rather to insist that he recant by saying the simple word *revoco*—"I recant." The central point of contention Cajetan had with Luther was the authority of the papacy to issue indulgences. Cajetan repeatedly cited Aquinas and the bull *Unigenitus*, promulgated by Clement VI in 1343 in support of indulgences, to validate his position. Luther rejected the authority of Aquinas and claimed the pope had no authority to institute a dogma teaching justifica-

tion through any means other than Christ. When Cajetan pressed him on the point, Luther responded that pope, council, and theologian can all err, appealing to numerous medieval theologians and even canon law in support of his argument.³

In 1519 Johann Eck invited Martin Luther to join a debate at Pleissenburg Castle in Leipzig – known as the Leipzig Debate. The debate originally between Johann Eck and Andreas Karlstadt (ca. 1480-1541), a theologian that later became a founder of Radical Reformation, concerning the doctrines of free will and grace. And when Luther arrived in July they expanded the terms of the debate to include matters such as the existence of purgatory, the sale of indulgences, the need for and methods of penance, and the legitimacy of papal authority.

Luther declared that sola scriptura (scripture alone) was the basis of Christian belief, that the Pope had no power as he was not mentioned in the Bible, and condemned the sale of indulgences to the laity to reduce their time in purgatory, as there was no mention of purgatory in the Bible. The debate led Pope Leo X to censor Luther and threaten him with excommunication from the Catholic Church in his June 1520 papal bull, Exsurge Domine, which banned Luther's views from being preached or written. There was much opposition to the bull, especially in North West Germany where Lutheran beliefs were strongest.⁴

Imperial Diets

It was in 1517 – 1520 that the first phase of Reformation of how the Roman Catholic Church investigated Luther's theological thoughts. It was concluded that there were many heretical or against church doctrine in Luther thoughts. Luther was threatened by the papal bull Exsurge

Domine to recant in 60 days, but Luther and his followers in turn burnt the papal bull.

As Vatican failed to overcome Luther movement, the second phase begun by the interfere of imperial power. In January 1521 Luther was summoned before the Diet of Worms, an imperial court set up by Emperor Maximilian. Predate the diet Luther was officially excommunicated through the papal bull Decet Romanem Pontificem and Rome wanted the Emperor to place the imperial interdict (a civil penalty) on him. With the excommunication, Luther had no right to defend himself before the court, but Elector Frederick of Saxony negotiated with the Emperor. Luther then ordered to be interrogated in April 1521.

In response to his interrogator, he affirmed his authorship of all the books and placed his writings in three categories. The first group dealt with piety and morals and he deemed them generally uncontested, even by the papal bull excommunicating him. The second group was directed at the errors of the papacy which he believed threatened the faithful and so he refused to recant of them. The third set of writings included those Luther had directed against supporters of the papacy who defended the errors he criticized in the second category, and he likewise would not retract those.⁵

The unwavering support of the seven German electors, led by Frederick the Wise of Saxen, saved both Luther and the Reformation movement. From May 1521 - March 1522 Frederick put Luther under guise as Junker Georg in Wartburg castle, near Eisenach. Luther continued his work of writing theological articles and letters to support Reformation. He also translated the New Testament from Koine Greek into German.

In the course of Luther Reformation, both Diet of Speyer I (1526) and Diet of Speyer II (1529) were decisive in the formation of the Protestant church against Roman Catholic. In Diet of Speyer I the 1521 Edict of Worms – imperial decree on condemning Luther and his followers as outlaws – was temporarily postponed and regarded as an imperial consent on religious liberty to Reformation supporters.

On 27 August the diet came to the unanimous conclusion, with the consent of Ferdinand, that a general or national council should be convened for the settlement of the church question, and that in the meantime, in matters concerning the Edict of Worms, "every State shall so live, rule, and believe as it may hope and trust to answer before God and his imperial Majesty."⁶

Based on this conclusion of the imperial diet, Reformation was applied in some states and separate churches were established. The Lutheran church was officially born.

The exercise of territorial sovereignty dates from this point, as well as the establishment of separate state churches in the German states of the Holy Roman Empire. And as the Empire was divided into a large number of sovereign states, there were as many Protestant church organizations as Protestant states, according to the maxim that "the ruler of the territory is the ruler of religion within its bounds" (*cuius regio, eius religio*). [...] Saxony, Hesse, Prussia, Anhalt, Lüneburg, East Friesland, Schleswig-Holstein, Silesia, and the cities of Nuremberg, Augsburg, Frankfurt, Ulm, Strasburg, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck, adopted Protestantism.⁷

At the designated general council – the Diet of Speyer II – in March 1529, the Archduke Ferdinand I of Austria, again representing Emperor Charles V, denied the religious

freedom of the states and ordered that Catholicism be followed in all states of the Holy Roman Empire. The Edict of Worms revoked. While majority of representatives accepted the reimplementing of the 1521 edict, theologians and some German princes and magistrates of the Reformation side resist the Diet decision to annul the 1526 imperial support of religious freedom. They felt that "Christ was again in the hands of Caiaphas and Pilate," and they refused to be bound by secular authority in matters of faith. On 19 April 1529 they presented a "Letter of Protestation" to the Diet. Since then the followers of Reformation were called Protestants.

Another important imperial Diet related to the progress of Reformation was the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. Like previous diet, this one also addressed the issues of invasion of the Turks and the Reformation. The most important outcome of the 1530 Diet was Augsburg Confession from the Lutherans, formulated by Philip Melancton (1497 – 1560), colleague of Luther at Wittenberg University. Prior to the Diet, Martin Luther, Justus Jonas, Johannes Bugenhagen and Philipp Melancton met in Torgau where they formulated a summary of the Lutheran faith to be laid before the Holy Roman Emperor at the Diet, known as "Torgau Articles". During the diet, Melancton worked on an apology, using the Torgau articles and shared with other theologians, included Martin Luther. The final text was accepted by theologians and signed by pro-Reformation German princess and cities representatives. The text, known as Augsburg Confession, was read in German and Latin on 25 June 1530 before the imperial Diet.

From historical and theological perspectives, the three imperial diets, Speyer I (1526), Speyer II (1529) and Augs-

burg (1530) were the events where the unity of the Christendom under the Roman Catholic Church divided. Augsburg Confession (1530) can be seen as theological demarcation line between (Lutheran) Protestantism and the Roman Catholic Church.

The confession was rejected by Roman Catholic theologians in an official document, "The Pontifical Confutation of the Augsburg Confession". Phillip Melancton wrote "The Apology of the Augsburg Confession" as defence of the Augsburg Confession and a refutation to the Pontifical Confutation. After some editing and revisions, the Apology was later included in the Book of Concord, the basic teachings of Lutheran Church from sixteenth century.

Reformed Protestant

The expansion of the Reformation movements into European countries with their respective local government support, eventually created Reformed Protestant denominations in Switzerland, France, the Netherlands and other countries. Among their leaders were Ulrich Zwingli (1484 – 1531) and Heinrich Bullinger (1504 – 1575) in Zurich, Johannes Oecolampadius (1482 – 1531) in Basel, Martin Bucer (1491 – 1551) in Strasburg, and John Calvin (1509 – 1564) in Geneva. In 1530 King of England, Henry VIII (1491 – 1547), begun Reformation in England that eventually separated the Church of England from the Roman Catholic.

Zwingli developed different understanding of the sacrament of the Eucharist from Luther's teaching. In 1529 a colloquy was arranged in Marburg to solve their differences. From a list of 15 articles, they could not agree on one article about the Eucharist. In the course of church history, the reformation of Zwingli became an important aspect in the Reformed Churches, which was mainly de-

veloped by John Calvin and his students. In addition to a number of differences in doctrines, the institutionalization of the Reformation church as national churches resulted in fragmented Protestant churches. And has further been made complicated by the emergence Radical Reformation in the Reformation scenes, in Germany, Switzerland and other countries. Most of them were pacifist, but Thomas Müntzer (c. 1489-1525) committed to social transformation of the Reformation and led the peasant revolt (1524-25) in Germany.

A controversial figure in life and in death, Müntzer is regarded as a significant force in the religious and social history of modern Europe. Marxists in the 20th century viewed him as a leader in an early bourgeois revolution against feudalism and the struggle for a classless society.⁸

Both Roman Catholic and Protestants persecuted these radicals. Zwingli and magistrates of Reformed Swiss cantons adopted Middle Ages church attitude of intolerance towards heresy, in this case the Anabaptist. Radical Reformation legacy contributed to some aspects of modern Christianity: voluntary church membership and believer's baptism; freedom of religion – liberty of conscience; separation of church and state; separation or nonconformity to the world; non-resistance, in modernized groups interpreted as pacifism; and priesthood of all believers.

Support of Political Authorities

The roles of social and political power in the success of Reformation were so decisive that it can be regarded more secular rather than religious movement. Some historical studies underlined that in terms of social, political, economical and cultural, the European world towards the event of Reformation was in the process of radical chang-

es. The rise of middle-class citizen against middle ages feudalism, emerging of nationalistic consciousness, spreading of Renaissance and humanism were among the key factors that shake the foundations of the European Christendom.⁹ While Roman Catholic Church was undermined by theology of the reformers, the local political authorities made it possible to change the church institution.

...the political authorities were the linchpin in the course of the Reformation. Without them, the controversy would have remained a theological squabble. No matter how persuasive the new theology may have been to the people, those holding power had to make formal legal and political decisions in favour of repudiating the Catholic Church. The Reformation is therefore unthinkable without the pivotal role of the political authorities.¹⁰

Reformation and the Unity of the Church

Reformation of the sixteenth century in Europe institutionally divided the Roman Catholic Church into Lutheran Church, Reformed Church, Anglican Church and Free Church. The division of churches was against the will of God to keep unity of Christian community in peace. Conflicts and schism among churches delegitimize the truth of the Gospel and constrained the mission and evangelism. From modern ecumenical and ecclesiological perspectives, the Reformation can be lamented as serious violation to the unity of the church.

But this negative view of Reformation presupposed that a solid Christendom was there before the Reformation. A critical reading of church history can make one understand that Roman Catholic Church had been shaken from within and some revival communities survived in spite of intolerance. There were some reform movements in dif-

ferent regions prior to Luther Reformation movement - such as the Waldensian by Peter Waldo (c. 1140 - c. 1205), the Lollardian of John Wycliffe (1320s-1384) and the Hussites (initiated by Jan Hus, c. 1372 - 1415), Girolamo Savonarola (1452 - 23 May 1498) led a church renewal in Florence, Italy. They were signals of ecclesiastical unrest related to the unbiblical life and doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church.

It should also be kept in mind that outside the Western Christendom there were churches resulted from divisions in the past centuries. The West (Roman Catholic Church) and the East (Orthodox Church) was separated in 1054. The Coptic Church in Egypt and the Nestorian Church in Asia regarded as heresies in the councils of Ephesus (ad 431) and Chalcedon (ad 451). And there was the Papal Schism within the Roman Catholic Church which lasted from 1378 to 1417.

Alongside the institutional aspect, Reformation should be seen from a theological perspective as a fundamental correction to the deviate teachings and practices of the church. It was a rediscovery of the true teaching of the Gospel of salvation. In spite of rejection to Protestantism, Counter-Reformation movements - in the forms of Council of Trent (1545-1563), Religious orders, notably Jesuit Order (1540), and some spiritual and political movements - were recognition of the need for renewal in Roman Catholic Church. Karl Barth (1886 -1968)), renowned Protestant theologian, mentioned the greatness of the reformers in their rediscovery of the Christian truth, and further restored the church:

One certainly came much closer to the truth of the matter when in the previous centuries one simply perceived the merit and greatness of the Reformers in the fact that they again proclaimed certain Christian truths, forgotten

or half-forgotten in the church, and thereby restored the church: the glory and authority of the Bible, the lordly majesty of God the Creator, the significance of Jesus Christ as the reconciler of sinful man, the power of faith in this Christ, the freedom of the Christian in the world, and the necessary humility and the necessary courage of the true church.¹¹

Reformers formulated church as community of faith to Jesus Christ where the Word of God preach and sacrament administered properly.¹² In the Augsburg Confession it was explained:

It is also taught among us that one holy Christian church will be and remain forever. This is the assembly of all believers among whom the Gospel is preached in its purity and the holy sacraments are administered according to the Gospel. For it is sufficient for the true unity of the Christian church that the Gospel be preached in conformity with a pure understanding of it and that the sacraments be administered in accordance with the divine Word.¹³

Unity of the church was emphasized in the New Testament, that Christians shared "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in all." (Eph 4:5-6). "For in one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and we were all made to drink of one Spirit" (1 Cor. 12:13). The Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople (381) mentioned the basic characters of the church as "one, holy, catholic, apostolic Church."

The World Council of Churches (WCC) affirms that unity of the church is both will and gift of God, and works towards visible unity of the different churches. In its constitution, WCC formulated the goal of visible unity "in one faith and in one Eucharistic fellowship, expressed in worship and

common life in Christ, through witness and service to the world, and to advance towards that unity in order that the world may believe".¹⁴ But visible unity of the church is understood differently. Roman Catholic emphasized visible bonds of communion in three aspects of profession of: one faith received from the Apostles; common celebration of divine worship, especially of the sacraments; and apostolic succession through the sacrament of Holy Orders, maintaining the fraternal concord of God's family.¹⁵

The differences between Roman Catholic and Protestant are the sacraments and apostolic succession. In the sacrament of Eucharist, Roman Catholic hold the doctrine of Real Presence, known as transubstantiation, that the elements, bread and wine, become body and blood of Christ after priest blessings. Lutheran view is sacramental union, known as consubstantiation, while Reformed Churches believe in the presence of Christ as Host in the communion of Eucharist (Spiritual presence). More crucial point is in the Roman Catholic doctrine of apostolic succession or historic episcopate. In the course of history Roman Catholic church develop ecclesiology in a hierarchical episcopal church polity with primacy of Roman Bishop assumed as successor of Apostle Peter, who was believed, served and died as a martyr in Rome. Based on this doctrine of apostolic succession, Roman Catholic denied validity of genuine ministry among Protestant churches:

According to Catholic doctrine, these Communities [Christian Communities born out of the Reformation of the sixteenth century] do not enjoy apostolic succession in the sacrament of Orders, and are, therefore, deprived of a constitutive element of the Church. These ecclesial Communities which, specifically because of the absence of the sacramental priesthood, have not preserved the genuine and integral substance of the Eucharistic Mystery cannot, according to Catholic doctrine, be called

“Churches” in the proper sense.¹⁶

Protestant churches understand apostolic succession as submission to the teaching or faith of the apostles and continuing the mission of the apostles; but rejected historic episcopate and sacramental character of ordination. For the Protestant, the marks of the true church are the proper preaching of the Word of God and ministry of holy baptism and Holy Communion according to the Lord’s command. And for the church polity, Protestants promoted alternatives of universal priesthood in equal episcopalianism, Presbyterianism and congregationalism.

Toward Common Understanding

The Faith and Order Commission of WCC - representatives of Protestant, Orthodox, Anglican, and (since 1968) Catholic theologians - published in 1982 a document on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry (BEM), known as Lima Document.¹⁷ This important document summarized the agreements among different traditions on these three aspects in the life of the church. In 2013 the Commission provided another document to the churches, *The Church, Towards a Common Vision*. The document is a convergence statement on ecclesiology: “How far Christian communities have come in their common understanding of the Church, showing the progress that has been made and indicating work that still needs to be done.”¹⁸

Another document dealt with more specific theme to overcome the difference that caused the Reformation movement was the 1999 “Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification” between Roman Catholic Church and the Lutheran World Federation.¹⁹ The Joint Declaration was also adopted by the World Methodist Council, while The Anglican Consultative Council “welcomes and affirms the

substance" of the Declaration. The World Communion of Reformed Churches (WCRC) is going to approve the Joint Declaration with an underlining of the integral relation between justification and justice. Indonesia member churches of WCRC suggested to mention other aspects of justification, namely sanctification and vocation in the WCRC Association to the Joint Declaration document. From Indonesian context of religious and cultural pluralism they also try to contextualize the Western juristic idea of justification to their cultic, mystic and cosmic paradigm of their religiosity.

Meanwhile, a report of the Lutheran–Reformed Joint Commission between LWF and WCRC on ecclesiological common understanding, *Communion: On Being the Church* was published in 2012.²⁰ The first paragraph of the document stated that the sixteenth-century Reformers did not leave the church, and emphasized the diversity of church traditions:

Because of our shared Reformation history, we can affirm that Christian life is life in the church. Our understandings of the church are similar. The sixteenth-century Reformers did not leave the church. We confess with the church of all times and all places that the church is one, holy, catholic and apostolic. We believe that Christian discipleship can only be lived in the community of Christ's body. At the same time, we recognize that faithful church life may be lived out in various ways. We recognize the church of Jesus Christ there where the gospel is rightly preached and heard and the sacraments are rightly administered, and have a particular understanding of the church that emphasizes both its indispensability for faithful Christian life and its human frailty (*and thus its need for reform—semper reformanda*).

These ecumenical movement struggle for a common un-

derstanding of doctrines of the church to bring into reality the visible unity of the church. The movement can be seen as serious efforts to overcome church divisions. And at the same time ecumenical movement was also appreciation to the freedom spirit of Reformation of developing the unity character of the church as unity in diversity: "For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ." 1 Corinthians 12:12.

Closing Remarks

This short article is an effort to see the Reformation of the sixteenth century as a personal theological concern of Martin Luther in Wittenberg. By the support of political powers in relative short time his concern became a movement with extensive social and political consequences that changed the religious map of European countries, and in particular the establishment of Protestant churches. While regretting the division of the church, Reformation was appreciated as a blessing of the Holy Spirit to recover the essence of the Gospel and then restoring the true church of Christ. And this should be the primary motivation of celebrating 500 years jubilee of the Reformation in 2017.

The division of churches since Reformation indeed is contrary to the nature of the church. Thanks to the efforts of the ecumenical movement that some progress toward common understanding has been achieved to overcome the division of the churches. Encouraging achievements of the movement, to bring different churches into dialogue toward visible unity of the church, is also a solid ground to celebrate the Reformation jubilee. The celebration, therefore, must be done in the spirit of reconciliation and unity of the churches. *Ut omnes unum sint ...*

Makassar, Indonesia, 25 October 2016

Footnotes:

- ¹ For English text, see "The 95 Theses", online at <http://www.luther.de/en/95thesen.html>. [Retrieved 10 October 2016]
- ² See English text, "The Heidelberg Disputation" online at <http://bookofconcord.org/heidelberg.php> [Retrieved 10 October 2016]
- ³ "Luther meets with Cajetan at Augsburg," online at <http://reformation500.csl.edu/timeline/luther-meets-with-cajetan-at-augsburg>. [Retrieved 10 October 2016]
- ⁴ "Leipzig Debate," online at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leipzig_Debate [Retrieved 10 October 2016]; It was at this Leipzig Debate the name Lutheran originated as a derogatory term used against Luther by Johann von Eck. He and other Catholics followed the traditional practice of naming a heresy after its leader, thus labelling all who identified with the theology of Martin Luther as Lutherans. "Lutheranism" online at <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lutheranism>. [Retrieved 10 October 2016]
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- ⁶ "Diet of Speyer (1526)" online at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diet_of_Speyer_\(1526\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diet_of_Speyer_(1526)) [Retrieved 10 October 2016]
- ⁷ "Diet of Speyer (1526)" online at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diet_of_Speyer_\(1526\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diet_of_Speyer_(1526)) [Retrieved 10 October 2016]
- ⁸ Manfred Bensing, "Thomas Müntzer, German Religious Reformer", online at <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Thomas-Muntzer>. [Retrieved 12 October 2016].
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- ¹¹ Hans J. Hillerbrand, "Historical Dictionary of the Reformation and Counterreformation".
- ¹² Karl Barth, "Reformation as Decision" in Lewis W. Spitz (ed.), *The Reformation. Basic Interpretation*. Lexington, Massachusetts, Toronto: D.C. Heath and Company, 1972, pp 155f.
- ¹³ Paul Alvis, *The Church in the Theology of the Reformers*. (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1982)
- ¹⁴ Augsburg Confession (Article VII).
- ¹⁵ "Constitution and Rules of the World Council of Churches (as amended by the 10th Assembly of the WCC in Busan, Republic of Korea, 2013)", online at <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/assembly/2013-busan/adopted-documents-statements/wcc-constitution-and-rules>. [Retrieved 15 October 2016]
- ¹⁶ Catechism of the Catholic Church par. 815.
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- ¹⁸ Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry. Faith And Order Paper No. 111 (Geneva, WCC, 1982) online at <https://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/commissions/faith-and-order/i-unity-the-church-and-its-mission/baptism-eucharist-and-ministry-faith-and-order-paper-no-111-the-lima-text> [Retrieved 15 October 2016]
- ¹⁹ The Church, Towards a Common Vision. Faith and Order Paper No. 214. WCC, 2013 online at https://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/commissions/faith-and-order/i-unity-the-church-and-its-mission/the-church-towards-a-common-vision/@@download/file/The_Church_Towards_a_common_vision.pdf. [Retrieved 15 October 2016]
- ²⁰ See "Joint Declaration On The Doctrine Of Justification by the Lutheran World Federation and the Catholic Church", online at http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/chrstuni/documents/rc_pc_chrstuni_doc_31101999_cath-luth-joint-declaration_en.html [Retrieved 23 October 2016]
- ²¹ English text online at <https://www.lutheranworld.org/sites/default/files/DTPW%20Reformed->

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Unification of Lutheran and Reformed in 19th Century Batavia as Initiated by the King of the Netherlands (Gereja Immanuel)¹

Dr. Yusak Soleiman and Huub Lems

Political situation 1795-1815

By the start of the nineteenth century Dutch East India was in a deplorable situation and prospect for improvement was unfavorable. The once so mighty Dutch East India Company (VOC) had been declared bankrupt and its assets were taken over by the Dutch State.²

In 1795 the last head of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, Stadtholder Willem IV together with his son Willem Frederik Prins van Oranje Nassau fled to England after a French Army moved into the Southern States.

A day later, Batavian Republic was declared to be the new governance in Dutch East India which was a client state of the French Republic of Napoleon Bonaparte. And in the latter years, it turned out to be the Kingdom of the Netherlands (1806-1810) under the reign of Napoleon's Brother Louis Bonaparte. After the turned of events it was formed as an integral part of the French Republic in 1810. A republic that was already in decline after its defeat from Russia and which had ultimately been defeated at Waterloo in 1815.

The Dutch Kingdom had only been restored at the Congress of Vienna when Willem Frederik returned to the Netherlands in November 1813, who had sailed with the English army vessel named 'The Warrior' and now became 'Coning Willem I' (King William I).

Reformed Seven United Netherlands

In the Low Countries that were at war with Spain it was Calvinism that got the upper hand. Willem van Oranje had been of Lutheran persuasion but was changed to Calvinism as it defended that lower governments had the God-given rights to stand up to higher governments³. Governments that must reign according to the law of God's kingdom and one that would protect the church. And when a government promulgated laws that were in conflict with the will of God, people were not obliged to obey them. Despite John Calvin's justified fear of anarchy and subsequent strong insistence that even tyrannical rulers be obeyed, he cautiously opened the way for resistance and rejection of tyrannical rulers.⁴ For instance, Willem van Oranje rallied the support of members of the Dutch Reformed Church to resist and reject the rule of King Philip II of Spain in 1568.

The Dutch Confession, normally called Belgic Confession drawn up by Guido de Brès in Doornik (Tournai) stated clearly in Art. 36 the Calvinist view of the task of the State; first, to promote public order by curbing licentiousness and punishing criminals through the use of the sword, second, protection of the pious, third, protection of the holy service of the Word and therefore fend off all idolatry and false religion, fourth, to destroy the kingdom of the antichrist and finally, to promote and allow the

preaching of the kingdom of Jesus Christ everywhere (italic by authors). The purpose thereof, was to ensure that God was honored and served by all, as commanded in His Word.⁵ The Reformed Church in the Republic accepted the Belgic Confession as one of its confessions and used it as a source to define its own view on what was allowed and what was not in the public sphere of the Republic. Drawing from this Belgic Confession she pointed the government on its duty to accept, protect and support on its territory the "true (Reformed) religion" against Roman-Catholicism and other "false" religions and beliefs.⁶ As a consequence, Dutch Government patronized the Reformed Church as its Public or State Church but also adhered to two principles: Freedom of religion both for individuals and for churches. Individual freedom of religion was in line with the *Unie van Utrecht* (Union of Utrecht) of 23 January 1579 where the States declared to fight together against the King of Spain but retained their freedom to arrange internal affairs in the way they wanted. This included arranging for religion as long as 'every individual will have freedom of religion' and 'nobody will be prosecuted because of his/her religion'.⁷ For other churches and other religions, like that of the Jews, and its believers the Republic kept on being tolerant. Lutherans, Roman-Catholics, Mennonites and Remonstrants were not to be prosecuted and they could have their churches as long as it was not visible or could be heard in public. This religious situation in 16th and early 17th century Netherlands was remarkable if we compare it with other Christian nations during the first and half century of Reformation. Like for example, both Germany and England suffered a series of civil unrest when Reformation was introduced there.

Church under the Dutch East India Company

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, although the Low Countries were at war with the King of Spain as a seafaring nation, it became stronger and stronger. It started to search for new ways to East and West India and get direct access to valuable spices only growing in those areas. In order to end competition between ships from the various cities, the government decided to start the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, VOC).⁸ It was the first and very large share funded multinational company established on 20 March 1602. The VOC received a monopoly from the Republic for sailing and trade on all countries between Cape of Good Hope and Strait of Magellan. Its Octrooi or patent given by the States General of the Republic also ruled its organization and gave it a number of sovereign rights. It was not only a commercial organization but also a political one in giving such rights.⁹ The VOC-Octrooi of 1602 did not state articles on pastoral care for its personnel, church planting or mission. In addition, this new commercial enterprise has puzzled many historians on its goal and character, even Schutte commented that it should not be the case. In those times stating the obvious explicitly was uncommon. Like, at first we have seen interference with religion and church was thought to be inherent to the task of the government. So, the same cases happened every time VOC would establish strongholds and trading posts, from the Republic in Europa which extended to each and every corner in the world between the Cape and Magellan Strait.¹⁰

During those times whenever VOC ships were on navigation, concrete pious activities were administered on board by ministers and sick comforters were posted to take care of the religious needs of sailors, traders and armed personnel. On its first years 41 of them joined the 76 ships

leaving. And in 1611 the first official pastor's seat at Victoria Castle – Ambon was established.¹¹

At the renewal of the VOC-Octrooi 1622/23 "the conservation of the public Reformed religion" was mentioned explicitly, taking away any doubt that might occur on the issue. All the important Dutch people those days – including those of the VOC – acknowledged no other religion as the legal one than that of the Reformed religion. Whenever amongst the local population people were converted to Roman-Catholic under the Portuguese rule they were simply taken to be reformed instantly. "They got a pastor instead of a priest, a sermon instead of a Mass, and a Bible instead of a crucifix."¹² Before anything else, everything had been cleared for Roman-Catholic priests so they might not be caught unaware that the Reformed religion was legalized. Therefore, at several occasions this led to extradition of those priests who continuously practice their duties leaving them no choice because the rule and the strict application of it must be implemented, mostly after the (Reformed) Consistory several complaints about it were hand over to the proper authorities.

Lutheran Church under the VOC

It was not until 1743 that an exception was made from this strict rule. On June 12 one of the "Brethren of the Augsburg Confession" met with Governor-General Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff, who happened to be a Lutheran himself. They discussed about establishing a Lutheran Congregation in Batavia. That time 'Augsburg Confession' was considered one of the most important confessions of the Lutheran Church.¹³ So, on 8 October 1743 according to Coolsmathey were granted approval to get a site where to build a Lutheran Church. Moreover, on 1 November

they got allowance to collect money from 'among themselves and not in public' to finance their church building. De Bruijn¹⁴ has pointed at an earlier date, "By resolution of April 3, 1742 the Heeren XVII – the Board of directors of the VOC – allowed the Lutherans in Batavia (Jakarta) to form an officially recognized congregation and to worship in public." It actually formed the legal basis for GG Van Imhoff to implement it soon after his arrival in Batavia. In his official position he kept on being a member of the Reformed Church but supported the new Lutheran congregation in private. He was only seen present when the foundations of the Lutheran Church building were laid in 1747 and when the first sermon was held in the new church by the Lutheran minister in 1749.¹⁵

According to Van Lieburg, the first Lutheran minister's place in Batavia was established in 1745 and in July 1746 Rev. Christoffel Michels arrived as the first official Lutheran minister. In practice and not in line with the 'religious freedom for Lutherans' in Batavia the Reformed consistory backed by Reformed Governors General had put a lot of trouble to hamper the growth of the Lutheran Congregation. She was unsure about the potentially large growth and therefore its own decline in power, influence and authority. This was not without reason as De Bruijn explained: there were 6000 European citizens of Batavia around 1743 and some 2000 Lutherans who lived in the city.¹⁶ The religious background of VOC officers, soldiers and others to be sent to Batavia was not important for the VOC as long as they joined the Reformed Church until 1743 and the numbers of foreigners (non-Dutch) among VOC personnel increased over time from one fifth in 1691 to two thirds in 1778. Among them were several Europeans from countries where Lutheran faith was mainstream. In 1750, the Lutheran Congregation of Batavia got a second minister, later a third and in 1765 even a fourth one.

By that time they were obliged to occasionally preach in the Reformed Church.¹⁷

It seemed that the actual way in which the Lutheran Church lived its faith was not so different from the one exercised in the Reformed Church. Indeed, both copied the liturgy from the one in use in the Republic and they corresponded to their church bodies through the office of the Governor General then again to their respective church bodies, for instance, The Hague for the Reformed and Amsterdam for the Lutherans. But besides that the church services were quite comparable, the social classes of the members were also pretty reflected by their church seats and entourage and the wealth of its ministers were comparably overwhelming.¹⁸

Great changes in the East (1800-1815)

The Church in the Dutch East Indies, just like the VOC itself, started to diminish as we look at the numbers of ministers. Between 1725 when the number was at a peak of forty it gradually decreased to twenty nine in 1775, and the decline did not stop. Posts at Banda Islands and Formosa had been closed altogether. Other churches like those in the Moluccas, the Indian Coasts (Coromandel, etcetera) and the Cape were reduced in number.¹⁹ In Batavia at the peak seventeen ministers were at the payroll of the VOC: 6 for the Reformed Church, 4 for the Lutheran Congregation, 4 for the Portuguese Congregation and 3 for the Malay Congregation.²⁰ In 1800 the number was reduced to four: J.Th Ross (Reformed)²¹, J. Schill (Lutheran), J.H. Häfely (Portuguese) and A. Zomerdijk (Malay). Then, in 1808 the latter one as well as A.A. Engelbregt who came from Ceylon the year before he died served as ministers leaving Ross and Schill to serve the whole of Batavia. In

1810 F.C.H. Cluver came to their help but he was posted in Malacca already one year later. While, in 1811 Raffles occupied Java. He brought with him a Baptist missionary named W. Robinson and was allowed in May 1814 to preach in church which he only did for one or two years. This showed us how political developments in the Republic had influenced much of the situation in the former VOC area. In 1800 the responsibility of the former VOC came into the hands of the Dutch Government, at that time the Batavian Republic of the Dutch Patriots were the ones who appointed the Governor General.²² From 1806-1809 the Kingdom of the Netherlands totally governed Batavia but from 1810 onwards it was ruled by the French Republic. Due to the war between Napoleon and England the latter seized Dutch possessions including Raffles occupying Batavia.

For many years French rule became dominant in Low Countries, it started in 1796. Freedom of Religion and separation of Church and State were declared. It lasted until Daendels became Governor General in 1808, Freedom of Religion was also declared in the Dutch East Indies. This made great relief for the Roman-Catholics that were until then denied to express their faith in public. Moreover, British rule by Raffles did not change this fundamental principle. Although Daendels had decided in a resolution that Batavia would have 4 Reformed, 2 Lutheran and 2 Roman-Catholic clerics which could be considered wishful thinking in the years to come.

King Willem I

We were told that the son of Stadtholder Willem IV, Willem Frederik took office after the request of Dutch nobles for him to return from England in 1813. In the remarkable turned of events, the following year an announcement had been made by the Convention of London that most of the Dutch possessions in Asia be returned by England to the now Kingdom of the Netherlands under King William I.²³ Furthermore, the Dutch East India Administration was re-organized, and also the position of the church was attended to. The Dutch Constitution of 1815 gave full power to the King over its colonies, including the churches there. King William I's goal was to merge all Protestant churches into one church organization. But, he did not succeed in its implementation in the Republic itself and so as in the colonies both in Curacao and in the Dutch East Indies.²⁴ In practice this meant for Batavia a union between the Reformed and the Lutheran churches.

King William I was then under the influence of the ideals of a general brotherhood of all religions and of great tolerance for those adhering other religions or philosophies. In 1817 his brother in law King Friedrich William III of Prussia succeeded in uniting the majority of Lutherans and a minority of Reformed Prussians. But conditions like that were not favorable in the Republic. However, he was determined to succeed in Batavia. So, he revitalized the churches by sending in new ministers, like D. Lenting and G. van den Bijlaardt in 1813.²⁵ The reality however, was that due to the shortage of ministers the first three missionaries sent to the Dutch East Indies were also ordained to serve the churches: Supper in Batavia, Brückner in Semarang and J. Kam in Ambon.²⁶ The Dutch Missionary Society (*Het Nederlands Zendeling Genootschap* NZG), founded in 1797 in Rotterdam, was the one responsible to send ministers as missionaries at that time.

Regulating the Churches in the Colonies

- ⇒ The King explained his approach to the matter based on Royal Decree no. 5 of 4 September 1815:
- ⇒ All church matters that are usually dealt with by the Government and all correspondence regarding church matters will be handled and processed by the Department for Trade and Colonies;
- ⇒ A Committee composed of seven ministers living in The Hague, Delft or surroundings together with some correspondent members in other areas was formed;
- ⇒ The tasks of this Committee will be:
 - Making proposals aimed at the wellbeing of the Churches in the Dutch East Indies
 - Corresponding about this with the Bible and Mission Societies
 - Commenting on all papers submitted to it by the Government
 - Examining the candidate ministers for service in East and West Indies and arranging for their confirmation for those who will be appointed by the King.

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Although in the considerations it was mentioned that there was a need to make arrangements for the relationship of the churches in patria and in the Dutch East Indies but nothing was found about this in that Decree.²⁷

In Royal Decree No. 113 of 7 December 1820 some more clarification were given. It can be summarized as follows:

1. All Protestant Churches in the Dutch East and West Indies will be united under one and the same board;

2. To look after its interests a Committee for Matters regarding Protestant Churches in the Dutch East- and West-Indies, seated in The Hague and supervised by the Department for Matters of the Reformed Church will be responsible in line with the policy of the Department where the matters of the Colonies are dealt with;
3. The Committee will be commenting on all papers presented to it by the Government and will be entitled to make proposals from its side;
4. The Committee will have regular correspondence with the churches in the Dutch East Indies;
5. The Committee will have regular contact with Bible- and Mission Societies, the leading bodies of the Protestant Churches, Theological Faculties and Professors.
6. Examining candidates;
7. The Departments will consult the Committee before presenting Regulations on the Protestant churches in the East- and West-Indies to the King for approval.
8. Supervision of students of Theology preparing for the churches overseas;
9. The Committee will represent the Protestant Church in the East- and West Indies at the General Synod Meeting of the Reformed Church;
10. The Committee will be composed of seven ministers, of which 5 are still active, among them are the secretary to the General Synods of the Reformed Church and of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church and that of the Provincial Church Board of Zuid Holland.²⁸

It would be understood that forming one church boarding Batavia was a significant first point, together with many other interesting and important points.

It seemed that the implementation and progression of the Decree was very slow and that further regulation was needed. Royal Decree no. 88 of 11 December 1835 was mandated and aimed for the Church in the Dutch East Indies;²⁹

1. The Protestants in the Dutch Indies will form one church organization. The Reformed and Lutheran congregations in Batavia will be unified, unless the two congregations one way or another will have serious objections which need to be considered;
2. In case this will come into effect there will be one high Church Board for all protestant congregations in the Dutch Indies, seated in Batavia and corresponding with the Committee in patria. This Church Board will be composed of one member of the Council of the East Indies (president), the ministers residing in Batavia (one of them Vice-President, one Secretary) and three dignitaries from Batavia.

Its implementation took a while because it was only by Royal Decree no. 57 of 28 October 1840 that the new Regulation of the Protestant Church in the Dutch-Indies was approved. And was soon activated only by a publication in the Javasche Courant of 30 October 1844 and then the first meeting was held on 30 November 1844.³⁰

Actual unification of Reformed and Lutherans in Batavia

With the institution of one church board for the Protestant Church in Dutch-Indies in November 1844 the Reformed Consistory was no longer the church board for all Reformed churches in the Dutch East Indies, like it had been from the early days of the VOC. It only had to deal with its own local church area of Batavia and had to report to the newly formed Protestant Church Board.

For the unification however, it needed steps from the Lutheran Church Board as well. It took 10 years of waiting. The Lutheran Congregation had known several periods without a Lutheran minister.³¹ In 1852 the newly appointed Walloon minister Adrien Abraham Théophile Mounier arrived and he took direct action to unite the two congregations. He succeeded without much trouble. The Lutherans were so used to being served by Reformed ministers and their sense and understanding of Lutheranism were so low that there was hardly any resistance. The unification was signed at 1 June 1853 and ratified by Royal Decree no. 74 of 19 August 1854. But, King William I had not seen the fruits of his endeavors to unite the two churches in Batavia as he passed away in 1843 after assuming the throne in 1840.³²

United by force, will or heart?

Looking back at this process of unification of the Reformed and Lutheran congregations in Batavia, this question could be posed, what in the end made this unification happened. These few observations might help us in answering this question.

1. It was for sure the strong will of King William I which was considered as the driving force behind this unifi-

cation that might otherwise not, not as fast or not in this way have happened. Although some things could be dealt with by the Governor General, the Raad van Indië, and other institutions in Batavia. However for many things, at least when it comes to policy the decision taking power was in The Hague. The new constitution allowed the King to include also church life in matters to be ruled and regulated. His personal preference for united churches which he was able to arrange for in the southern part of the Netherlands, inspired as it might be by the unification in Prussia by his brother in law, has played an important role here.

2. That the churches in Batavia were not happy with the forced unification can be understood. It was clear from the lack of speed with which implementation took place (1815-1854). The Government in Batavia was not happy with the shift of power in church matters from themselves to The Hague, the church boards of both the Reformed Church and the Lutheran Church did not like the deviation from their church synods in the Netherlands to the secular power attached to the government³³ and the churches in the Netherlands felt their role reduced to almost zero. Nevertheless in the end they all had to agree.
3. In the whole process no mention has been made of any resistance to the unification based on differences in theological thinking between Reformed and Lutheran. Didn't it matter at all, was it neglected because church policy and socio-cultural position were of more importance? It is interesting to learn that Lutherans due to large episodes of ministers' vacancies were demanded by Reformed to teach in their churches and did not seem to have difficulties with that. And also as

what Van Boetzelaer stated, he made mention that 'there was little Lutheran consciousness'. De Bruijn points to the fact that many Lutherans in Batavia did not move to the Lutheran Church, but for career or status reasons stayed in the Reformed Church. And also that the way in which Sunday Church Service was held in both churches was quite similar. Even the status and wealth of its ministers were quite in line with each other. Differences that might have separated the two denominations like in the case of the Netherlands which appeared not to have been the case in the tropical part of the Kingdom.

Footnotes:

- ¹ Paper presented at the EUKUMINDO Study Tour on 500 Years Reformation, 5 August 2016, Marburg, Germany.
- ² Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink (eds.), *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, Brill, Leiden/Boston, 2008, 137.
- ³ Jan Hendrik Nieder-Heitmann, *Christendom at the Cape. A Critical Examination of Early Formation of the Dutch Reformed Church*, University of Cape Town, 200, 106.
- ⁴ Nieder-Heitmann, 174, quoting C.G. De Groot, *Johannes Calvin: Getuie Vir Jesus Teen Wil en Dank (1509-1564)*, Brosjures van die Instituut Vir Reformatoriese Studie, vol. 30 (Potchefstroom: Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir CHO, 1985), 48.
- ⁵ Nieder-Heitmann, 105, quoting Hendrikus Berkhof & Otto J. de Jong, *Geschiedenis der Kerk* (Nijkerk: Uitgeverij G.F. Callenbach BY, 1975), 1967.
- ⁶ Jan A.B. Jongeneel, *Nederlandse zendingsgeschiedenis. Ontmoeting van protestantse christenen met andere godsdiensten en geloven (1601-1917)* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2015), 20.
- ⁷ Ibid. 21.
- ⁸ Also a West Indian Company (WIC) was established at 3 June 1621 following the structure of the VOC.
- ⁹ G.J. Schutte, De Kerk onder de Compagnie, in G.J. Schutte (redactie) *Het Indisch Sion. De Gereformeerde kerk onder de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), 43.
- ¹⁰ Ibid. 46-47.

- ¹¹ F.A. van Lieburg, Het personeel van de Indische Kerk: een kwantitatieve benadering, in G.J. Schutte (redactie) *Het Indisch Sion*, 73 and 83.
- ¹² S. Coolsma, *De Zendingseeuw voor Nederlandsch Oost-Indië*, (Utrecht: D.H.E. Breijer, 1901), quoting J.F.G. Brumund, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der Kerk in Batavia*, Tijdschrift KITLV XXIII, (Den Haag/Batavia, 1864), 1-189.
- ¹³ Augsburg Confession was published at the Diet of Augsburg of the Holy Roman Empire of Charles V on 25 June 1530. It was written by Philipp Melanchthon, professor at the University of Wittenberg and a close friend of Martin Luther.
- ¹⁴ M. de Bruijn, The Lutheran congregation at Batavia 1743-1800, in *Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken 2e jaargang nr 1, 1995, 1-26*, (Kampen: Werkgroep voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken).
- ¹⁵ Ibid. 16.
- ¹⁶ According to J.A.C. van Einem, *Proeve eener volledige Kerkhistorie der achttiende eeuw I, 1779*, quoted by Th. Jutting, *Geschiedenis der Gemeente te Batavia, Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Evangelisch-Lutherse kerk in de Nederlanden, Zesde stuk (1845), 83*.
- ¹⁷ Coolsma, *De Zendingseeuw*, 8.
- ¹⁸ De Bruijn, The Lutheran congregation, 25-26 gives the example that best-known Lutheran minister Jacobus Hooyman (1766-1789) was a wealthy coffee producer and his colleague Jan Brandes could buy a country estate in Sweden after having served for 6 years (1779-1785) and both owned a country house and slaves during their term of office in Batavia.
- ¹⁹ Van Lieburg, 87.
- ²⁰ Coolsma, *De Zendingseeuw*, 12.
- ²¹ Johannes Theodorus Ross was inaugurated as Batavia Reformed minister 9 November 1788. In 1808 he was granted the title Doctor H.C. in Theology and got a higher annual reward from Governor General Daendels. He retired in 1822. *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch woordenboek Deel 3, 1914 s.v. Ross, Johannes Theodorus*.
- ²² Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten (1796-1801), Johannes Siberg (1801-1805) and Albertus Henricus Wiese (1805-1808) - VOC website.
- ²³ H.E. Niemeijer, *Het Archief van het Bestuur over de Protestantse Kerk in Nederlands-Indië/Indonesië (PKNI)*, 48 // *Arsip Pengurus Gereja Protestan di Hindia Belanda/Indonesia (GPI) 1844-1950*, (Jakarta: ANRI, 2010), 18.
- ²⁴ G.P.H. Locher, *De kerkorde der Protestantse Kerk in Indonesië. Bijdrage tot de kennis van haar historie en beginselen*, (Amsterdam: Kampert en Helm, 1948), 42-43.
- ²⁵ C.W.Th. Baron van Boetzelaer van Asperen en Dubbeldam, *De Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië. Haar ontwikkeling van 1620-1939*, (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1947), 283.

- ²⁶ Coolsma, *De Zendingseeuw*, 63.
- ²⁷ Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 285-286.
- ²⁸ Ibid. 286-287.
- ²⁹ Ibid. 289.
- ³⁰ Inv. No. 1 Vergadering van 30 November 1844 - *Archief van het Bestuur over de Protestantse Kerk in Nederlands-Indië*.
- ³¹ Van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 294 note 2 mentions the following record of ministers since 1789: Jeremias Schill (1789-1814), Martinus Schiffer (1817-1818 died), Johann Friedrich Krämer (1819-1831), Theodor Jutting (1839-1844) and Adrien Mounier (1852-1853).
- ³² Ibid. 294.
- ³³ The Committee for Matters regarding Protestant Churches in the Dutch East- and West-Indies soon to be known as *De Haagse Commissie* (The Hague Committee).

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Church Reformation: Roles and Meaning for Women

Dr. Rebecca A. Giselbrecht

The sixteenth century was not black and white or a grey object that we can take apart and value according to our twenty-first century opinions. The early and later years of the Reformation were as colorful, as influenced by different regions, reform personalities, as transformed by scriptural interpretation, and as shaped by a plethora of people types as the Protestant Church of today. As we recall the historical Reformation(s), we need to remember that people were surrounded by the colors, tastes, smells and many of the same feelings that we experience in our own day-to-day lives .¹

The main interpretation of the roles that women played during the ongoing church Reformation(s) are not disputed, they are subject to something far more determinative. The direction of the historical interpretation of women's roles in reforming efforts takes a fork in the road and goes in different directions in contemporary scholarship. There remains a divide between the secular and the religious. The work of a Christian historical theologian often differs from social historians, that the questions of the Christian life and roles of women as viewed by a Christian theologian, who understands the role of faith and Christian spirituality in history differently from someone, and who does not place primary scholarly emphasis on scripture and church tradition. The question is not whether

women suffer because they did not own dishwashers. The question is what roles women take when the church undergoes reformation. What roles do women fill? How vital is women's participation in a reformation process?

The praise of gender equality in every aspect of life is hailed and upheld in contemporary Western culture as a cardinal social virtue. Indeed, this already predestines any patriarchal society to be judged as stunted rather than progressive. Equality, however, is subject to Western values relating to a consumer society in which the strongest, most powerful people are the most equal. The question has to be different in a Christian context.² The question is not power; it is a matter of shalom. As Miroslav Volf argues, "To find peace, people with self-enclosed identities need to open themselves for one another and give themselves to one another, yet without loss of the self or domination of the other."³ Knowing that power belongs to God arguably leads us to remember that men are not born to dominate or force women into submission. No. Both genders were created in the *imago Dei* to work together – to stand facing each other – eye to eye – in this world as embodied spiritual beings (Gen. 1:27; 2:23).⁴

Equality is not a synonym for sameness; equality is a matter of valuing diversity and respect for otherness.⁵ Mary Stewart Van Leeuwen concludes her study of *After Eden: Facing the Challenge of Gender Relations*, "Under conditions of God's shalom, this web of relationships is benevolent: it is a "win-win" situation in which the individual and the network enhance each other's creativity and undergo continuous, positive reciprocal transformation."⁶ Of course, because the human ego usually desires superiority, power, and control, the relationship between men, women, and power remains ambivalent.⁷

In order to make my point that we must differentiate between the secular and Christian cultures and priorities – so to speak, gendered worldviews – in order to understand the roles of women and be fair to the efforts made by both men and women to further the Kingdom of God, I will draw out one key theological idea shared by the reformers – that is, the priesthood of all believers. Then I will share some history about several sixteenth-century women who filled the roles we prefer to downplay these days in our churches and homes. Finally, an understanding of the expression *semper reformanda* that implies that the church is always reforming, in need of reform, particularly in regard to human dignity and equality will return us to my premise that due to the nature of the Christian life of suffering and joy, we cannot speak of secular power structures and ideals from a Christian perspective without qualifying our words with our hope in Christ as a historical reality.

Reformation Women

The transition in the understanding and importance of individual faith lies behind the furtherance of women's participation in both private and public spaces, in the church and society.⁸ The Protestant notions of *sola fide* and *sola gratia* spanned the globe; only through faith, only by grace, grew to be integral to the precepts of modernity itself. Without going into greater detail in regard to the circumstances that led to reforming the sixteenth-century church and Middle-European society, I will seek to emphasize that the priesthood of all believers was central to the Protestant notion of faith and was the axial turning point for female lay participation as witnesses to their faith in the church.

Due to the real power of the printed word, after Gutenberg invented the printing press in 1440, the Bible was available by 1500 to those who could read in Europe. The Reformation that followed was a lay people's movement because of the access people had to the Word of God in the vernacular. What drove this was the biblical revelation of gender neutral, male and female, spiritual equality. In fact, the reformers argued from scripture that the need to come into direct relationship with God without a secondary priestly mediator was basic and should be possible for all people. The hierarchy of social institutions, male leadership in both family and church, were then also based on biblical principles of spiritual equality.

Thomas Kaufmann explains that centering Reformed theology on "the Bible, the preached Word, and reconciliation in Christ" changed the spirituality of the church to such an extent that to point out the particularities of the changes from the Middle-Ages is not of essence.⁹ Rather, he claims, that wherever the Reformation was, the church history of the late Middle-Ages was over.¹⁰ Making the Bible available and the Mass being read in the vernacular were two aspects that contributed to furtherance of the priesthood of all believes, but in both the German, Luther Reformation, and the Swiss Zwingli Reformation, the idea of priests marrying and becoming as sexual beings, brought priests or pastors into the same spheres of interaction, closer to the common person of faith. In effect, sexual abstinence no longer defined a class of spirituality; rather all people became sexual spiritual living beings.¹¹ A priest has to accept their personal embodiment and lay intimate relational claim to the people they were sexually involved with by marrying them.

Martin Luther addressed this inclusive concept as Paul Al-

thus aptly claims, "Luther recognizes no community which is not a preaching community and no community in which all have not been called to be witnesses. Each one is to care for his brother with the consolation of the word which he need in his trouble."¹² The use of the word brother in Luther's context included women as further comments of Luther are to the whole church, which included women.

Ulrich Zwingli made a similar claim as he preached to the Dominican nuns in the Cloister Oetenbach in Zurich in 1522,

Thereby Peter would have had to be forced with the sword to testify that the bishops and priests were supposed to be princes and that they should reign according to worldly ways. This deserves to be axed down! On the contrary, Peter was of the opinion that all Christians are elected to the dignity of kings through our Lord Jesus Christ. Then they no longer need any mediating priests to make sacrifices for them. Ultimately, each person is themselves a priest, who brings spiritual offerings, in fact, should offer themselves completely to God.¹³

Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575), who took the lead in the Zurich Reformation, after Zwingli died in Kappel in 1531, lays claim to the doctrine of a priesthood of all believers, in his own pastoral manner,

All Christians truly, as well men as women, are priests, but we are not all ministers of the church: for we cannot all one with another preach publicly, administer the sacraments, and execute other duties of pastors, unless we be lawfully called and ordained thereunto. This, our priesthood common to all, is spiritual, and is occupied in common duties of godliness, not in public and lawful ministries of the church. Whereupon one may and ought

to instruct and admonish another privately, and while he so doeth, he executeth a priestly office; as when the good-man of the house instructeth his children at home in godliness; when the good-wife of the house teacheth and correcteth her daughters; to be short, when every one of us exhort every neighbour of ours to the desire and study of godliness.¹⁴

The rest of the Reformation developed with the idea of spiritual equality of believers before God. The changes in roles and hierarchical systems in the church did not move as rapidly as the institution of the scriptural idea that "You yourselves are being built like living stones into a spiritual temple. You are being made into a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices that are acceptable to God through Jesus Christ"(1 Pet. 2:5)¹⁵. Nevertheless, the roles that women played during the Reformation do in many ways straddle the ages that lie between this recognition of equality in the Spirit of God and the church of today.

Cameos of Women in the Reformation(s)

Reformation is a process that is stimulated by protests due to malcontent or untenable circumstances. The lives and roles that women lived in the sixteenth-century represent this transition. They also provide us with a pattern and the direction that role and gender equality has continued to take within social systems, church, and political hierarchies for the past 500 years. For instance, Katharina von Bora (1499-1552), who married Martin Luther in 1525, is in many ways similar to Anna Adlischwyler, who married Heinrich Bullinger in 1509. Both von Bora and Adlischwyler were nuns without a job when the convents were closed. Whereby, the entire discussion of religiosity and the mores of convents has two sides.¹⁶ Anna

Adlischwyler, for example was put in the Dominican Convent in Oetenbach, Zurich when she was twelve. Documents show, however, that she first became a nun in 1523, somewhat after the beginning of the Reformation.¹⁷ Both von Bora and Adlischwyler decided to marry after their lives in the convent were discontinued through political decisions of the state.

Anna Reinhart Zwingli, on the other hand, was a widow of her first marriage and already mother of three children when she married Ulrich Zwingli, shortly before their daughter was born. Each of these three reformer's wives, upheld the Reformation, raised families, and supported their reformer husbands. They also inaugurated the novel idea and were examples for a new profession: pastor's wives. Bullinger called his Anna, "the staff of his life," and any number of the letters sent to Bullinger from his colleagues contained praise for his wife, who took care of her eleven children, hosted students from abroad, local and international guests on a daily basis, and supporting her husband. The open house and charitable sharing that each of these women practiced became hallmarks for behavior and role models for pastor's wives to this day.¹⁸

Katharina Schutz Zell (1496/8-1562) is one example of a pastor's wife, who was able to function as a reformer herself. Without the work of child raising, which was highly valued, Schutz Zell, spent her energies in being a pastor's wife partnering with her husband Matthias, but also as an independent thinker and, as Luther wrote above, witness to her faith. Her role as a pastor's wife included her work as a self sufficient theologian, a writer concerned with social justice, as well as a bridge between clergy and laity, rich and poor, men and women.

Her advocacy included poor people on the margins for whom she edited a hymnal, which she sold in small collections so that less financially fortunate people could afford these. At the margins of Protestantism where the chasms grew more evident with the Anabaptist schism and more dangerous as the magisterial and radical Reformation proceeded, Schutz Zell spoke of acceptance for those of other beliefs. Her husband Matthias lent Schutz Zell the authority to voice her strongly biblical opinion alongside his own. Schutz Zell's polemic in defense of her marriage and Matthias, her letter to the wives of Kentzingen, all argue for acceptance of the scriptural reforms, but also for caring for other people. Matthias' final words to her, "*Hör nicht auf zu singen*" "Don't stop singing," which meant, don't stop expressing your opinions are symbolic of Schutz Zell's controversial boldness in the question of women's public roles.¹⁹

In her defense of Matthias, Schutz Zell made it undeniably evident that she was confidently speaking her mind and would not be silenced. Her systematic reasoning was that "it is proper to (and part of) being a Christian to suffer, but it is not proper for one to be silent, for that silence is half a confession that the lies are true."²⁰ She continues with the same line of argument, "For it is sufficient that we Christians suffer justice; we should not say that injustice is justice. To keep silence is not patience; to suffer is patience...Otherwise by keeping silence I give him grounds to continue in his trumped up lies, and that, in my judgment, is against brotherly love."²¹ Schütz Zell was not silent.

Margarete Blarer (1449-1504) of Constance was a woman, who decided not to marry, but instead to serve the elderly and the sick. She used her time to study scripture, care

for a household, and run the family business. She visited the widows, cared for orphans, and taught poor children.²² There were also women in cities, who took care of themselves, owned homes, and had businesses.²³ The list of women that have been re-discovered, who participated in the Reformation(s) has grown exponentially in recent years, as more women have taken up the task of reaching into the sixteenth-century and examining the archives and data more closely.

In addition to the Reformed women, there were also Anabaptist Protestant women, who were deeply involved and committed to the Reformation – what is often referred to as the “Radical Reformation.”²⁴ Margaret Hottinger kept company with Conrad Grebel, Felix Manz, and George Blaurock – the first Zurich Anabaptists.²⁵ She was the daughter of Jakob Hottinger, a radical and outspoken commoner,²⁶ her brothers were Jakob and Felix, and her uncle was the first Swiss Anabaptist to be martyred.²⁷ Hottinger’s father Jakob and her uncle Klaus openly challenged the Reformers – sometimes quite outrageously. The Hottinger family was well established in the Zollikon, Zurich Anabaptist congregation, who met in the home of Felix Manz’ mother.²⁸

Given that Hottinger’s father and uncle were still living, and that she was tried as an adult, one may surmise that Hottinger was between the age of 20 and 30 years when she was re-baptized in 1525,²⁹ – after which she was arrested and tried together with numerous compatriots. Her first testimony appears in the *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer Schweiz* directly following Blaurock’s on the 9 of November 1525. Hottinger told her inquisitors—that she holds infant baptism to be incorrect and rebaptism to be right. Likewise, she asked milord’s that they prove infant

baptism to her; if they can prove to her that infant baptism is correct, and then she will desist. On the matter of her not attending church (she said that the reason was) that she had been slandered from the chancel; also that Kienast and her father were not responsible for her not going to church.³⁰

Hottinger's first testimony is a confession of her re-baptism. 18 November 1525, Hottinger was informed by the authorities that if she would repent of that baptism, she would only be fined and released from prison, but they threatened her with jail in the Wellenberg prison... should she not obey.³¹ On 5 March 1526 Hottinger said, "Margaret Hottinger will stay with her baptism, which she holds to be right and good; whoever is baptized will be saved, and whoever does not believe in it and opposes it, such a one is a child of the devil."³² 5 March 1526, the entire known Zollikon community was sentenced with the verdict guilty – and sent to prison. Weinbrot Fannweiler, from St. Gallen was also sentenced to serve time in jail with Hottinger. On 1 May 1526, after another 6 months in prison, Hottinger recanted and was released.

Hottinger appears again in a chronic from St. Gallen called Sabbata, which are the records of the hobby chronologist Johannes Kessler. Here it is difficult to decipher whether Hottinger and the St. Gallen Anabaptist tale is "myth," "legend," or "historical narrative." We can gather from other sources that the St. Gallen Anabaptists were known as spiritualists,³⁴ and a manuscript of her trial notes tells us that women were proselytizing for the movement.³⁵ On top of this, Margaret Hottinger is called a prophetess.³⁶

The charismatic revival that gripped about a third of St. Gallen and Appenzell, let's say 5000 people, had gone beyond accepted measures of reform. Wybrant Vonwylerin, was threatened with death by the St. Gallen city council on 26 April 1526, along with two other women, Fren Guldin, and Magdalena Muller.³⁷ Hottinger remained in St. Gallen until 1530 when she tried to escape to Moravia. Hottinger's story ends with martyrdom. Both she and her father were captured, tried, and sentenced to death.³⁸

The small collection of cameos above is certainly not exhaustive; they are representative of the roles that women chose in most cases themselves. Throughout history women had been wives and mothers. For Protestant women, the option of being a religious outside of society in a convent was gone. Just as priests were to become priests for the people, women were to take up their roles as Christians in culture. The professional roles of Protestant women were always varied in and outside of the home. The role of pastor's wife was new. The role of witnessing and practicing faith remained for Protestant women from then and now.

Ecclesia Semper Reformanda Est

Wandering down the cobble stone patchwork of history and women's roles in the church, we can look back and see that the church is always being reformed in relation to gender equality, and female participation in the witness of the church. The Reformation(s) of the church were the efforts of men and women, who are spiritual equals, to follow Christ more closely according to how they understand scripture. The hierarchical systems of old are still being slowly transformed in many cases. In our day, women

have studied theology at institutions of higher education beginning with Anne Maria von Schurman (1607-1678) in the late Dutch Reformation of the seventeenth century. Women attained ordination in some churches of Modernity in the West in the early twentieth century. The right to ordination was taken from women in the Latvian Lutheran Church last fall. A friend of mine was the first woman to have her own church in Canton Zurich, Switzerland. Angela Berlis, theologian and professor at the University of Bern was one of the first two women ordained as priestesses in the Old Catholic Church in 1996. Other Free Churches in Switzerland do not accept women pastors at all. No doubt, the church is larger than contemporary Western culture; the church is always reforming and history is moving toward fulfillment in the Lord Jesus Christ.

What is the meaning of the Reformation for women? How have the roles of women changed in the Protestant churches? I conclude that spiritual equality transcends gender politics and is a solid Protestant doctrine, which is subject to social forms and each context where the gospel takes root. Fact is, reformation is a continuing necessity as cultures transition and change, and gender equality is an aspect of the larger discussion. The world and church is still colorful and alive, changing, and reforming.

Footnotes:

- ¹ In his work on beauty, Umberto Eco claims that "This taste for color was manifested in fields other than art, namely in the life and in everyday habits, in dress, in decorations, and in weapons. Umberto Eco, *On Beauty: A History of A Western Idea* (London: MacLehose Press, 2004), 99-125.
- ² Note that Susan C. Karant-Nunn and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks develop the idea of the cleft between German church historians and social historians outside of the German context in their book: Susan C. Karant-Nunn, and Merry E. Wiesner, *Luther on Women: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 7.

- 3 Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), 176.
- 4 Bible texts are from the Common English Bible (CEB) translation.
- 5 Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation*, 167-92.
- 6 Mary Stewart van Leeuwen, *After Eden: Facing the Challenge of Gender Reconciliation* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993), 598.
- 7 Philosophical work on sexuality and “the other” emerged as a significant philosophical motif in the 1970s and laid a foundation for liberation theology of all sorts. Here only a sample of some of the key works in philosophy – theology and history are also present in a larger survey of this literature. See: Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1990); Published in French in 1970 Emmanuel Levinas, *Humanism of the Other*, trans. Nidra Poller (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006). Published in French in 1990 Paul Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, trans. Kathleen Blamey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); First published in German in 1923, translated into English and published in 1970 Martin Buber, *I and Thou* (New York: Touchstone, 1996).
- 8 Compare. Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).
- 9 Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2009), 29.
- 10 Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation*, 30.
- 11 Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation*, 340-47.
- 12 Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 315-16.
- 13 Samuel Lutz, Hans Ulrich Bächtold, and Thomas Brunnschweiler, eds. *Eine Göttliche Vermahnung an Die Eidgenossen Zu Schwyz* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1995), 146.
- 14 My translation: Heinrich Bullinger, *The Fourth Decade*, trans. H.I (Cambridge: The University Press, 1851), 290.
- 15 Common English Bible (Nashville, TN: Common English Bible, 2011), 1 Pe 2:5.
- 16 The account of Jean de Jussie from Geneva, who was a nun, and wrote a chronicle of the Geneva Reformation that notes the unfairness of it all to women and nuns in particu-

- lar: Carrie F. Klaus, "Architecture and Sexual Identity: Jeanne De Jussie's Narrative of the Reformation of Geneva," *Feminist Studies* 29, no. 2 (2003).
- ¹⁷ Rebecca A. Giselbrecht, "Myths and Reality About Heinrich Bullinger's Wife Anna," *Zwingliana* 38(2011).
- ¹⁸ Wibrandis Rosenblatt, who married four reformers, deserves mention here. Susanna Burghartz, "Wibrandis Rosenblatt – Die Frau Der Reformatoren," *Reden und Vorträge anlässlich zweier Gedenkfeiern im Jahr 2004 Johannes Oekolampad, Wibrandis Rosenblatt und die Reformation in Stadt und Landschaft Basel*(2004).
- ¹⁹ Rebecca A Giselbrecht, and Sabine Scheuter, eds. *Hör Nicht Auf Zu Singen" Zeuginnen Der Schweizer Reformation* (Zürich: TVZ, 2016).
- ²⁰ McKee, Katharina Schütz Zell 2:24. The translation of Katharina Schütz Zell's "Apologia for Master Matthew Zell, Her Husband," is published in McKee, *Church Mother*, pp. 64, 66.
- ²¹ Schütz Zell, Letter to Caspar Schwenckfeld (19 October 1553), in McKee, *Church Mother*, 213.
- ²² Urte Bejck, "Margarete Blarer (1493–1541): Humanistin, Reformatorin Und Diakonin in Konstanz," in *Frauen Gestalten Diakonie*, ed. Adelheid M von Hauf (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007).
- ²³ Irene Gysel, *Zürichs letzte Äbtissin Katharina von Zimmern: 1478–1547* (Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1999). Heide Wunder, *Eine Stadt der Frauen: Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte der Baslerinnen im späten Mittelalter und zu Beginn der Neuzeit (13.-17. Jh.)* (Basel: Helbling&Lichtenhahn, 1995).
- ²⁴ Some of the information to M. Hottinger has been published in German. See: Giselbrecht, and Scheuter, *Hör Nicht Auf Zu Singen" Zeuginnen Der Schweizer Reformation*, 91-93.
- ²⁵ Snyder, C. Arnold, *The Life and Thought of Michael Sattler*, *Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History* 26 (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1984), 79.
- ²⁶ Muralt and W. Schmid, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz*, vol. 1 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1952).
- ²⁷ QGTS, 182-83.
- ²⁸ Snyder, C. Arnold and Huebert Hecht, Linda A., *Profiles of Anabaptist Women: Sixteenth Century Reforming Pioneers*, *Studies in Women and Religion* (Canada: Wilfrid Laurer University Press, 1996), 43.

- ²⁹ See: QGTS, vol. 1, documents 30, 31, 39-41.
- ³⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹ QGTS, vol.1,136.
- ³² QGTS, vol.1, 126.
- ³³ Kesslers, Johannes. Sabbata: Chronik Der Jahre 1523-1539 (St. Gallen, 1866).
- ³⁴ Egli, Emil, Die St. Galler Täufer: Geschildert im Rahmen der Städtischen Reformationsgeschichte (Druck und Verlag von Fredrich Schulthess, 1887).
- ³⁵ QGTS, vol.1, Document,124, 126.
- ³⁶ Compare: Egli, Emil, Die St. Galler Täufer, 26, "Damit verband sich eindrucksvoll mystische Art, eine diktatorische Sicherheit des Auftretens in seinem Krise, eingegeben von dem Bewusstsein prophetischer Berufung, geheimer Offenbarungen und Geschichte." The Anabaptist women added mysticism to the Bible based intellectual spiritual atmosphere of the Reformation.
- ³⁷ QGTS, vol.1, doc. 513.
- ³⁸ In QGTS, vol. 2, 578-80, Johannes Rütiner reports on a conversation (in 1537) with Felix Hottinger, in which Felix describes the death of his father (Jakob) and sister (Margaret). In QGTS, vol. 2, 586-87, Fridolin Sicher recounts the execution at Waldsee in 1530.

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Church Reformation and the Empowerment of Women in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

Dr. Liz V. Vibila

An Event that changes the World

2017 is the year of celebration; it will be 500 years since the Church Reformation took place in Europe, with its uplifting momentum in Germany. An event that changed a lot in the Church, in Europe, and worldwide: new ideas and new practices have emerged not only shortly at its birth and in its immediate setting. It has become a starting point for many changes in the world. The singularity of this event is that it was not only religious, it has become an impressive cultural and social phenomenon, which "revolution" and "innovation" – has gone beyond the European world where it was born.

Wherever the power of the Gospel was shared as consequence of Reformation, it brought qualitative changes in people's lives. Let me mention one of the immediate consequences that Church and Christian faith communities brought around: the witnessing of the Good News of God in deed and word, which responded to many existential challenges of people. This is one of the most worthy heritages we keep until today in many different places. The understanding of sharing and living the Good News led

most of them, as people on a journey of faith. They were called to be faithful servants, who were empowered in love in accomplishing God's mission (*missio dei*) throughout their life and their action for the sake of humanity and for the created world.¹ They confessed that God is the Creator of all, unseen and seen, visible and invisible.

As they had experienced that faith must be nurtured in a time of deviance and ignorance - since it may become the sole shield for intellectual tasks - those on the journey saw how they could support the social eagerness and helped to escape ignorance and deviance, a visionless authoritative way of ruling or structuring things. Wherever they have gone, the message of the Gospel has helped humanity. This was true for the time of Reformation in many places.

Reformation as a phenomenon played not only a religious role, but became an agent of social change in the 16th century as well. Many transformations could be seen from different points of view, but let us mention the following: first the Scripture has the authority over everything; second we have the persistence to the personal relationship between God and humanity which is linked to the next one, the individual conversion. According to John Calvin's experience, the third is seen like a "coming out of an abyss"; the fourth element is the already above-mentioned "Scripture interpretation" which enables every baptized and converted to share the priesthood of all believers. Last but not the least, for John Calvin, the believers of the Gospel are builders of another social order, an interpretation of "Christian freedom" as Martin Luther wrote it before him.

It has to be mentioned that there was a background of the

Reformation, which historians call Humanist Philosophical Thoughts that walked hand by hand with the Reformation. It is not easy to say today which one brought more influences to the other. Reformation and Humanism seem to appear at the same time. Most of the theologians at that time were Humanists and they took the Bible as text in which they may all build new methods for the doctrinal researches. To possess and to use these methods, educational programs were important. This wide-opened way of research allowed people to love the reading of the Scriptures, which was considered justly as the source of life-giving and life-sustaining for Church and Christian faith communities.

Pierre Chaunu, in his book "*L' aventure de la Reforme*" (The adventure of Reformation)² argues that the Reformation took place in a rich context where other pedagogical exegetical models were discussed such as "Socratic ironic style" in Utopia with Thomas Moore (1516) or *Novum Instrumentum* (New Instrument), New Testament in Latin version and Institution of Christian Prince both published by Erasmus (1516). The Scripture served as bedrock for these educational concerns. Some other traditional forms known and followed by the Church Fathers were already in use: literal (merely explains what the text says), allegoric (tries to give more the spiritual significance), anagogic (talks about the realities from above, from the eschatology) and topologic (which indicates the moral content).

Reformation and Humanist progression with the will to teach opened wide the door of opportunity for everyone can be taught, and everyone can learn religion and piety subjects until it was restricted. The teaching ideal at that time included women in England such as Margaret Roger,

daughter of Thomas Moore. How many of them studied in Europe? To answer this question, some other investigations are needed which will go beyond the purpose of this paper. Nonetheless, referring to Sylvia Bukowski's article, Reformation – with its power to free people – tried only to apply the Word of God and it did not bring silliness into discussions or nonsense talk about women's issues and women's liberation.³

However, let us bring the same clarifications in questions that annoy many people's minds when Reformation is taken only as an event that brought several interpretations of the Bible, that led to the, numerous divisions in the Christian faith communities. This event remains as a process that helps to go back to the heart of the Gospel. Could it be seen as a "revolution", that took place and that unveils⁴ the message that will free people's mind, expression, and life as the Greek Testament (New Testament) states it clearly "... if the Son makes you free, you will be free indeed" (John 8:3; see also Gal.5:1)? The fact is people contested many sources of authority at that time and wanted "*Sola Scriptura*" above all kind of "exegesis artificiality" with different and sometime contradictory approaches, fooling and confusing the Church and many Christian faith communities. Aren't the Scriptures uniting texts for the Church of Christ? Was it not helpful to the Church at that time to remove other sources of authority which stand – which I think are matter of discussions – above the Gospel?

One thing that appears clear is that the freedom of mind, the freedom of reading the Scripture brought many interpretations. The mentioned situation resulted to the fact that many Protestant Church Denominations were developed.⁵ The great mission area will be the work of those

Protestant Churches. Today, we can still observe the power of the Gospel moving and enabling churches and their faith communities to follow the paths of those who lived and shared the love of the Word of God before them. As the Protestants understood the relationship between God and His people, they also understood the highest and greatest mission that God entrusted to them: to go around the world, as led by God, to share His love. Many of them, highly educated or not, went around the world, sacrificing their lives, their privileges in their own societies and countries, and most of the time facing the hardships of life in different places where they went to witness the love of God. Many did not make it back home; even if they had to deal with all the weaknesses that characterize human enterprises, even if they were different in their witnessing approaches, one is clear, they shared one source of inspiration which is the love for the Word of God and love for the People they served. Like a rainbow that brings different colors, they had done all together the will of God and held one promise: "I am with you always, to the end of the age" (Matt. 28:20).

The power of the Gospel

These lines and reflection today are possible because of the transformation process that happened in the work of the Church, introduced during the time of Reformation. It is a worthy task to salute those ancestors in faith, in spite of all the critics the generations after them could formulate. They stood and spoke laud for the intrinsic nature of the Gospel, which is freedom. As they brought the Gospel to Africa, they brought also the power and the spirit of freedom. Freedom is a total power of the Gospel, which made many unwritten languages to become written, through the Bible translation. It also brought schooling

separation for boys and girls. They were separated from the beginning; girls and boys got different programs, as the missions brought also the women submission and women specific job of their home societies to the mission fields.

The Protestant Churches and Christian faith communities from the beginning of their mission made no difference in the sacraments for adults, and only children could be baptized, but for many churches, they have to wait for their confirmation to participate in the Eucharist. Women most of the time were trained to learn their Bible and the Book of the Church Organization, before learning how to be Sunday School Teachers with some other male colleagues. Their participation in the Church followed also the same pattern: Diaconal duties were women's concerns, but the leader of the deacons is most of the time a male.

The cleaning, the arrangement of chairs or flowers are tasks assigned to women. There we saw them taking leadership position in their own structures and being dedicated in their work. Since formation is one of the points that the Protestant Churches took seriously, Women Workshops during children's vacation time are organized to train women to different programs. I remembered that I was one of the youth volunteers to organize the illiterate classes for our "mothers" who could not read their own Bible and their Book of Church Organization⁶ in the Church. Reading the Bible is not only a responsibility for a woman, but it is a natural fact. The Bible is a pocket book for many in Africa; for women, it is the only book you find in their bag. It is not only read during the service, at home or during the "Women's Bible Study Meetings", but even in the marketplace while waiting for clients or

during break time. That is why the "Women Bible Study Meetings" are very important programs in the Church, because the knowledge from the Bible helps them to cope with daily issues and it empowers them to broaden their horizons, as well as in deepening their relationships with God. The bible becomes a living word in their lives. Together with the Bible, the Book of Church Organization is for a Presbyterian member a very important document, which allows them to know how the Church is organized, what has to be done, what are their rights and duties as members.

Women's knowledge of the Bible helps to understand their own culture or sometimes to be critical of it. To free themselves from the predispositions that oppresses them, and to discover the new life perspective offered by Jesus to all the women he met, talked to and discussed with - even theological subjects - they need to read the Bible. This has a direct consequence on children's education. When parents are free from deviance and ignorance as said above, they will bring forth what is worthy for their own children. Since women are the ones who take a big part in children's education in the African context, equipping them means preparing the next generation to take over. Today the Church continues to carry on, even if more has to be done, informal and formal educational program for the faith communities. Different formations are offered in the churches where adults have their own sessions, young adults with old women and sometimes cross-generations sessions are organized and all come together for prayers and discussions. Workshops for young people are there to help them since most of the time they have no way, because of cultural barriers, to talk to their own parents about many life issues. These

helped to complete the education received from home. Traditionally in the villages, children and youth had structures that helped them grow in learning. In the town, our "mothers in the churches" are taking the responsibility through their "Women's Committee." They try to organize different sessions of formations by seeking help from specialists if needed. Young people also help our "church mothers" as mentioned to read and to learn skills in approaching the Bible. Knowing what they have to do as members, women in the Church are becoming unavoidable partners in the youth education and they also receive support from the community when needed.

The nursery schools in the Church were opened for women and girls to help them during their crisis situations. The Protestant Church⁷ (*Eglise du Christ au Congo*- ECC) in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) was first established before the independence to offer a nursing training for women in the 1950s. The first one to graduate was Mama Mathi in 1954 from Evangelical Church of Congo (ECC). In the same period, the Presbyterian Church consecrated the first female elder before the Presbyterian Church in United State of America. Women were sent to study theology and the same Presbyterian Church was first to give a university formal theological formation in DRC to women. Rev. Berthe Nzeba Kalombo is the first female theologian, she graduated in 1974. In 1997 the Presbyterian Church again offered financial support to the country, for the *Diakonisches Werk* in Stuttgart (Diaconal office from the Protestant Church in German - *Evangelische Kirche* in Deutschland - EKD).

The growth of women goes together with the understanding of the Gospel of freedom. Where the Spirit of God moves people, there is freedom. Today the Protestant

Church in Congo has many female pastors in all levels. Those in teaching ministry, they try to do their best in being contextual in introducing appropriate subjects in the theological curriculum to respond to the need of our churches. In the Protestant University of Congo in Kinshasa (UPC) for instance, it was possible for me to introduce "Feminist Theology and Women in the Church" as compulsory subject and later on "Theology in the Context of HIV and Aids". As I assume the same duty in the Theological College of Lanka, the same themes are constituent part of my assignments as well. Going back to UPC, Professor Micheline Kamba, another Presbyterian pastor, has introduced a "Masters Program in Community Development", which is run in partnership between UPC and World Council of Churches (WCC).

Many women are deacons or elders, and some are even plumbers in some churches. Currently many of so-called African Independent Churches are either founded or led by women.

Faithfulness to the Compassionate Gospel

Women are the church today and they will be the Church in the future. This affirmation sounds confrontational but it is what I observed since I have grown up in the Church. The Protestant Church still continues to underline the teaching of "grace and faith" as in the time of Reformation. This message attracts many women in my context, since it works as a way of giving them same dignity as men in the Church. Before the grace of God, there is no male or female. This is a very hard and important message. If all can stand before God equally, who else can stop the women from holding to the message of compassionate God in Jesus Christ? Holding on to the message

make them sometimes leave all behind, and tell others to "Come and see a man who told me everything I have ever done! He cannot be the Messiah, can he?" (John 4:29).

They are faithful in this support. Their community activities are on their shoulders; most of the time they are execute and direct activities. The reporter for women's activities may be a man who sits with others in the committee. It sounds contradicting to what I have said above. True is that in their own space, they realize a lot, but in many structures where decisions have to be taken, they are quasi absent or are allowed to speak about the "traditional duties", but they are not decision makers. Some clarifications are needed: as we come to the priesthood of all believers, women are also called to be ordained and to serve in the churches. The more you have male elders in the committee or consistory, the more you follow what the male group decides. The priesthood for all believers opened wide the opportunity for women, but priesthood as "profession" has been a 2000 year male activity. As we come in, we need to rediscover and develop other models which I believe cannot only be a copy of what was or is done by men; but going back to the Gospel, we may find by the grace of God some other compassionate way of being ordained ministers. This does not mean that the 2000 years tradition will disappear. Tradition can only become a norm when it is open to be in conversation with the present challenges and let itself be interpreted in a continuity and discontinuity movement. When it seeks to be the only norm which encloses everyone and presents itself as an escape to the world challenges, it becomes dangerous traditionalism. We need to listen to the Spirit who makes things new in our challenging context today.

Some of the things are not new but may be rediscovered by the Church. The centuries of Reformation did not give us the entire wonderful secret that our ancestors discovered in their time. Here above I spoke about our stewardship for the creation as John Calvin brought it as a prophet of his time; the same is for the globalization which needs to be shaped with responsibility. Today, we need an "economy of hope" which will be based on ethic of responsibility. Our structure of formal education or informal education in the Church needs to become powerful canals of life transformation. Today many children are unable to go to school in DRC. The government has no sustainable programs to bring our kids back to school. The Churches and all Christian faith communities are challenged to bring this compassionate Gospel to youths and women without any future perspective. With "education for solidarity" Church does not need to wait until everything will be fine without any action; what she needs first is to start doing things, as small as it can be. This is the courage of the Reformation that we need to carry on, to live and put our hope in action.

Carrying on the courage of the Reformation is also refusing the literal hermeneutic that "instrumentalizes" the Word of God and invites us to escape from the reality of our world. Nowadays, there is a very naïve and immature approach of the Bible that brings no growth to believers. The only one having accountability vis-à-vis their faith's life is their "pastor", a kind of "*guru*" who has made wonderful experiences in his or her faith life. This is contradicting the claim made during the Reformation time. One of the struggles was that the source of authority has to be brought back to the Scripture, not to any other person, experience or structure; the life of Jesus Christ and his ministry should be the source of authority as the Bible

tells us. In her article "Experience as a Source of Authority for Faith", Susan Durber ⁸ brings the Reformed position about the role of experience in the search for the knowledge of God. Here, the Reformed tradition emphasized "above all that it is through the scriptures that God speaks to God's people, that the Bible is the bearer of authority in the church..." This goes back to *Sola Scriptura*. It is true that this question of authority making difference between worldly authority and authority of God is a very complex subject. But to follow Jesus Christ, one needs to be a servant and a slave of all. This is the condition sine qua non to be Christian or to be a Christian minister and to exercise the authority of Jesus Christ in the Christian faith community. With the "mind of Christ" we are sent to the world.⁹ In reading the salvific and vivifying Word of God as we have it in the Scripture, we may receive experiences which remain as human experiences and cannot distort the truth that only the love of God in Jesus Christ is the most important source of any great experience of a faithful servant – lay or ordained – of God can have. In John 13: 12 to 17 it is clearly written: "After he had washed their feet, had put on his robe, and had returned to the table, he said to them, 'Do you know what I have done to you? You call me Teacher and Lord – and you are right, for that is what I am. So if I, your Lord and Teacher, have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have set you example, that you also should do as I have done to you. Very truly, I tell you servants are not greater than their master, nor are messengers greater than the one who sent them. If you know these things, you are blessed if you do them.'"

The Reformation generated reformation in religious education. Reformation brought social changes. Reformation allows me to write these lines. This is an endless task until the creation of "new earth and new heaven" (Rev. 21:1).

As it is known in the Reformed tradition, *ecclesia reformata semper reformanda*. The Reformation is unending commission, which has to be accomplished, each generation according to its own challenges. As we are pilgrims, we believe that we are not alone in this journey. Jesus Christ is with us.

Footnotes:

- ¹ The discussion about "mission successes" or "mission failures" is not the aim of this paper, the same as the Church having mission or being and doing God's mission. According to Paul metaphor of a body (1 Cor. 12:), I do believe that Christian faith communities are main parts of the Church as body of Christ and each community gifted by the Spirit of God is there where it should be and what is seen as "Its work and act" for others belongs to its being for the glory of God.

John Calvin in his time used the word "Stewardship" to designate human's responsibility to the created World of God. If around 500 years ago, this French Reformer understood and got this vision of calling human beings stewards vis-a-vis the creation, today's context challenges us more to be protective to what can be kept safe in this world for the coming generations. This is everyone's responsibility.
- ² Pierre Chaunu, *L'aventure de la Reforme. Le monde de Jesus Christ*, Bruxelles, Editions Complexe, 1991. Pierre Chaunu,
- ³ Cf. Sylvia Bukowski, "Kein Frauengrwaesch, sondern Gotteswort. Befreinde Kraft der Reformation fuer Frauen weltweit", in *Reformation: Global. Eine Botschaft bewegt die Welt*, Jahrbuch Mission 2015, pp. 46-52.
- ⁴ Even though the authority of the ancients has to be taken seriously, unveil here is the right word since the Gospel was practically obstructed by the annexes, texts and traditions of the different Church Fathers.
- ⁵ See Andrea Struebind, "Protestantische 'Welteroberung'. Reformatorische Identitaeten zeichnen vielfaeltiges Bild", in *Reformation: Global. Eine Botschaft bewegt die Welt*, Jahrbuch Mission 2015, pp. 61-67.
- ⁶ The Presbyterian Church in Congo inherited the Church organization of the Presbyterian Church of United State of America (PCUSA). The document called *Book of Church Organization* is the second very important book after the Bible.
- ⁷ All Protestant Churches in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are members of *Eglise du Christ au Congo* (ECC) or Church of Christ in Congo which is member of the United Evangelical Mission (UEM).

- ⁸ Susan Durber "Experience as a Source of Authority for Faith", Tamara Grdzelidze (Ed.), Sources of Authority. Contemporary Churches. Volume 2, Faith and Order Paper No 218, Geneva, WCC, 2014, pp.2-3.
- ⁹ Cf. Tamara Grdzelidze (Ed.), Sources of Authority. Contemporary Churches. Volume 2, pp. xii-xiii.

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The Reformation and its Relevance for Education in Indonesia

Prof. Dr. Jan S. Aritonang

Preliminary remarks

Education – general as well as special i.e. religious education – is actually not a main concern of the sixteenth century church reformers. They paid more attention to Church doctrine and praxis that directly implemented from the doctrine. Nevertheless, they were also aware that education is an integral part of the reformation of the Church and society. The reformatory churches that emerged from the Reformation movements had also conviction that they were called to equip their members with basic knowledge and skills which enable them to read and write that they were able to read the Bible in their own language. As observed by some Christian education experts, Luther and other reformers' teaching also contained some important ideas and principles concerning education and they in turn also influenced the Christian education generally.¹

This article will focus on Martin Luther (1483-1546), Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), John Calvin (1509-1564) and August H. Francke (1663-1727)², although here and there will also be connected to some other figures and Christian communities, including those involved in education. By so doing, we will simultaneously try to see their contribution and influence in Christian education, including in Indonesia up to now. We include Francke, an important figure of Pietism, since he was a sort of bridge between the reformers and the missionaries who also endeavored education based on the reformers and the Pietism's concept.

Luther on Education

According to Boehlke, among many writings of Luther we can find at least four theological basis that – besides become fundaments of Church reformation – also become foundations for the theory and praxis of Christian Religious Education, those are (1) sinful condition of every church member or Christian; (2) justification by faith; (3) priesthood of all believers; and (4) Word of God.³ Concerning the fourth, there are three meanings of the Word of God, i.e. Jesus Christ himself, the Holy Bible, and God's message proclaimed to the congregation. The proclamation God's message is delivered in the form of words as well as signs i.e. the sacrament of Holy Baptism and Holy Supper (Eucharist).

While endeavoring the reformation of the Church, Luther and some colleagues set up a design of *Volksschule* (folk school) for all people of Germany; they even designed a curriculum for university.⁴ This is in line with the principle and slogan of the priesthood of all believers Luther propagated where he wanted that every believer or Christian is

able to read the Bible in her/his own language as well as other writings that contains knowledge. In other words, Luther is one of the initiators of universal education (education for all people) based on the religious spirit and ideas.⁵ Since the basis of education that Luther propagated is [Christian] religion, the main subject in the school should be knowledge of Religion. With this idea Luther would like to deconstruct education system of the Middle Ages dominated by Greek and Scholastic philosophy which on his eyes is dangerous for the moral development of the young generation. That is also why he did not agree with the teaching of classic knowledge and languages in elementary school. According to Luther, in elementary school level, besides knowledge of Religion, reading and writing in their own is sufficient, plus exercise of thinking (logic).

Although Religion is the main subject, it does not mean that the school must be fully handled by the Church. In line with his opinion that the state or the government is also responsible in making their people to become educated Christian, according to their function as God's servant, therefore the school should be managed together by the Church and the state. The state even has more responsibility and burden according to its function as the guard and protector of its citizens.⁶

Concerning the quality of education, according to Luther the first step to take is to enhance teacher's profession. For him the function of teaching sits on the second rank after the function of Word's proclamation, so that the office of teacher takes the second rank after preacher (pastor).⁷ Therefore teacher must be prepared and equipped as professional, not arbitrarily appointed and established.⁸

Concerning the goal of education, for Luther this does not merely plant a number of knowledge, but – and even more – to plant and to form discipline so that the pupils have and show obedience, in school as well as in home. The discipline that Luther meant is not a rigid one but that is warmed by love and tenderness. He refused the implementation of severe and cruel discipline as was found in the monastery schools in his time.⁹

Dealing with the method of teaching, Luther emphasized the importance of using visual aid, illustration, and repetition. These all are important to develop and exam the *Verständnis* (understanding) of the pupils, because what is important in the process of learning is not merely remembering all of the imposed knowledge but to understand the content of the lesson.

Summarizing Luther's contribution for the development of education, especially the Christian religious education, Boehlke mentioned ten significant points, those are: (1) connecting education with theology; in other words: theology becomes the basis of his theory of education; (2) translation of the Bible into German; the German Bible translation played an extraordinary role in the development of education in Germany; (3) every one has right to learn (= universal education); (4) encouraging the city government to establish "public school" financed by the government and this lead to compulsory learning and schooling; (5) to compose material of religious education, i.e. Catechism (the Little for the pupils and the Big for the teachers); (6) intension and sensitivity toward the character of each pupil; (7) his teaching style – albeit of far from perfect – is more advanced than the educator of his time; (8) emphasized the role of music in the process of educating, besides in worship; (9) the experience of education

gives possibility to grow in faith that is lived in daily life; and (10) the importance of library in developing the resources of knowledge and understanding, in order to fulfill the needs of individual, church, society, and state.¹⁰

Melanchthon on Education

Melanchthon participated to enrich the reformers' concept of education. As a humanist scholar (among others learned from Erasmus), he provoked scientific enthusiasm among the German church and society, among other things to deepen classic Greco-Roman knowledge, including the languages. Concerning the fundamentals of education, he emphasized the importance of combination of the fundamentals that Luther has proposed before (among others universal education with autochthon characters) with the fundamentals of Humanism (teaching of Greco-Roman classic knowledge). For Melanchthon, these two spirits and fundamentals must be combined in order to produce *pietas literata* (literate pious or smart). In other words: piety should not contradict with intelligence.¹¹

This opinion happened to make many people criticized him as lack of loyalty to the spirit of Reformation. But because of his seriousness to foster the learning and scientific enthusiasm, Melanchthon was entitled *praeceptor Germaniae* (German educator) and Schoolteacher of the Reformation.¹²

Calvin on Education

Calvin, since his initial appearance as one of the Reformation figures, was already aware and joined to propagate the important role of education to advance Christian

religion as well as to make better the life of the individuals and the society. Although the emphasis of education is to advance the Christian religion and to recover human life, as was showed by his *opus magnum, Institutio Christianae Religionis* (abbr. *Institutio*) (1535/1559), but he did not totally neglected the importance of delivering general knowledge. According to Calvin:

Although we give the first place to the Word of God, we do not reject a good training. Indeed, the Word of God is the fundament of all teaching, but art and general knowledge are supporting facilities to have a complete knowledge of the world, and therefore can not be neglected.¹³

Calvin was also in opinion that education is needed "to secure general government, to avoid the Church from evil conduct and to maintain humanity among human life".¹⁴ And his most important practical work in the field of education is *Academy*, an educational institution from the elementary up to higher education.¹⁵

Commenting and concluding the significance of this Academy, Dankbaar among other things said:

With such a way the competent people could do the reformation of the Church and the society towards the fundamentals that Calvin considered as sacred, and the knowledge is dedicated to God. Moreover for the Church, Calvin saw the ministers who are well educated in knowledge as a must. The Church can not become an exclusive community like a heresy, but must become a church for all people by her witness stands firmly in all fields of life. Therefore there may no church without theology and there may no theology without the development of knowledge.¹⁶

Francke on Education

Luther and Melanchthon's concept of education was then developed by some Pietism figures that also attempted and worked in the field of education.¹⁷ One of them is August Hermann Francke who initially a lecturer of Biblical Studies in the University of Leipzig, then – after experiencing a new birth, among others after meeting with Philip J. Spener, the father of Pietism – became a lecturer at the University of Halle. While teaching at Halle, Francke was assigned by the king of Prussia to design an elementary education system for the whole country. This task he started by composing a whole concept of education, from the elementary to the higher. He stated there that – like Luther – the main key of success of an education system is teacher. For this idea Francke prioritized the establishment of teacher's education institution, i.e. *Seminarium Selectum Praeceptorum* (founded in 1707). In the curriculum of this seminary Francke put *exercitium pietatis* (exercise of piety) based on a principle that the goal of education is to build a pious Christian character, and the best way to implant the piety to the youth is to show the example of piety by the teachers.

Parallel with piety or godliness, the teachers have to give example of love. Teacher's life must be centered in love and she or he has to treat her/his pupils as the parents love their children. Love should not be contradicted to discipline. Discipline does not mean an implementation of harsh physical punishment or cruel angry; it is an implanting of obedience by showing firmness that combined with tenderness and warmth. Francke himself practiced all of these principles in the teacher seminary he founded, as the result people recognized the high quality of the teachers graduated from that seminary as compared to other teacher schools.

Concerning Christian character that would be formed through the process of education, for Francke the content of this character is not only piety but also virtue. To have virtue, besides spiritual experience the pupils should also get enough knowledge on secular science. As Francke's real appreciation on secular science, he founded *Realschule*, i.e. a vocational school that mainly teaches real things (science).

Francke's appreciation towards the secular science was probably influenced by Rationalism and Enlightenment. Moreover Francke was formerly influenced by Leibniz, the father of Enlightenment. Nevertheless, differed from the rationalists in general – that wanted the religious institutions should not interfere educational matters – Francke wanted that education supervision, especially for elementary education, handled by the Church or clerics to ensure the Christian character building. In line with this, in the curriculum of the elementary school as well as the teacher school the portion of religious subject must be bigger.

These concepts of education of the reformers and the Pietism figures in turn influenced the missionary societies who endeavored education until the mid of the twentieth century, including in Indonesia, as we will see in the following section. We also will see whether their concepts are still influential and relevant in the beginning of this twentieth century.

The Influence of the Reformers on the Mission Societies Education in Indonesia

From the beginning of the nineteenth century many mission societies from the western (Europe and America) came to Indonesia. Besides giving religious education, many of them provided general education or schooling. During their activities in Indonesia around one and half century (\pm 1815-1945/49) they founded thousands of schools, consists of various kind and level, educating hundreds of thousand (possibly million) indigenous people, children as well as adult, scattered all over the country (Nusantara). Outside Java and Madura, esp. in the regions that became main mission field and later the majority of the people became Christian; among others Batakland, Nias and the surroundings (incl. Mentawai), Central Kalimantan (Borneo), North and Central Sulawesi, Torajaland, Timor and the surroundings, Moluccas and Papua, the amount of mission schools far exceeded the government schools. The concept of education of the reformers and their followers – as we have seen above – also influenced the education – religious as well as general – endeavored by the missionary societies. We will limit on the educational effort of the Rhenish Missionary Society (Rheinische Missions-Gesellschaft; RMG), esp. in Batakland while also see its place in a wider context.¹⁸

RMG (was established in 1828 and worked in Indonesia since 1835; initially in Borneo and then in Sumatra etc.) came from the circle of the Protestant church in Rheinland-Westfalen, west part of Germany) that did not fully adhere Lutheran teaching. The church in this region adhered Uniert doctrine, i.e. combination of Lutheran and Reformed (Calvinist). Therefore no wonder if the doctrine it planted in the mission field – including the fundament of education – was the combination of the teaching of these two reformers. In Batakland, for example, Heidelberg Catechism (from the Reformed) was

introduced and used earlier than the Luther [Small and Large] Catechism.¹⁹ Therefore, if we trace the missionary work (esp. RMG) in Indonesia in the field of education or schooling, we realize that it did not fully inspire by Luther's teaching, although Lutheran elements were therein.

To prepare the missionaries in doing evangelism and opening school, the RMG trained the missionary candidates (initially they were graduates of *Volksschule*) in three years (then 4-5 years) in Barmen Seminary. As adherents of Pietism, the teachers of this seminary in the initial period emphasized very much the importance of knowledge and fundamental understanding of the Word of God in the Bible literally, since according to their conviction the doctrine and the way of salvation is provided in the Bible. Therefore, besides graduating from the Folk School, the main requirement the student candidates had to fulfill – according to the spirit of Pietism – is spiritual qualification (*geistliche Eignung*), i.e. "reason that has been renewed in faith and love in Christ and the praised behavior that picturing heart renewal." Thereafter was the second requirement, i.e. intellectual qualification (*geistige Eignung*) and a set of experience and skills. In the following periods the entrance requirements as well as many things they had to fulfill during studying in the seminary continuously developed.

As adherents of Pietism, the teachers of Barmen Seminary also emphasized very much the exercise of godliness, discipline, accuracy, orderliness and obedience that combined with family atmosphere. In the beginning obedience was directed to God, but gradually also to the leader and the organization. As the children of

their time, the teachers of the Barmen Seminary also appreciated [Western] civilization and secular sciences that supported or produced it. That is why in the seminary the students also learnt a number of secular sciences. All of these were in turn taught to the indigenous people in order to civilize them. Nevertheless, the [Western] civilization and the civilization of the indigenous people must be based on the obedience to God, and it must be taken into account that it is not the culture and civilization but it is faith that wins the still infidel indigenous society for the gospel of Christ.

The students of the seminary were since the beginning prepared to become Elementary or Folk School. Related to this, the curriculum of the Barmen Seminary mainly contained these following subjects: Introduction to the Knowledge of the Bible, History of the Kingdom of God, Christian Faith and Life, Christian Church History, Geography, Natural Science, English or Dutch, Pedagogy and Rhetoric. World History (that also includes Geography, Ethnography and History of Religion) was understood as part of the History of the Kingdom of God which gradually developed and got its peak in parousia (the coming back of Christ). After the class lesson hours the students also busy with handwork to cover their daily need.

Since 1860s there was a significant development in the running of the Barmen Seminary because of the development of concept and experience of the teachers (esp. Friedrich Fabri, Gustav Warneck and August Schreiber). Two among the many striking things in their concept are:

(1) Unity of mission (and church) and education (school).

This is based on the understanding that God, Church and Mission are educators and that missionary effort is essentially an educating effort. Gustav Warneck even called Mission as *Mutter der Schule* (mother of the school). Connected to this, the subject of Pedagogy has a very close relationship with Missiology. That is why later, in mission field, every missionary endeavored to open school parallel with the founding of new local congregation.²⁰

- (2) Education/schooling has to provide the pupils with some skills and competency to work (*Erziehung zur Arbeit*). This is connected to the effort of enhancing the culture and civilization of the indigenous people, although aware that in the culture and civilization – of the Western as well as Eastern – there are elements contradictory to – and therefore should be cleansed by – the gospel. For Fabri this program of enhancing the culture is *humanität-kulturellen Pflichten* (humanity and cultural obligations) which in turn will bring enhancement of economic welfare. In this matter it is also important to build cooperation with the [colonial] government: the government handles *äussere Erziehung* (external education) such as communication of knowledge and skills, whereas the mission would deal with *innere Umbildung* (internal up building), i.e. building up of inner person through character education and the communication of religious and moral values.²¹ The missionaries in the field also emphasized these very much so that the graduates of mission schools were generally skillful and competent to work and easy to get job, which in turn enhanced significantly the level of their social-economic life.

RMG's concept of education and preparation of mission-

aries-teachers at Barmen Seminary was applied among others in Batakland (RMG's branch in Batakland was usually called Batakmission). In accordance with the principle of church and school unity, RMG since the initial period of its work in Batakland already built and ran a number of elementary schools parallel with the opening of new congregations. In other words: where there is a congregation there is also a school. In this initial phase school was still perceived as a tool or facility of evangelism that means to add the number of Christians or church members. The members of society did not automatically accept the gospel and gave themselves to be baptized (become Christian) or to become school pupils. They must be convinced first about the advantage to become Christian and to study in the school. That is why in this initial stage the quantity growth of the congregations as well as the school was not very fast yet. In this initial stage school type was still very limited; started with Volksschool or three-year Village School. This type of school needed quite a lot of teachers with double function as congregation teachers and this could not be fulfilled by the German missionaries. Therefore since 1868 RMG ran a school to provide indigenous ecclesial workers which is called Catechetical School at Parausorat. In 1877 this school moved to Pansurnapitu and was given a new name: Seminary.

Entering the second period (1883-1914) the RMG's schools achieved its peak speed of development and progress. There were some supporting factors, among others: expansion of working field of RMG/Batakmission (in the beginning only in Sipirok-Angkola and Silindung; in this period expanded to Toba, Samosir, Simalungun, Karo and Dairi); addition of European missionaries (some of them were specialized in handling educational/school effort); firming the concept (theological-missiological as well as pedagogical); government subsidy; and the higher

interest or eagerness of the people to enter the school.

Parallel with these supporting factors, in this period the number and type of schools also increased very fast. At elementary level, in line with the growth number of the local congregations, the number of ordinary Volksschool grew almost ten times. Besides the ordinary Volksschool there were *Meisjesschool* (Girl Elementary School), Chiefs-Children School, and Hollands Inlandsche School (HIS; Dutch Language Elementary School, 7 years). In secondary level or vocational school there were Seminary, Industry or Trade School, Nursery and Midwifery Course, Agricultural School, and Weaving & Crocheting School. This growth was also balanced by revision of educational system (curriculum, method of teaching, entrance requirement and procedure, literature enhancement, and teacher training and quality enhancement).

Entering the third period (1915-1942), the schools nurtured by RMG experienced turbulence and advance through storm. The causes were among others penetration of modern culture (that among the Bataks emerged *Hamajuon* [Progress] Movement); self-reliant movement (that caused some church ministers and members splintered and founded a new church; education reorganization by the government (that tightened subsidy); financial crisis that struck down the RMG caused by World War I and malaise; and concurrence with the Roman Catholic mission that also open school incessantly. In the midst of this turbulence there was still quantity development although not as intensive as in the previous period. Especially in education for women there was a significant progress, among others the establishing of *Meisjeskopschool* (Girl Vocational School), Nursery and Midwifery School and *Biblevrouw* (Bible Woman) School. The Dutch Language

School was also enhanced by the opening of *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* (MULO) (Dutch Secondary School).

Through above description we see many fundamental things in the mission education/school effort that are still relevant up to current period and can be worth contribution for the church and the Christians in Indonesia as well as for the nation. Some of them are:

1. Church and school unity. This can be paralleled with the integrity of the content of the Bible and the teaching of the church with secular sciences; both are necessary equally taught.
2. Integrity of intellectual aspect and quality with moral and spiritual aspect that started from the selection of students until they finished the study process.
3. Christian *Charakterbildung* (character building), including discipline forming. This is not only in teacher school and seminary but already started since elementary school.
4. Teacher quality. A tight process of education in the school and seminary produced qualified teachers. This can be compared with the product of current teacher schools and seminary that frequently sadden.
5. *Erziehung zur Arbeit* (education that gives work competency). During the mission era almost no one of their graduates became jobless, since – besides theory – the graduates were also equipped with various practical skills.
6. Church and society self-reliance. Since schools are united with the church, we find double impact: when the mission society endeavored Church self-reliance through its educational effort, it also attempted and produced a self-reliant society.

7. Professionalism. The mission society attempted education professionally and with full sincerity, from the formulation of vision and mission, set up of development strategy (covered geographical and personnel aspects etc.) up to the implementation that based on matured consideration and calculation.

Aftermath of Mission Schools since 1940s

During the Japanese occupation and Revolution/Independence Struggle (1942-49) most of the mission/church schools were neglected or malfunctioned. Especially in Batakland, most of the Batak people could not go to school since they were involved in guerilla. After the recognition of sovereignty (December 27, 1949) and Indonesia entered a so-called period of Old Order (1950-1965) there was an effort to recover. But the church (read: HKBP) did not have enough personnel as well as fund. Some famous schools, like HIS and MULO in Tarutung and *Ambachtschool* (Industry School) in Laguboti, were handed over by – or surrendered to – the government, to become Secondary School (SMP), Senior High School (SMA) and Technology School (STM). There were also taken over by private institution, like HIS in Narumonda-Porsea, to become SMP Karya.

Not less saddening were the girl schools. The famous and beautiful *Prinses Juliana Meisjeskopschool* in Balige and *Meisjesschool* in Laguboti (close to Bijbelvrouw School), for example, after the independence of Indonesia 1945 could not be maintained anymore as a qualified Girl Vocational School (Sekolah Kependidikan Puteri). So were the Industry School in Sidikalang and Midwifery School in Nainggolan-Samosir etc.

Fortunately, in the midst of that quality as well as quantity decrease of education and schools, there was a gladden development. By financial support of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) – as the follow-up of HKBP accepted to be member of LWF – in 1954 the Nommensen University was established, started with Department of Teaching and Department of Theology in Pematangsiantar, followed by Department of Economics and some other departments in Medan. Until 1960s the quality of the graduates of this university – from whatever department – was very well-known, not less and in certain things even better than the graduates of North Sumatra University (USU), the government university. But entering 1970s and 1980s, in line with the internal conflict among others due to some cheap-mentality individuals entered, interfered, and became leaders of this university, the quality of this university more and more decreased. Together with this phenomenon more and more Batak people were eager and dare to use academic degree and office (doctor or even professor and rector) although they never studied in a higher education institution. Consequently, if in the colonial time – particularly in the beginning of the 20th century – Batakland got the second best rank in the field of education, in current period Batakland became one of the lowest and backward region, in line with the status of Batakland (Tapanuli) as part of the poverty map of Indonesia.

Realizing this decrease, since 1990s some high quality middle schools and higher education institutions (polytechnic etc.) were founded in Batakland; for example Private SMA plus in Saposurung-Balige (by T.B. Silalahi, 1992), Public SMA plus di Matauli-Pandan-Sibolga (by Feisal Tanjung adn Akbar Tanjung, 1994), and Politeknik Informatika Del in Sitolu-ama-Laguboti (by Luhut Panjaitan, 2001). But the capacity of this schools is quite limited, and the entrance requirements is heavy, that the

quantity of eligible students is very small compared to the whole children of Batak people who need them.

Current Christian Education and School in Indonesia

In terms of quantity and in some regions since Indonesian independence we can see various progress amidst Christian education and schools. One of the monumental examples are the establishment of tens of general higher education institutions, excluding hundreds of theological schools. Among them are around twenty universities, started with Indonesia Christian University (Universitas Kristen Indonesia, UKI) in 1953, followed by aforementioned Nommensen University in Pematangsiantar and Medan, Indonesia Christian University in Tomohon (UKIT), Indonesia Christian University in Moluccas (UKIM), Arta Wacana Christian University (UKAW) in Kupang, Indonesia Christian University in Palangkaraya (UKIP), Indonesia Christian University in Papua (UKIP) Sorong, Christian University in Toraja, Halmahera University, Ottow-Geissler Christian University in Jayapura, etc. Some of them started as theological school initialized by missionary societies. Some of the Christian universities do not explicitly mention themselves Christian university (like Petra University in Surabaya and Pelita Harapan University in Karawaci-Tangerang). Like around 350 theological schools, some of them are under certain church[es] that nota been many of them are products of mission.

In terms of quality, some of the Christian universities are not under the private universities in general, even compared to many public universities. Many of the boards and executive organizers of those Christian universities, however, felt unsatisfied and backward when they compare the leading position of the Christian schools during the

time of mission. Moreover if faced with the reality of difficulties faced by their graduates to get place and position in government bureaucracy (this problem is also faced by almost all Christian scholars from whatever universities).

This fact possibly brings to a cynical question: why the graduates of universities in Indonesia chase to be bureaucrat? The Christian universities also see this current situation as a positive challenge that their graduates are not bureaucratic-oriented, but entrepreneur-oriented. This is indeed the ideal, although we also have to remember that business world in Indonesia is very much determined by political policy. We also have to remember, although the mission societies, incl. RMG, strongly emphasized *Erziehung zur Arbeit*, many of the graduates of the mission schools tended to be bureaucratic-oriented. Although many of the missionaries criticized this orientation and tendency, they could not hamper; they even join the pride that the colonial government need them.

But the more fundamental problem faced by Christian education in Indonesia is concerning Elementary and Middle Education.²² It cannot be denied, some groups of Christian schools developed in number as well in quality, especially in big cities; for example the Methodist schools in Medan and Palembang, schools of Penabur Christian Education Body (ran by Gereja Kristen Indonesia; Indonesian Christian Church), etc. But most of the Christian schools are in a very saddened condition, mainly those in the regions formerly centers of mission work field (Batakland, Nias, Timor, Moluccas, Papua, etc.).

The Law of National Education (Nr. 2/1989 and Nr. 20/2003) actually gives opportunity to the private parties, including the religion-based, to participate in education.

But practically, since Indonesian independence, especially during these last two decades, there are a lot of obstacles faced by the Christian elementary and middle education managed by the churches as well as Christian institutions outside the churches that nota been many of them are the inheritors of the missionary education effort. Among others are:

- (1) Building: As has been noted, since the time of Japanese occupation there were a lot of Mission/Christian school buildings taken over by the government and up to this moment are not returned but changed to become public/government schools. Some because the local churches did not able to manage further, but some because the government did not yet (or does not want to) return.
- (2) Teacher: During the time of mission most of the teachers of the mission schools received government subsidy for their salaries. After Indonesian independence this policy was still applied, although teachers salary was very small. During the last period the number of the government-paid teachers in Christian school significantly decreased that many of the Christian schools have to fully pay their teachers' salary. This is felt very burdensome because everywhere the government establishes and fully funds all public schools from Kindergarten to Middle Schools. In such a situation only the strong capital private schools are able to compete. This situation became harder when the government closed and ended Teacher Schools which many of them managed by subsidized Christian educational institutions, and recruits teachers from university graduates. Therefore many Christian schools could not get good quality teachers, pro-

duced by the public as well as private universities.

- (3) Lesson Subject of Religion: In the Law of Education as well as in other laws there is a rule that obligates lesson of Religion, from Elementary School (even Kindergarten) up to university. As we have seen this is also emphasized by the reformers and struggled by the mission to encounter colonial government policy that adopted neutrality principle. But this current rule obligates all schools to provide lesson of Religion according to the pupils' religion. Whereas since the time of mission the Christian schools provided the lesson of Religion to all pupils because this was perceived as one of the implementation of the task to do evangelism. The other religion-based schools actually do the same. With this new rule the Christian schools struggle whether they could maintain their identity and special character without any lesson of Christian Religion.
- (4) The quality and seriousness of the trustees: Without closing our eyes to the paternalistic, superior, or even arrogant attitude of the missionaries in the former times, we have to sincerely and respectfully acknowledge that most of them dedicated themselves very unselfishly. Briefly speaking, they adored professionalism. Among the officers of Christian education in Indonesia at the moment, indeed we can still find some persons like them who deserved our truly respect. Nevertheless, we cannot deny that not few of them are individuals of adventure or motivated by a desire to get personal advantage. That is why not seldom we find cases of selling assets of Christian education by the trustees, and the selling fund was distributed among them, whereas the assets were herit-

age of mission or Christian education in mission era.

Closing remarks

This brief picture of the current situation and reality of Christian education in Indonesia, including its institutions and schools, more or less shows the influence of concept and values bequeathed by the reformers and mission societies (among others universal education, quality of teacher, discipline, and character building), or – in some cases – the failure of Indonesian Christian to inherit, manage and develop sincerely the heritage. If so, whether the inheritance of the reformers and their followers, including the mission societies, especially in the field of education, is still relevant in current time, is a question we ourselves respectively have to answer.

Footnotes:

- ¹ Among others Kenneth O. Gangel et al., *Christian Education: Its History & Philosophy* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1983), 135-51; and Robert R. Boehlke, *Sejarah Perkembangan Pikiran dan Praktek Pendidikan Agama Kristen* [A History of the Development of Thinking and Practice of Christian Religious Education], 1 (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1991), 307.
- ² A brief survey on their concepts of education is also available in Jan S. Aritonang, *Sejarah Pendidikan Kristen di Tanah Batak* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1988), 84-7 and 96-8. English edition: *Mission Schools in Batakland (Indonesia), 1861-1940* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).
- ³ Boehlke, *Sejarah Perkembangan*, 321.
- ⁴ Gangel et al., *Christian Education*, 140. Cf. K.S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity, III* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974), 412.
- ⁵ Martin Luther, "Concerning the Ministry" (1523), in *Luther's Work* (Philadelphia Edition), vol. 40, esp. 21-22.
- ⁶ W.J. Koolman, *Martin Luther* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1973), 132-3; based on Martin Luther, "To the City Council in all cities in Germany that they have to build Christian schools" (1524).
- ⁷ We also find this opinion in John Calvin's treatise, *Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques*, when Calvin declared that in the Church there are four main office, i.e. pastor, teacher, presby-

- ter and deacon.
- 8 Martin Luther, "Concerning the Ministry" (1523), in *Luther's Work* (Philadelphia Edition), vol. 40, esp. 36-7.
- 9 Gangel et al., *Christian Education*, 141.
- 10 Boehlke, *Sejarah Perkembangan*, 359-60.
- 11 William Boyd, *The History of Western Education* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1954), 191-3.
- 12 Ibid., 191, and C. Bergendoff, *The Church of the Lutheran Reformation* (1967), 113.
- 13 John Calvin, *Treatise on Church Polity* (1537).
- 14 Boyd, *The History of Western Education*, 199.
- 15 This Academy was officiated on June 5, 1559 in Geneva. The highest level was called *Schola Publica* and then developed to become University of Geneva.
- 16 W.F. Dankbaar, *Calvin – Jalan Hidup dan Karyanya* [Calvin – His Life and Work] (Jakarta: BPK, 1967), 119.
- 17 Pietism that emerged since the seventeenth century was primarily rooted in Luther's teaching. The mission societies and the missionaries they sent were generally adherents of this movement.
- 18 A quite comprehensive inquiry on the mission schools (together with government schools) in Indonesia, esp. in the 19th century, is provided in H. Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country – A history of experiments in school education in the 19th century Indonesia* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974). Esp. the preparation of missionaries for running mission schools in Batakland, see Jan S. Aritonang, *Mission Schools in Batakland (Indonesia), 1861-1940* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 69-107. The brief version is provided in Jan S. Aritonang, "Sekolah Zending di Indonesia dan Keberlanjutannya sampai Kini", in *Luther dan Pendidikan* (Pematangsiantar: Komite Nasional LWF, 2012), 13-60, that is also used here.
- 19 During around 100 years, the churches – directly or indirectly – founded by RMG in North Sumatra only knew and used the Luther Small Catechism and just since 1990s the translation of *Large Catechism* is available.
- 20 G. Warneck, "Der Missionsbefehl", in *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift (AMZ)* 1874, 377-392, and Idem, *Mission in der Schule* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1887), h. 1-2.
- 21 K.J. Bade, *Friedrich Fabri und der Imperialismus in der Bismarckzeit* (Freiburg: Atlantis, 1975), 257-267.
- 22 In a book, *Keputusan Kongres XIII Majelis Pusat Pendidikan Kristen (MPPK)* [Decision of the 13th Congress of Central Council of Christian Education], Rantepao, 8-12 Oktober 1996, 183, there is a statistic of the number of Christian schools [not including the Roman Catholic schools], covering teachers and pupils in that time, from Kindergarten to middle school (general as well as vocational) that averagely only 2 % of the total number of schools in Indonesia. In terms of percentage this shows a big decrease compared to the time of mission and colonial period where the number of mission schools exceeded the public/government schools.

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With Luther on Religions and Tolerance: Historical, Systematic and Practical Reflec- tions from a German Point of View

Dr. Kai Horstmann

The more the world gets into trouble the more important interreligious dialogue becomes. The lack of justice between the global north and south, not only in terms of contemporary economics but also in a historical perspective of a colonial not to say imperial cultural oppression and exploitation, is linked to religious differences. Focusing on the Christian-Muslim dialogue we have to state: As little as the crusades of the Middle Ages can be accepted as an adequate expression of Christian faith as little can Muslim extremism in its violent and terroristic forms be ascribed to Islam. Undoubtedly, however, there is a deep feeling of being disregarded and contempt in the Arab world as a result of the experience of domination by foreign "Christian" powers. Especially the so called political Islam can be understood as a countermovement against the Arab wound caused by western dominance.¹

By means of migration and the internet, the Islamistic attitude is spread not only in countries of an Arab-Islamic culture but also amongst Muslim people living in Germany, especially those who suffer from a failed social integration.² In this respect the interreligious dialogue is vital to achieve peace, locally and globally.

In a report about Tarif Khalidi, professor of Islamic Studies

in Beirut, journalist Katja Dorothea Buck quotes Khalidi saying: "Martin Luther was a brilliant propagandist and a splendid reformer. But he was full of disrespect and slight for us, Muslims. But I let him get away with this. ... The Islam needs a Martin Luther, a Martina Luther perhaps, I don't know, but possibly many Luthers."³ What did Luther think about other religions? Are there any impulses we can get from Luther's theology to develop serenity in the encounter with peoples of other faiths? Within the missiological concept of "convivence"⁴: What forms of interreligious communal life can we think of in the situation? Do we need an Islamic Luther before we can get into dialogue?⁵

Liars and Mahometists. Luther's Perspective on Judaism and Islam

Luther was anti-Jewish. This is nothing new but did not really lead to a critical perception of the reformatory hero as role model for each and everyone or as a contemporary pop cultural construct in the context of the 2017 reformation jubilee.⁶ Surely Luther's anti-Semitism was pre-modern,⁷ and even if the strength of influence of Luther's writings on the 19th century's German anti-Semitism is a matter of historical discussion,⁸ it contributed, without doubt, to the völkisch racism and its acceptance by the German people leading to the so called Holocaust, the Shoa. This fact must not be blocked out.

While the young Luther intended to convince the Jews to convert to Jesus Christ by exegetical reflections,⁹ the old Luther – seeing no success in greater numbers of converts to Christianity – unbearably sullied Judaism, even more: He was arguing for pogroms.¹⁰ Sure, Luther's position needs to be understood in his historical horizon.¹¹ This helps to understand his argumentation in the early revolutionary writing of 1523 as well as his later conventional

medieval position. The solidarity with the Jews being an exception to the unity of the *corpus christianum* was expressed by Luther when he challenged this unity himself. However, when it came to organizing the church in the protestant territories the reformators including Luther did not show tolerance, i.e. an interest in a social integration of the Jews. In its orientation about the reformation and the Jews the academic advisory board for the reformation jubilee 2017 quotes Martin Bucer who, completely stuck in medieval thinking, argues for the right of residence for Jews in Hussia along with a duty to visit sermons for conversion, a ban of the Talmud, economic restrictions, and the obligation to take over humiliating tasks like cleaning cloaks. "Preferably, according to Bucer (1538), Jews would not be tolerated and the commonwealth would be Christian which is why authorities expelling Jews could not be criticized."¹² It was the task of temporal and spiritual authorities to ensure social homogeneity and to enforce respective laws and doctrines.

The allegation against Jews was that they did not recognize Jesus as Christ and Son of God. It was an allegation of heresies. Judaism was not considered another religion but heresies as was papacy. The way we speak of religions dates back to the 18th century. In fact, Luther did also consider the Islam a strange religion either but a heretic creed (cf. CA I).¹³ The crucial point to Luther is "although they believe in and worship only one true God, yet know not what His mind towards them is, and cannot expect any love or blessing from Him; therefore they abide in eternal wrath and damnation. For they have not the Lord Christ, and, besides, are not illumined and favored by any gifts of the Holy Ghost." In this quote from the explanation of the Third Article of the Creed in the Large Catechism we see the harshness of Luther aiming at "all outside of Christianity, whether heathen, Turks, Jews, or false Christians and hypocrites." Actually the Muslim religion

could be cherished for its tolerance.¹⁴ It is works righteousness that the reformator was condemning.

Historically, especially Luther's turcophobic writings have to be understood in the political context of his time and the expansion of Sultan Suleiman's Empire (conquest of Belgrade 1521, Mohács 1526 and the siege of Vienna in 1529) understood as judgment from above for the weak Christianity. Johannes Ehmann underlines that it is not possible to distinct the military menace of the Turks from the condemnation of the Muslims as heretics in Luther's works.¹⁵ Their military power and cruelty was understood in pious terms as God's chastising rod and as devil's servant.¹⁶ Luther's analysis of Islam is not matter-of-factly but apocalyptically: The war against the Turks was a fight about true faith and this means a fight not to be won on the battlefield but by true Christian faith. "Luther's writings »against the Turks« were written in this mental context, whereby it was not a mere coincidence that the main texts were written in 1529, the year when the Ottoman troupes besieged Vienna. Not by chance the small catechism was written the same year: The stronger the menace from outside, the more necessary it seemed that the »common man« and his children know and understand what it means to be a Christian."¹⁷

In his later years Luther read the Koran in Latin translation and dealt intensively with it. He endorsed the printing of the Koran by Theodor Bibliander in Basel in 1542 and wrote a preface. Luther's intention was to win Christians for true Christianity. Christians should read and see the truth about Islam. Luther was deeply impressed by the serious monotheism, Islamic discipline in prayer, the orderly clothing of the Turks and also the women's veiling. But all of this was taken as merely outward. Islam is missing the true understanding of Jesus as Christ and Son of God, of

trinity, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and justification by divine grace only.

Luther's rejection of Judaism and Islam and of papacy alike theologically has to be understood in the hermeneutical frame of his doctrine of justification. Judaism, papacy and Islam are form of works righteousness or, in other words, heresy threatening the true faith.

Some aspects concerning the European history of civilization

Actually there is a historians' debate on the relevance of the wars against the Turks for the successful expansion of Lutheranism in Germany.¹⁸ Undoubtedly the opposition against the military threat of the Ottoman Empire, the "*Türkengefahr*", united the roman-catholic and protestant imperial estates of Europe beyond the so called Holy Roman Empire. At least until the defeat of the Ottoman troops near Vienna in 1683 western Europe's cultural identity was built by demarcation from the Islamic culture. And regarding this demarcation theology was used for "Turkification" of papacy or even Reformed Christianity by the Lutherans or by calling Lutherans the new Turks from a roman-catholic perspective. "The religious-theological discourse on alterity that made Muslims an antithesis of European Christianity – or more precisely one's own group of confession – generated new self-concepts of identity."¹⁹

Felix Konrad points out how this antithetic self-concept developed in Europe's history of mind, dismissing the merits of the Arabs in preserving ancient Greek philosophy and science during Europe's early middle age, the so called "Dark Ages."

In a literate article not yet published Uwe Gerrens and Martin Frick show how much our perception of Islam and

Muslims is coined by clichés related with our self-concept until today.²⁰ In medieval times “Orientals” could be portrayed in altarpieces as saints or murders alike. But Jesus was never painted wearing a turban. His “oriental” origin obviously was denied and “oriental” religions, Judaism and Islam, could be denounced in contrast to “occidental” Christianity. Until today a contrast between Orient and Occident is drawn. Gerrens and Frick show that contemporary pictures of the “Oriental” still follow the 19th century’s European male phantasies and show erotic nudity that is exotic and attractive. Or that just the opposite of this is shown: When German magazines place Islamic topics on their cover a veiled women will be shown wearing hijab or nikab.

Gerrens and Frick state that in the 19th century Jews in Germany reacted on this pattern of social exclusion either by building their synagogues explicitly in an oriental style or by building synagogues fitting in with the respective urban construction. A similar debate on the architecture of mosques in Germany is going on today.

Gerrens and Frick stress: We cannot avoid stereotypes, they are necessary to orientate ourselves but they can obstruct our approach to reality at the same time. Thus, we need to be critical and deconstruct our construction of reality. The only way to do so, they say, is in contact not only with pictures but with reality itself. And returning to the reality of Muslim women in Germany, 72 % do not wear any veiling.

Muslims in Germany²¹

Fifty years ago the first Muslims came to Germany as foreign workers mostly from Turkey. They were invited to work in Germany for a few years and were expected to re-

turn later. But they stayed and integration had to be put on the political agenda as a topic.

For the past three decades an intensified migration of Muslim people has been recorded. These Muslims come to Germany as refugees or asking for asylum. Aside from and in addition to inner theological differences among Muslims the Islam in Germany is multiform as it is divided into groups of different ethnical and cultural background. Today approximately 5% or 4 million Muslim people from many countries and various cultures live in Germany.²² 63% of them are Muslims with a Turkish background.

Until today the interreligious dialogue is somehow inferior to the intercultural dialogue and social integration even though both aspects are linked closely together especially with regard to migration an own and somehow special spirituality develops. Not even very religious people in a foreign country tend to identify themselves with their traditions and religion in order to deal with the fear of a loss of self. In consequence, as political theorist and theologian Beate Sträter puts it, mosques in the foreign country become a home to many.²³

In this situation a much more conservative religiosity developed in Germany compared with Turkey for instance. This actually causes problems within the Muslim communities for the 2nd and 3rd generations of migrants who develop their cultural identity in the tension of their family living particularly "Turkish" and the German increasingly secular society. They do not want to give up with their migrant and Muslim identity. But they also "do not want to seal themselves off from German society but rather want to become part of the society claiming at the same time to the right of difference", states Sträter. This makes it even more important to establish Muslim institutions within

Germany. This affects the Germany state but also the Muslims as part of the German society.

Germany is neither a Christian nor a laicist State: According to Germany's basic law religious freedom means the freedom not only to live ones faith personally and privately but also to take part in society as religions, giving ethical orientation and being engaged in social work or education. This is why the German State has (in first attempts since 2003/2004) promoted the founding and development of academic centers of Islamic theology in Germany since 2010/2011 to make Islamic thinking part of scientific discourses and to qualify teachers in Islamic theology for religious education in analogy to Christian theology and religious education.²⁴ Muslim theological departments or institutes at State universities in Münster, Osnabrück, Erlangen/Nürnberg, Tübingen, and Frankfurt/Gießen and Muslim religious education in public schools develop Islam within European culture.

In turn, the Muslim people living in Germany are challenged to develop organizational forms as a counterpart to the government's administration. Firstly, with an integrational purpose to boost Muslim participation in German society because Islam in Germany up to now is closely linked with migration i.e. ethnic and cultural differences. Secondly, regarding religion itself similar to the Christian churches which according to the high level diversity of Islam in Germany admittedly is very difficult. But insofar as the interreligious dialogue has a stake in the difficulties of intercultural integration and vice versa it is very important to overcome the imbalance between the Muslim communities and the well-organized public body of the Churches with their academically educated theologians. The development of the theological interreligious dialogue between Islam and Christianity in Germany de facto cannot be separated from the development of social

integration of Muslims in German society and the development of Muslim institutions within the framework conditions of the German society and State. The so called dialogue of life aiming for a better mutual understanding of ethnic Germans and people from abroad based on the grassroots level of neighborhood of people, Congregations and Muslim assemblies has to be supplemented by an interreligious dialogue in the narrow sense of a theological discourse. In Germany, we are about to take this as our next step.

To risk one's faith²⁵

In 2015 the Evangelical Church in Rhineland published a study guide "*Weggemeinschaft und Zeugnis im Dialog mit Muslimen*"²⁶. The brochure caused an ongoing intensive debate on the question how to deal with Islam theologically. Most of the reactions to the study guide concentrate on the question of mission. The statement that God's saving will include all people seems to be taken as an impeachment or at least inadequate relativisation of the Christian faith, especially when speaking of a mission of Muslims for Christians.

Actually, during the last twenty years mission as a topic and issue has gained relevance in Germany. This has to be understood in the context of decreasing numbers of Christians not only because of demographic reasons but also due to a loss of contact with people of a variety of milieus and lifestyles. Aside from the pious enthusiasm for God in Christ seeking for expression in missionary or evangelistic activities the current churchly interest in mission is motivated by the resistance against the loss of relevance in the German society. Thus, by some the idea of relativising the Christian faith with other religions is understood as surrender. But do we need to think of a mul-

religious situation in terms of competition not to say fight?

As we have seen, Luther took Judaism and Islam as heresies challenging true faith in an eschatological understanding of his time that is not ours. We do not understand the situation we live in, in apocalyptic terms. It is not Luther's understanding of other religions that is helpful to deal with our situation, but his pneumatology and ecclesiology.²⁷

It was Martin Luther's insight that faith is nothing man can achieve but is a gift of God. My faith is not my believing but God's work. I do believe, but I do so only because of the witness of faith given to me by others and the conviction making me believe is not a result of a good presentation technique of somebody nor a question of a convincing argumentation but a consequence of revelation understood as the experience in which the truth of the good news becomes true to me. The Christian truth is not truth as a matter of fact and reason but of insight and personal conviction, a concern of heart. I believe in God in Christian terms means that "I was touched by the Word of God by God's Holy Spirit making me faithful." If Islam does not seem true out of the perspective of the Christian love of God or, in other terms, if the Koran does not make itself intelligible for Christians as truth this is not a mistake within the Islamic doctrine but a consequence of a different experience of God that dogmatically is expressed by Christians in the doctrine of the Trinity and reformatory in a different understanding of justification.

It is true: "To get oneself into another religion is dangerous because one will be questioned", as Hans Martin Barth states. Christian respectively protestant convictions are challenged by the strict Monotheism of Judaism and Islam.

They are challenged by the serious efforts to live a life pleasing to God by fulfilling the commandments and regulations of what is *kosher* or *treif*, *halal* or *haram*. How to deal with this?

Fundamentalism for example, the self-isolation from pluralism, is not a promising strategy to deal with the fact of being raised to question. As Barth indicates: "Even if one never got in contact with a confessing Muslim or Buddhist, by media, television or Internet the challenging world view is present." But even if a fundamentalistic strategy was realized in a totalitarian system or by violence, "one would not be able to learn. One would be sentenced for stagnation, for always going back to the old fundamentals without the opportunity to build anything upon them." Similar to the fundamentalist strategy is decisionism that is lacking every missional charisma. But if Christians want to open themselves to others with non-Christian or non-religious views they will have to accept the risk of interreligious encounters meaning that they will have to accept that the world view presented to them by the other could convince them and make them convert. Actually this is tolerance! Tolerance means accepting moral diversity and religious pluralism caused by differences in convictions. Merely to proclaim an absolute truth of owned religion does not bring into contact with other beliefs. And stating the superiority of owned religious convictions and moral standards, arguments I often encounter during interreligious talks both by Christians and Muslims, will not get us anywhere. As participant in an interreligious dialogue one has to deal with the risk of losing one's religion. But as Christians we have the opportunity to deal with this risk within our Christian faith, Barth points out in accordance with Luther: We can risk our faith to be proven wrong because it is not our possession. We can easily risk our Christian faith because it is not a possession. Faith is God's relation to us, and its va-

lidity is nothing we can keep, but only God remaining faithful to us. Our Christian faith is not a question of our strength, the quality of arguments with which we defend or spread Christianity but of God's faith in us and in his revelation towards the other as trustworthy.

And it may well be that He has revealed himself to peoples of other faiths too, as Barth points out by the example of Jona and Nineveh. And such revelations could enrich one's own world view and religious conviction. Barth gives the example of the Engaged Buddhism that most likely was developed by encounters with Christianity and the meaning of meditation which in Christian spirituality developed based the fundament of mystic and monastic traditions in contact with Buddhism. And I agree with Barth that the Islam in Germany as an increasingly secular society, sets the task to clarify the relationship of religion, society and politics. Together with people of other faith, first of all Muslims, Christians need to get into an argument with irreligiosity, atheists and the large number of agnostics about the public relevance of religion.

Quoting missionary Walter Freytag Barth states that a foreign religion is only understood correctly if one feels an attraction to convert. And should this really lead to conversion then this might be understood as the way that was predestined. This holds true for atheism as well as irreligiosity. Risking faith could result in losing all religion. But Barth reminds us of Luther's advice in the religious turmoil of his times: "Be a sinner and sin boldly, but believe and rejoice in Christ even more boldly, for he will put everything in order. Take a risk ²⁸ man, God is with you – you have the means!"

Interreligious Solidarity

Thus the interreligious dialogue in Germany does not require an Islamic Luther, but on the Christian side a reformatory certitude of faith that dares to get into conversation with people of other faiths about Christian certitude and which allows others to call it into question. If by the grace of God others might become Christians by this venture this would be a cause for celebration.

Concerning the rejection of any mission of Jews by the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD)²⁹ it is important to understand that there is a deeper reason for this rejection than the admission of protestant anti-Semitism as one of the causes that led to the genocide against the Jews under the Nazi reign. It is based on the cognition of the systematic particularity of the relation between Judaism and Christian faith and the insight of biblical theology in the unrevoked covenant faithfulness of God towards his people. Luther's condemnation of Jews biblically was based on John 8, 43–45. Today we have learned to understand that the Gospel according to John is a document of an inner Jewish struggle to understand the meaning of Jesus³⁰ like other disputes reflected in the New Testament like in the universalization of the sending of Jesus Immanuel we read off in Matthew (cf. Mt 10, 5–6 and 15, 24 with 28, 19)³¹ or in the opening of the fellowship of Jesus for uncircumcised pagans (Acts 15, 1–29/Gal 2) in the days of the apostles. The idea of Israel's reprobation was overcome by the Evangelical Church in Germany in a long process in which we have learned to understand ourselves as Christians as dependent on the election of Israel as God's people (Rom 11).³²

Following the ecumenical recommendations for conduct "Christian Witness in a Multi-Religious World" outlining the standards for evangelism and mission that do not betray the gospel³³ the Protestant Churches in Germany are very reserved concerning a strategic mission of Muslims. The

code of conduct calls Christians "to commit themselves to work with all people in mutual respect, promoting together justice, peace and the common good. Interreligious cooperation is an essential dimension of such commitment." And "if Christians engage in inappropriate methods of exercising mission by resorting to deception and coercive means, they betray the gospel and may cause suffering to others." Surely not in every case, but it could be a betrayal of the gospel if Christians tried to evangelize people who are basically in need for means of integration or, in the case of refugees, in need for elementary help. Evangelization in a situation of need means easing the needs and nothing else. Especially the christening of people searching for asylum in Germany is a delicate matter, regarding the asylum procedure in Germany and the peoples' fate in case of a rejection of the application for asylum and their return to their home country and a probable prosecution of the convert. The Evangelical Church in Germany and the Union of Evangelical Free Churches have published a guideline on how to deal with Muslim applicants for asylum asking for christening.³⁴

The more foreigners, migrants or converts, become members of Christian churches in Germany the more does intercultural dialogue become a task for the Churches as well. It has already been put on the agenda in some pilot experiments and discussions of German regional churches like in Westphalia and the Rhineland. However, currently the increased religious pluralism in Germany is the bigger challenge.

Within the educational system of Germany the question of how to deal with public religious education has to be solved at state level in the first place of course. Surely, religious education as a theological discipline is working on the topic in terms of interreligious and international comparative studies and on perspectives on its organization in

forms beyond the confessional paradigm.³⁵ But the number of Muslim pupils also demands for religious forms for the first day at school, enrolments and graduation ceremonies and other civil-religious events that can no longer be celebrated in a Christian.

On the congregational level first experiences with wedding services are made, when a Christian and a Muslim person get married.³⁶ Baptisms in Muslim-Christian families and funerals will become a greater topic soon. Therefore liturgical creativity is demanded. Until now this has not been a topic of intensive research in Practical Theology. Impulses to take up on this task come from Religious Education and pastoral practice.³⁷

Aside from practical questions concerning the organization of Christian services with participation of people of other faiths or even multireligious celebrations there is a fundamental theological question discussed right now: Do we worship the same God?

The council of EKD has published a book on Christian faith and religious plurality in an evangelical perspective in 2015. The text's genre is called "*Grundlagentext*", which means basic text. In this publication EKD holds the opinion that the notion of the identity of God in Judaism, Islam and Christianity is abstract in regard of the differences in the common recourse on Abraham and the oneness of God. "Sheer abstractions do not help", EKD states.³⁸ The difficulty of this position in regard to the Christian-Jewish dialogue that is based not only on historically common but divergently interpreted texts (Tanakh resp. Old Testament), but on the fundamental belief in the sameness of God cannot be discussed here. As we have already seen the sameness of God in Judaism, Islam and Christianity to Luther was no question. Surely,

in accordance with the "*Grundlagentext*" a more profound interreligious discourse not only stressing similarities in theology of creation for instance but a discourse also about deep differences between the Christian and the Muslim faith in its understanding of God, the Word of God, salvation, and piety is waiting to be dealt with. However, can the presence of God in other religions be seriously contested?

Not in a Lutheran thinking, at least. It seems obvious to me that Christians cannot claim that God is the almighty creator of heaven and earth who is everywhere present to his creation and deny God's presence in the religions", says Christoph Schwöbel.³⁹ However, because non-Christians do not believe in Christ and the Spirit they neither recognize the true character of God nor do they expect his love or blessing. Since they do not know God in the same way as Christians, they know God in a deficient form." This is not a damnation but simply a finding. "They know God to be the one but are not certain about his relationship to them and about what to expect from him" the way Christians do.⁴⁰

Following Luther, Schwöbel points out how Christian faith is passively constituted by revelation. And according to this insight Christians are obliged to assume that this mode of constitution of faith is also true for others. This constitutes tolerance or, even more, solidarity with people of other faiths "on the basis of faith Contrary to the demand for tolerance, as it has been suggested by the Enlightenment, which is based on the uncertainty of religious faith this kind of tolerance is based on the certainty of faith."⁴¹ The differences in the perspectives do not abolish the common notion of God even if from a Christian point of view God is hidden in the other religions. "It is, however, the hiddenness of the same God the Gospel proclaims. Therefore Christians will expect to experience

the same God in new ways also in the religions. The only criterion they have for that is the Gospel of Christ, as the way in which Christians believe God revealed himself. The other religions are therefore for Christians neither a God-less zone, nor enemy territory. Christians cannot see the existence of the religions as an operating accident in the history of salvation. The precise role of religions in God's providence has remained hidden until now, but that they must have a role is clear from what Christians believe about the presence of the almighty creator to the whole creation."⁴²

Christoph Schwöbel summarizes his reflections to answer the question whether the Abrahamic religions worship the same God as follows: "From the Christian perspective it seems we have to say that Jews, Christians and Muslims have the same God and this statement would be underlined by Jews and Muslims from the perspective of their respective faiths. However, they each would emphasize that the others do not worship or believe in this God in the same way, because God has been revealed to them, according to their self-understanding, in different ways, which, from each of the perspectives, creates a real difference in worship and faith. However this difference would not seem to exclude that we live in the same world, interpreted from our different perspectives, in which we have to act together for our common good."

The common notion of God can bring people of faiths together in some kind of solidarity in a secular society. The aim of the interreligious dialogue cannot be a consensus in dogmatics but in preparing "the ground for a cooperation of the religions, especially Jews, Christians and Muslims for those aims, which they, from their respective perspectives, recognize as common good. ... It can be aimed a realizing common goals which will be justified within each tradition by different grounds."⁴³ With the differences in their religious constructions mirroring the different

perspectives the Abrahamic religions are aiming at the same reality for the common good. This is most likely the reason for several Muslims to send their children to Christian kindergartens and schools in Germany because they sense that religiosity is taken more seriously than in public institutions.⁴⁴

The last point to talk of is pastoral care⁴⁵ which is welcomed by Muslims for the same reason in cases they get into contact with chaplains in public hospitals or emergency pastoral care. Rev. Albrecht Roepke, a colleague of mine very experienced in emergency pastoral care, says: "Generally pious Muslims do not have any problem with Christians caring about them pastorally. That is inevitable that the person is pious, that's important." Roepke continues: "Sometimes I catch myself dreaming: Will we be ready that this becomes mutual someday? Will Christians come to the point to accept emergency pastoral care by a Muslim in critical situations unrestrictedly? Just because we stay on the same fundament and have the same mission of God caring about those in doubts and distress?" This certainly would be the sign for interreligious peace mediating all differences in God's benevolence. Not Luther as a historical person but reformatory thinking can contribute to that.

Footnotes:

- ¹ Cf. Tilman Seidensticker, *Islamismus. Geschichte, Vordenker, Organisationen*, München 2016.
- ² Focussing Islamic youth in Germany cf. Ahmad Mansour, *Warum wir im Kampf gegen religiösen Extremismus umdenken müssen*, Bonn 2016.
- ³ Katja Dorothea Buck, *Luther und der Tango der Kulturen*, www.missionspresse.org 3/2016, 21-25, 22 (Translation K.H. by the help of Gabriele Schweflinghaus who thankfully proofread this article also).
- ⁴ Theo Sundermeier, *Konvivenz als Grundstruktur ökumenischer Existenz heute*, in: Theo Sundermeier, *Konvivenz und Differenz. Studien zu einer verstehenden*

Missionswissenschaft, ed. by Volker Küster, Erlangen 1995, 43-75.

- ⁵ Henning Wrogemann, Eine islamische »Reformation«? Islamische Debatten um Religion und Zivilgesellschaft und die Frage der Schrifthermeneutik, in Michael Biehl/Ulrich Dehn (Ed.), Reformationen. Momentaufnahmen aus einer globalen Bewegung, Hamburg 2015, 157-172.
- ⁶ Cf. the criticisms verbalized by church historian Thomas Kauffmann, e.g. https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article128354577/Die-EKD-hat-ein-ideologisches-Luther-Bild.html#disqus_thread.
- ⁷ Cf. detailed Thomas Kaufmann, Luthers "Judenschriften", ein Beitrag zu ihrer historischen Kontextualisierung, Tübingen 2013.
- ⁸ Cf. Johannes Wallmann's latest critical comments on the way the Evangelical Church in Germany is dealing with this dark side of Luther's thinking: www.cicero.de/berliner-republik/judenfeind-luther-wenn-kriminologen-historische-beweise-fuehren/57613 (5.11.2016) based on his research as already published in The Reception of Luther's Writings on the Jews from the Reformation to the End of the 19th Century, in: Lutheran Quarterly 1987, 72-95.
- ⁹ Cf. Dass Jesus Christus ein geborener Jude sei (1523), WA 11, 314-336.
- ¹⁰ Cf. Von den Juden und ihren Lügen (1543), WA 53, 417-552.
- ¹¹ Cf. for the following Die Reformation und die Juden. Eine Orientierung erstellt im Auftrag des wissenschaftlichen Beirates für das Reformationsjubiläum 2017 (http://www.luther2017.de/fileadmin/luther2017/material/grundlagen/lutherdekade_reformation_und_die_juden.pdf; 5.11.2016).
- ¹² Ibid. 11 (translation).
- ¹³ In the following I follow Reformation und Islam. Ein Impulspapier der Konferenz für Islamfragen der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland (EKD), Hannover 2016, 15f.
- ¹⁴ Cf. Smalcald Articles Part II, Art. IV: Of the Papacy: Even the Turks or the Tartars, great enemies of Christians as they are, do not do this, but they allow whoever wishes to believe in Christ, and take bodily tribute and obedience from Christians.
- ¹⁵ Johannes Ehmann, Luther, Türken und Islam. Eine Untersuchung zum Türken- und Islambild Martin Luthers (1515-1546), Gütersloh 2008.
- ¹⁶ Cf. Vom Kriege wider die Türken (1528) WA 30 II, 107-148, here 120 and 129.
- ¹⁷ Reformation und Islam, 11 (translation).
- ¹⁸ Cf. Jack Goody, Islam in Europe, New York 2013, 45.
- ¹⁹ Cf. Felix Konrad, Von der 'Türkengefahr' zu Exotismus und Orientalismus: Der Islam als Antithese Europas (1453-1914)? (2010) in: EGO. Europäische Geschichte Online: <http://ieg-ego.eu/de/threads/modelle-und-stereotypen/tuerkengefahr-exotismus-orientalismus/felix-konrad-von-der-tuerkengefahr-zu-exotismus-und-orientalismus-1453-1914#DasIslambildinderZeitderTrkengefahr> (translation)
- ²⁰ Uwe Gerrens/Martin Fricke, „Der Mann mit dem Turban auf dem Altarbild“. Orientbilder:

Blitzlichter auf ein großes Thema. To be published 2017 in a reader by the Evangelical Church in the Rhineland in the context of a current debate on mission, interreligious dialogue and forms of cooperation with Muslim people in Germany.

- 21 The following is based on an article by Beate Sträter written for the mentioned reader.
- 22 Christians build about 60% of the population; about 30% do not belong to any confession today.
- 23 In case of Turkish mosques especially since the imams are sent to Germany by the Turkish state.
- 24 Cf. the homepage of Germany's federal ministry for education and research, <https://www.bmbf.de/de/islamische-theologie-367.html>
- 25 Cf. Hans-Martin Barth, Seinen Glauben riskieren? Was gewinnen wir, wenn wir unseren Glauben im Kontext der Weltreligionen verstehen und leben?, in: Helmut A. Müller (Ed.), Kultur, Religion und Glauben neu denken. Von der abrahamitischen Ökumene zur Ökumene der Religionen, Berlin 2014, 17-34, online: <https://luthertheologie.de/artikel/seinen-glauben-riskieren/>
- 26 The title is difficult to translate into English, "Going together and giving witness in a dialogue with Muslims" is a trial. Cf. <http://medienpool.ekir.de/archiv/A/Medienpool/83917?encoding=UTF-8>
- 27 Cf. the works on pluralism by Eilert Herms (especially Pluralismus aus Prinzip, in: R. Bookhagen et al. (Ed.), „Vor Ort“. Praktische Theologie in der Erprobung, Berlin 1991, 77-95), Werner Brändle (cf. Confessio und Toleranz. Die lutherische Bekenntniskonzeption, in: Werner Brändle (Ed.), Toleranz und Religion, Perspektiven zum interreligiösen Gespräch, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1996, 95-112) and Christoph Schwöbel, Christlicher Glaube im Pluralismus. Studien zu einer Theologie der Kultur, Tübingen 2003.
- 28 An idiomatic English translation of German „Riskier was! “Actually is “Be a Devil!” An interesting allusion in this context!
- 29 Recently the synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) passed a declaration about Christians and Jews as witnesses of God, in which on the way to the reformation jubilee 2017 the EKD reminds the distancing of Luther's vituperations cf. http://www.ekd.de/synode2016/beschluesse/s16_05_6_kundgebung_erklaerung_zu_christen_und_juden.html (21.11.2016).
- 30 Cf. Klaus Wengst, Das Johannesevangelium, Stuttgart 2007 (two volumes).
- 31 I owe this insight to Prof. Dr. Stefan Alkier's lecture "Lehrer aller Völker werden. Narrative, didaktische und theologische Reibungen in MT 28,16-20 (not yet published; Cologne 3.11.2016).
- 32 Cf. Rolf Rendtorff/Hans Hermann Henrix (Eds.), Die Kirchen und das Judentum. Dokumente von 1945 bis 1985, Paderborn/München 2001 and Hans Hermann Henrix/Wolfgang Kraus (Eds.), Die Kirchen und das Judentum. Dokumente von 1986-2000, Paderborn/Gütersloh 2001.

- ³³ Cf. <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/wcc-programmes/interreligious-dialogue-and-cooperation/christian-identity-in-pluralistic-societies/christian-witness-in-a-multi-religious-world> (21.11.2016).
- ³⁴ <https://www.ekd.de/EKD-Texte/90777.html>.
- ³⁵ Cf. Friedrich Schweitzer, *Interreligiöse Bildung. Religiöse Vielfalt als religionspädagogische Herausforderung und Chance*, Gütersloh 2014. See also Bernd Schröder, *Religionspädagogik*, Tübingen 2012, with a consistently comparative perspective especially on Judaism and Islam and idem (Ed.), *Religionsunterricht - wohin? Modelle seiner Organisation und didaktischen Struktur*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 2014. Already a bit older but still relevant is *Zeugnisse fremder Religionen im Unterricht. "Weltreligionen" im deutschen und englischen Religionsunterricht*. Neukirchen-Vluyn 1999 by my colleague at the Saarland University, Karlo Meyer. Meyer also published schoolbooks that inform about other religions in the context of Christian religious education. Cf. *Lea fragt Kazim nach Gott. Christlich-muslimische Begegnungen in den Klassen 2 bis 6*, Göttingen 2006 or lately, together with Christian Neddens, Monika Tautz and Mo Yanik, *Schabbat Schalom, Alexander! Christlich-jüdische Begegnungen in der Grundschule*, Göttingen 2016.
- ³⁶ In 2012 the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Bavaria has published a manual for the liturgical design of interreligious marriages: <http://www.bayern-evangelisch.de/downloads/ELKB-Traueung-neu-2014.pdf>.
- ³⁷ Cf. Friedrich Schweitzer, *Interreligiöse Kompetenz als Voraussetzung evangelischen Bildungshandelns und als Herausforderung der Praktischen Theologie*, in: Hartmut Rupp/Stefan Hermann (Ed.): *Bildung und interreligiöses Lernen. Jahrbuch für kirchliche Bildungsarbeit 2012*, Stuttgart 2012, 29-38. Albeit the magazine *Praktische Theologie. Zeitschrift für Praxis in Kirche, Gesellschaft und Kultur* published an issue on interreligious practice in 2003 already very little is found on the topic in relevant compendiums and compilations on Practical Theology and church development.
- ³⁸ Cf. *Christlicher Glaube und religiöse Vielfalt in evangelischer Perspektive*, 65.
- ³⁹ Christoph Schwöbel, *The Same God? The Perspective of Faith, the Identity of God, Tolerance and Dialogue*, in: Miroslaf Volf (Ed.), *Do We Worship the Same God? Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Dialogue*, Grand Rapids/Cambridge 2012, online http://faith.yale.edu/sites/default/files/schwoebel_final_paper_0.pdf, 17.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.* 20 (Highlighting K.H.).
- ⁴² *Ibid.* 18.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.* 23.
- ⁴⁴ Conversely in congregations and other Christian institutions the question may arise to employ religious Muslim personnel if no Christians with the qualification needed cannot be found.

⁴⁵ Cf. Helmut Weiß/Karl Federschmidt/Klaus Temme (Ed.), Handbuch interreligiöse Seelsorge, Neukirchen-Vluyn 2010.

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Martin Luther's last service at Eisleben

Dr. Uwe Hummel

Abstract: The author discusses the last visit of Dr. Martin Luther (1483-1546) at Eisleben, his birthplace, during the latter weeks of his life. Special attention has been paid to the sermons preached by the Church Reformer, his intolerant and aversive statements about the Jews, and his significant role as a mediator in a quarrel between the counts of Mansfeld whom he succeeded to reconcile.

1. Introduction

Martin Luder was born in Eisleben on the 10th of November 1483. His mother, Margarethe Luder née Lindemann, came from an affluent and influential family in Eisenach and his father, Hans Luder, was the child of a quite well-off farmer in Möhra. Margarethe and Hans got married in 1479 or 1480. Since Hans Luder was not entitled to inherit land, he opted to learn the skills of the mining trade.

Margarethe had an uncle who was a leading figure in the mining business (Oberster Berg- und Hüttenverwalter) in Mansfeld. Therefore, in 1483, with an expectation of better job-opportunities, Martin and Margarethe decided to move to the town of Mansfeld in Mansfeld Regency.

The Luders came as far as Eisleben, when it was time for their first child to be born. The day after the birth of their healthy son was Saint Martin's day and the young parents didn't hesitate to bring their child to the nearby Church of Saint Petri-Pauli for Holy Baptism. As it was the custom, he was christened by the name of that saint from the 4th century who is revered for his charity to the poor: Martin of Tours (A.D. 316/336-397). Later, as an adult, Luther had a very high regard for the Sacrament of Holy Baptism. It was the sign of God's promise, given freely without any prior effort of the recipient; a true token of Divine Grace that comforted the reformer in his heaviest hours of inner struggle and temptation. Like Saint Martin, Luther would always be generous to give freely to the needy, or whoever asks any material thing from him, sometimes much to the regret of his industrious wife, Katharina von Bora.

Less than half a year after Martin's birth, the Luders moved to the town of Mansfeld, about 16 kilometres from Eisleben, where father Hans became a foreman among the miners (Hüttenmeister). Although this was a good position, life was very hard then and for several years the Luders had difficulties making ends meet. Later, when Hans Luder had become the owner of his own mine, the family had a rather good income, so in 1501 clever Martin was sent to pursue academic studies in Erfurt, entered a monastery there in 1505, and later moved on to Wittenberg.

2. Eisleben

Eisleben is a town in Saxony (now in the federal state of Sachsen-Anhalt in Germany), particularly known as the place of birth and death of the Church Reformer, Martin Luther. It was the capital of Mansfeld Regency, which, since long ago, had been ruled by the counts of Mansfeld (Grafen von Mansfeld). Mansfeld's ruling family was of

oldest German nobility, a dynasty which in the 15th century had made a vast fortune from copper mining in that region.

Since about 1501, the Regency of Mansfeld (Grafschaft Mansfeld) had been burdened by the economic competition between the four ruling counts, resulting in conflicts. For administrative purposes, the Regency had been divided into three parts. Each region was governed by one, two or even three of the brothers, namely:

- i. Mansfeld Front-Region (Mansfeld-Vorderort). Under Count Hoyer VI (1484-1540) this part sided with the Pope, the count taking a firm stand against the Reformation. Hoyer was childless, so in 1531 he elevated his nephew Philipp I (1502-1546), also referred to as Philipp II, as his co-regent. Luckily, Hoyer's anti-Protestant position was not continued by his successor Philipp.
- ii. Mansfeld Central-Region (Mansfeld-Mittelort). Count Gebhard VII (1478-1558) joined the Reformation movement at Easter 1525 but later became an ally of Emperor Charles V. His co-regent and later successor, George II, supported the Reformation.
- iii. Mansfeld Hind-Region (Mansfeld-Hinterort). The very energetic and influential Count Albrecht VII (1480-1560), also referred to as Albrecht IV, had embraced the Protestant Reformation since Easter 1525. He was a friend and protector of Dr. Martin Luther and (together with Count Jobst I of Mansfeld) had acknowledged the Augsburg Confession in 1530.

Whereas each count had his sphere of power, there remained a few places that had to be governed together. These included the towns of Mansfeld, Eisleben and Hettstedt. Eisleben actually became the joint capital city.

The counts resided in one castle – there were three palaces on castle hill, each for one of the three regions. In many occasions, instead of sitting around the table and talk rationally about their differences, as Christian families should always do, the counts of Mansfeld became more and more estranged from one another and in effect their quarrels became a burden to their subjects.

Three main reasons for the counts' disharmony can be identified as follows;

- i. The great number of children of the counts (except for Gebhard VII who remained childless), the sons being land-heirs, divided the region and made it hard to be ruled.
- ii. This division resulted to lack of clarity in jurisdiction. Who was actually in charge of certain areas, and who was entitled to receive taxes in the new suburb (Neustadt) of Eisleben, from the mines, shops and service sector which were very lucrative. Who was responsible for social services in a region that experienced an influx of migration, crime, tensions between the haves and the have-nots, including the owners of mines (like Luther's father) and the unemployed and unfortunate?
- iii. Divisions caused by the Protestant Reformation. Whereas at least one of the counts (Hoyer VI) had remained a very loyal supporter of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, others (especially Albrecht IV/VII) sided strongly with the Wittenberg Reformation.

Throughout Martin Luther's lifetime, he would often speak fondly about his youth at Mansfeld, including Eisleben. Furthermore, he also took great concern in the problems of his place of origin, including the above-mentioned conflicts arising in the noble family of the counts of Mansfeld.

3. Luther's final journey to Eisleben

In 1545, Luther had undertaken the 113 kilometres long journey from Wittenberg to Mansfeld in order to mediate between the quarrelling counts. He was about to retire that time (he held his last lectures at Wittenberg University in November 1545) and was already suffering from a number of ailments (see below).

Despite all the discomforts, in January 1546, Luther again decided to travel to Eisleben in order to finish the negotiations between the rulers of his beloved place of origin. Accompanied by his colleague and friend Dr. Justus Jonas, the Reverend Michel Coelius, as well as his sons, Martin Junior and Paul, Luther travelled by horse cart.

At their arrival in Eisleben, Luther was feeling quite sick. He took residence in the house of Barthel Drachstedt, which is across the road from Saint Andrew's Church. Although, Luther was constantly nursed with traditional remedies to ease the pains, he kept on mediating the negotiations between the conflicting counts and still served as preacher and teacher to the congregation.

4. Luther's preaching in Eisleben

Altogether four times Luther had preached in Saint Andrew's Church during the three weeks of his stay in Eisleben in 1546. The sermons were not just courtesy speeches by an old and famous son of the city, but were meant to both include the people in the peace-negotiations between the counts, and to direct them pastorally in facing some of their spiritual and social problems as well. Let us briefly look at the contents of these four sermons:

- i. Sermon on the 4th Sunday after Epiphany, delivered in Eisleben 31st of January 1546. Biblical text: Mathew VIII.

After reading the text from Mathew 8: 23-27, Luther explains that Jesus sleeps in the boat just like every other person who is tired sleeps. Jesus must have been very fatigued from all of his preaching, healing and praying until late at night, so that he is in need of a good rest. This proves that Jesus was a real human being.

While Jesus is sleeping, the strong wind suddenly blows causing great fear in the hearts of the disciples. So, Jesus gets up and reprimands the wind (Luther explains that Jesus actually orders the devils causing this storm to stop), so the wind calms down and everything becomes very quiet. The disciples are amazed asking: "Who is this man that the wind and sea obey him?" Since an ordinary person could not do something like that, this proves that Jesus is really God and possesses divine power. We have to learn from this text and believe that Jesus Christ is truly human and truly God at the same time.

This belief makes Christian faith different from all other religions, such as Islam and Judaism. Luther speaks about "Turks" (the most well-known Islamic power in Luther's time, threatening to conquer Europe), Jews and heathen who deny the divinity of Christ and the Trinity. To them the true humanity and simultaneous true divinity of Christ does not make sense, because they rely on their rational thinking only, but a true Christian believer will rejoice in this belief because it has been revealed to him by the Holy Spirit and is written clearly in the Bible. Moses and the prophets, ac-

according to the Jews' own Holy Scriptures, and have witnessed to Jesus Christ.

After having explained in quite some length that the book of Genesis already pointed at Jesus Christ, Luther comes back to the text of Mathew 8: 23-27, and interprets that the "boat on the lake" is referring to God's people in the world who have always been under attack by the devil and his followers. However, because of Christ's power, those evil forces cannot destroy God's church. This also applies to Luther's own time: Turks and the Pope cannot destroy the "little boat" of the true church.

Luther emphasizes that it is a Christian's steady foundation and comfort that Christ will protect his church against all kinds of attacks of the evil forces.

Furthermore, Luther holds that pagans, "Turks" and Jews have two major fallacies: they neither know who God is in his inner being (Wesen), nor do they know God's attitude towards human beings. Since they do not know Jesus Christ, they are in constant fear and are prone to embrace idolatry. This also is the case in the Catholic Church which follows the Pope in Rome. Such religion is full of fear. But if people truly believe in the power of Christ, they can resist all of the attacks of the devil. In the face of a seemingly vulnerable, "sleeping Christ", the devil may think that he can sink the boat, but responding to our cries and prayers, Christ will certainly smash the devils' forces in due time. Christ wants us to call on Him in great needs. He wants us to trust Him and reprimands us of having little faith. But Christ will certainly save us from the powers of evil.

- ii. Sermon on the occasion of the feast of the Offering of Christ in the Temple, delivered in Eisleben 2nd of February 1546. Gospel of Luke II.

After Luther read the text from Luke 2: 22-32, he explains the Jewish Biblical tradition that a woman who had given birth had to undergo a period of purification. In case of a son, she would be unclean for 40 days and in case of a daughter 80 days. Then, there had to be a sacrifice in the temple which was received by the Levites. The other tribes of Israel thereby supported the livelihood of the Levites. This should also be done by Christians, who have the obligation to support their pastors and follow the orders of their superiors.

God had arranged that the twelve tribes of Israel support the Levites, so that there could be teachers who would explain the will of God to the people and taught them about the coming of the Messiah.

Israel had the task of preparing the people for the coming of Jesus Christ. The Jews had no excuse not to know the Scriptures pointing at the birth of Christ in Bethlehem. The law of God has been a guardian to the people of Israel, leading them to Christ (Gal. 3:24). But now Christ has come and has given us a new law. It is not proper to remain under the old law like primary school pupils who have grown up.

Mary fulfilled the laws of Moses, but since she actually remained a virgin at the birth of Jesus, the law actually didn't apply to her. She was humble and obedient. Just as Jesus who had submitted to the law in allowing himself to be circumcised. Because of his love, Jesus submitted himself even to the death at the cross. This is an example for us, so that we will also humble ourselves and be obedient to the new law given by Christ

in John 13, that we should love one another. Just as Jesus has served us, we should serve others. Just as he has given himself freely, we should give freely to others. This also applies to the pastors who should not prioritize a good life but instead they should teach and preach and serve as best as they can. Servants of God must be careful not to become haughty and arrogant. Cain, whose name means "inheritance", seems to have become arrogant as the heir, while Abel, whose name means "void", was not so full of himself and therefore received favour in the sight of the Lord. This is a reminder to us, not to become arrogant because we have certain privileges, but then, we have to humble ourselves knowing that we only have an advantage because of God's mercy.

The Jews also pride themselves as the first-born, while they consider others as Abel meaning null-and-void. This makes the Jews arrogant against God. It is true that much good has come from the Jews, such as Moses, the prophets and Jesus Christ himself. But because of their arrogance, they have become like Cain who wants to murder his brother Abel, who belongs to Christ. Therefore, Christians have to learn from this not to become proud and arrogant.

- iii. Sermon on the 5th Sunday after Epiphany, delivered in Eisleben 7th of February 1546. Matthew 13.

After Luther read the text from the Gospel according to Matthew 13:24-30, he points to the fact that Jesus himself gives an interpretation of it (Matthew 13:36ff). The Son of Man (Messiah) himself sows the good seed, the acre is the world, the good seed are the children of light (believers in God) and the bad weeds are the children of darkness (followers of the devil), the "enemy" is the devil, the harvest is the end of the world and the

gatherers are the angels, etc. Luther fully accepts this interpretation and emphasizes that this means that the church is a mixed body of true believers and heavy sinners. There is no pure, immaculate Christian community such as both the Anabaptists and monasticism in the Roman Catholic Church claim here should be. There is no reason to leave the world. Evil existed besides truth as from the beginning Adam's family was the first church, and Cain was the bad seed of the devil; so was Ham in the family of Noah, and likewise it happened in every generation. Saint Augustine of Hippo opposed the Donatists' heresy who demanded a pure church. In fact, often those who claim to be pure (such as pious monks) are the biggest sinners. Whenever God is building his true church, the devil will surely undermine it with a false one. The only way to cope with that is to be willing to suffer and endure those evil elements (here called Anabaptists, Antinomians, Jews, Turks, Spaniards, the Pope and other gangs).

Should we therefore do nothing at all against heretics in our midst? Paul says that we should refrain from heretics (Titus 3:10). Isn't this contradictive? Luther uses the metaphor of the body to explain what to do. There are parts of the body that are very dirty and have a filthy job to do. Yet, we cannot get rid of them. Therefore, we have to clean these body parts in a special way, use special remedies if they are sick, etc. Only in the rare case that a member of the body is dead and rotten, it has to be amputated.

A true Christian should be willing to endure the challenges of a church full of sinners, and being a sinner himself, should nevertheless always rejoice in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, who came to save sinners. Such joy will make him grow in God's word, he will live more and more according to God's will, he will keep the

commandments keenly, but he should always be aware not to pride himself in that.

While the true Christians should endure the false ones and not try to eliminate them from the church, they should however be careful to remain in control and not to make them become preachers and teachers of the church. We have to fight them with God's word, and not with violence. We have to be careful not to be impressed by the beauty of the evil preachers, just as we will not eat of the bad weeds just because they have beautiful flowers. This is also true of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which may look impressive but is of no use to Christians.

Also in the state and family there are good and evil persons. The leader has to control them and not be controlled by them, but he cannot eradicate them. Vice versa, a people or family also cannot just get rid of sinful leaders but should bear with them patiently. Therefore, in this world Christians should not rebel against bad authorities but be willing to endure hardship. While we should always take care about the purity of the teaching of God's word, we should let God deal with the false Christians on the Day of Judgment.

- iv. Sermon on Matthew 11: 25ff, delivered in Eisleben 15th of February 1546.

After having read the text from the Gospel according to Matthew 11:25-30, Luther enters the first of the two themes of this text: the wisdom of God and the wisdom of this world.

God does not need clever and wise people to reveal his Gospel, but he likes to give it to simple minded children. Learned people are often unsatisfied with the simple message of the Gospel and want to change it. They accuse each other and cause a lot of division in the church. The egg wants to be cleverer than the chicken. This is exactly what the Pope does in changing the Biblical teachings of the Holy Communion, Holy Baptism, etc. by replacing it with the human reasoning of Aristotle. People who consider themselves to be clever and wise just because they have high positions, usually obstruct the service of the word of God, just like Caiaphas who obstructed Jesus Christ. The devil makes people think that they are clever and wise, therefore they become proud and rebellious against God.

The church should only preach the crucified and risen Christ, and not add other strange teachings. The Pope has added relics and pilgrimages, and other practices drawing peoples' attention away from the word of God. The second theme of this text is connected to the first, since the simple preaching of and the belief in Christ crucified for our sins is the only true comfort in life and in death. Jesus invites all who are suffering and heavily burdened, and gives them peace. Christ will take away all fears, even if the Pope, the Emperor, or the Turks attack. True wisdom is to believe and trust in Christ who in a friendly voice invites us to come to him.

Luther finally ends his sermon with the following words: "You alone are my dear Lord and Master, I am your pupil, this and much more could be said about this Gospel. But I am too, weak. Let's leave it at that".

These last four sermons of the Church Reformer before his death three days later contain a lot basic Biblical, dogmatic and pastoral teachings.

5. Luther's last admonition against the Jews

Luther took on a more moderate tone toward his adversaries in his last sermons, compared to many former writings, especially in old age. Nevertheless, his frustration about the Jews was once again expressed a number of times during his last visit to Eisleben. In an appendix to his above-mentioned last sermon on 15th of February, Luther wrote an "Admonition against the Jews". Luther calls the Jews "our public enemy" and says that they do a lot of damage to the land. Christians should offer them the opportunity to believe in Jesus Christ and be baptized, otherwise not tolerate them. Luther could not accept that the Jews, having been privileged like no other people to possess the Holy Scriptures of the "first Gospel" (the Old Testament) and to receive the Messiah in their midst, would not believe in Jesus Christ.

Since Luther had to suddenly break off his last sermon ("I am too weak. Let's leave it at that"), it is most likely that he did not actually read the admonition to the congregation. Nevertheless, this written "admonition" (warning) indicates the limits of Luther's theology which often lacks tolerance and understanding of other opinions or beliefs.

6. Luther's service of reconciliation

After weeks of tiring negotiations, Luther eventually succeeded in making peace among the counts of Mansfeld. He convinced the rulers to share power and to forgive one another. On the 16th of February 1546, Luther and Justus Jonas signed a document for founding a Latin school for poor children in Eisleben. The next day, Luther met the

counts for the last time, telling them that he was very weak and had to rest.

7. Luther's death

After supper that day, Luther walked to the window of his residence. As so often before, he looked up to the starry sky and began a long prayer. One of his eyes had gone blind already (because of cataract), but the other was fixed on the heavens. Later, Count Albrecht, Luther's friend and protector, asked the Reformer: "How do you feel, beloved Doctor?" And he answered: "It's all right". Luther slept a bit and then woke up saying: "Father, in Thy hands I submit my soul". He still wrote down a little text (his last) and put it on the desk. The very last sentence says: "We are beggars, that's true" (Wir sind Bettler, hoc est verum).

Luther still said farewell to his two sons, Martin Luther Junior and Paul Luther. He is believed to have quoted from John 3:16 and Psalm 68. When asked by Dr. Justus Jonas and Master Michel Coelius whether he maintains his teachings, Luther answered clearly: "Yes!" Then, suffering from angina pectoris and all his other ailments, he got some more sleep, never to wake up again in this world.

At about 2.45 a.m. on the 18th of February 1546, Dr. Martin Luther passed away in Eisleben. The body of this great theologian and preacher, whose last service had been to make peace in his homeland Mansfeld, was laid out at Saint Andrew's right in front of the pulpit where he had held his last sermon three days earlier.

The next day, the corpse was brought back to Wittenberg where it was buried under the pulpit of the Palace Church, that place where Luther had announced his 95 thesis against indulgences on the 31st of October 1517, which

sparked off the Reformation. In the burial service Dr. Johannes Bugenhagen said: "Luther is a professor, a prophet and a reformer who was sent by God", and Master Philipp Melanchthon, Luther's loyal colleague and friend, added: "The chariot of Israel who led the church in this last day and age, has left" (based on 2 Kings 2: 12).

8. Conclusion

Although being old and frail, Martin Luther had seen it as his duty to undertake yet another tiresome journey to Eisleben, in order to resolve the conflict between the ruling counts of his homeland Mansfeld. In the course of three weeks of negotiations, he succeeded in reaching a peace-agreement with them. As a dedicated teacher and pastor, he also delivered four sermons to the congregation of Saint Andrews Eisleben during the length of his stay. Luther's harsh and often insulting language against the Jewish minority (and others) remains an ugly side of his legacy, endorsing discrimination and prejudice in his own days, and unwillingly stimulating death and destruction in later generations (e.g. Nazis like Heinrich Himmler often quoted from Luther). But his tireless mediation and preaching during his final days in Eisleben will be remembered as an impressive service of reconciliation.

FOOTNOTES:

- ¹ The Latinised version of Luder, namely Luther, was adopted when Martin registered as a student at the University of Erfurt in 1498/1499.
- ² Since 1946, the 400th anniversary of Luther's death, Eisleben is officially called Lutherstadt Eisleben (Eisleben City of Luther).
- ³ The names of the four counts during Luther's visits in 1545 and 1546 were: Gebhard, Philipp, Georg and Albrecht.

- ⁴ Martin Luther. "Predigt am 4. Sonntag nach Epiphaniä, in Eisleben gehalten. Evangelium auff den vierden Sonntag nach Epiphanie". 31. Januar 1546. In: Predigten des Jahres 1546, Nr. 5, pp. 148-163.
- ⁵ Ibid., p. 151 ("Türken, Jüden"; "Türken, Jüden und alle Heiden").
- ⁶ Ibid., p. 153. Luther is referring to the Old Testament, which he here calls the "first Gospel" ("diesem ersten Euangelio").
- ⁷ Ibid., p. 154.
- ⁸ Ibid, p. 155 ("unser gewisser grund und Trost wider alle des Teufels und der helle Pforten").
- ⁹ Ibid, p. 155-157.
- ¹⁰ Ibid, p. 161-162.
- ¹¹ Martin Luther. "Predigt auf das Fest der Opferung Christi im Tempel, in Eisleben gehalten. Die ander Predigt, auff das Fest der opferung Christi im Tempel. Evangelium, Luce II". 2. Februar 1546. In: Predigten des Jahres 1546, Nr. 6, pp. 163-173.
- ¹² Ibid, p. 164.
- ¹³ Ibid, p. 166.
- ¹⁴ Ibid, p. 167.
- ¹⁵ Ibid, p. 168.
- ¹⁶ Ibid, p. 169.
- ¹⁷ Ibid, p. 170.
- ¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 170-171.
- ¹⁹ Ibid, p. 172.
- ²⁰ Martin Luther. "Predigt am 5. Sonntag nach Epiphaniä, in Eisleben gehalten". Evangelium Mathei am XIII. 7. Februar 1546. In: Predigten des Jahres 1546, Nr. 7, pp. 173-187.
- ²¹ Ibid, p. 174-175.
- ²² Ibid, p. 175 (" ... Widerteuffer, Sacramentirer, Antinomer, und andere Rottengeister ... Jüden, Türcken, Spaniolen, dort mit des Papsts und andern Rotten ...")
- ²³ Ibid, 177.
- ²⁴ Ibid, 180-183.
- ²⁵ Ibid, 184 ("Sihe nur, das du herr bleibest in deinem regiment, wehre und steure du Prediger, Pfarrherr und Zuhörer, das sie nicht regieren oder herrschen die Ketzer und auffrhrische, als Münzer einer war ...").
- ²⁶ Ibid, p. 186.
- ²⁷ Martin Luther. "Predigt über Matth. 11,25ff. zu Eisleben gehalten".15. Februar 1546. In: Predigten des Jahres 1546, Nr. 8, pp. 187-194. The date could have also been the 14th of February 1546.

- ²⁸ Ibid, 188 (“... das Ey wil kluger sein denn die Henne ...”).
- ²⁹ Ibid, p. 193.
- ³⁰ Ibid, p. 194.
- ³¹ Ibid, p. 194 (“Du bist allein mein lieber Herr und Meister, ich bin dein Schüler, Das und viel mehr were von diesem Evangelio weiter zu sagen, Aber ich bin zu schwach, Wir wollens hie bey bleiben lassen.”).
- ³² Cf. Luther's terrible “hate-speech” booklets directed against the Jews in 1543, the most notorious being *About the Jews and their lies* (*Von den Jüden und Ihren Lügen*).
- ³³ Martin Luther, “Eine vermanung wider die Juden”. Appendix to: *Predigten des Jahres 1546*, Nr. 8, pp. 195-196. See also Heiko A. Obermann, *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil*, 1990, p. 294.
- ³⁴ Ibid, p. 195 (“... die Jüden im Lande, die da grossen schaden thun.”; “Sie sind unsere öffentliche Feinde ...”).
- ³⁵ Ibid, 196 (“... so sollen wir sie auch bey uns nicht dulden noch leiden. “).
- ³⁶ Luther seems to have moved from the house of Barthel Drachstedt near Saint Andrew's to a city palace (Stadtschloss) at the market place of Eisleben, which explains why Count Albrecht was with him. Cf. *Martin Luthers Sterbehaus*, Wikipedia the free encyclopaedia.
- ³⁷ Besides the cataract in one eye and angina pectoris, Luther was suffering from arthritis, fainting, tinnitus, Ménière's disease (a disorder of the inner ear) and vertigo (dizziness), as well as stones in the kidney and bladder. Cf. *Martin Luther*, Wikipedia the free encyclopaedia.

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Refugees: A historical act based on a Reformer's conviction. How Calvin dealt with the refugees in his time?

Rev. Berthalyna Boru Tarigan

1. Introduction

John Calvin (1509-1564) was a distinguished theologian among the church reformers of the 16th century. As a pioneer from the ranks of the second generation, he was the leader of the reformation in Geneva. Churches that followed the teachings of Calvin, expressed in his book entitled *Institutes of Christian Religion*,¹ spread all over the world. In Indonesia, churches of Calvinist tradition are among the largest.

2. The City of Geneva in the 16th Century

In 1535, Geneva had freed itself from the rule of the Bishop of Geneva and Savoy and took sides with the reformation movement. In a free and autonomous city, the administration was taken over by the city council. The city council took care of political matters and was also responsible for the life of the Church. The priests were expelled from the city. The council appointed pastors, such as William Farel, to help the government fix the ecclesial

life. In this context Calvin and his colleagues were to reform the church and the city, both inside and outside. To achieve such goals, the clergy implemented a very strong set of rules and oversaw the purity of the faith of the people through strict church discipline. Calvin struggled hard to give grounding to the reformed life-style, but this resulted in him being expelled from Geneva. He went to Strassburg for a few years, but consequently, through public support, was called back to Geneva in 1541. Under the guidance of Calvin, the city of Geneva became an international centre of the reformation movement as the theological, social and political views of Calvin were greatly admired in many countries. Protestant pilgrims from all over Europe gathered in Geneva. When they returned to their respective countries, they became Protestant missionaries.

Additionally, Calvin influenced international reforms through his personal relationships and correspondence with figures from evangelical movements in other European countries, especially France, England, Scotland and even Poland and Hungary. He provided advice and guidance to other local churches. Preachers, educated in Geneva, were sent to many places. Later, in 1559, education in Geneva was institutionalized in the Academy of Geneva. Through hard work, Calvin and his colleagues made the city of Geneva a center of the Reformation. In other words, the church in Geneva was an example and pattern for reform in other places. Calvin had an enormous influence in Geneva and beyond. Driven by moral

awareness and a strong sense of justice, he changed Geneva from "a notorious town" to a city that had strict moral rules governing the lives of all people.

3. Background of refugees in Geneva

The Reformation in France was rooted in the 1520's, but it was restrained by the French king. Among the nobility, though, there were evangelicals who supported and protected the reformers. Overall, the history of the French Protestant church is a story of persecution and humiliation. The evangelical churches there became known as churches "under the cross". Many of the Protestants fled from France to other countries in Europe, especially Geneva.

On 1 November 1533, Calvin was suspected of being involved in writing a speech for the new Rector of the University of Paris, Nicolas Cop. This speech was clearly inclined to Protestantism. Calvin was forced to quickly leave the city. And in 18 October 1534, there was the placard incident: a number of placards all around Paris attacked the Roman Catholic mass. In fact there was a sheet fastened at the door of the King's room. King Francis I was furious and launched an offensive against the evangelical party. In 1534, the Reformation movement in France was strictly prohibited. Calvin left Paris and settled in Strassburg. He was received warmly by Martin Bucer and ministered to a French refugees' church. He then went to Basel for a year-long stay to study and write. In middle of 1535,

he had completed the first edition of the *Institutes* of Christian Religion. As a result of the religious wars in France, the Geneva population had doubled within a few years following the influx of thousands of Protestant refugees.

Also, there were other refugees who came to Geneva from the United Kingdom because of the threat by Queen Mary Tudor, who hated Protestants. Her father, King Henry VIII, separated England from the Pope of the Catholic Church (1534) and created the Church of England (Latin: *Ecclesia Anglicana*, also called the Anglican Church) as the state church, where the king replaced the pope as head of the church. During the reigns of King Henry VIII and especially his successor King Edward VI, the Protestants were given the opportunity to make the Church of England become increasingly evangelical. But in the time of Edward's successor, Mary Tudor (1553-1558)², who was loyal to the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestants were persecuted and many fled to mainland Europe, particularly to Geneva.

In 1549, Geneva became a shelter for approximately 6,000 Protestant refugees from France, Scotland, England, and the Netherlands. Two of them, who later continued the work of Calvin, were John Knox and Theodore Beza.

The city of Geneva had difficulties coping with the increasing number of refugees as the need for food, clothing, shelter, schools, hospitals, etc. was urgent. Calvin developed a very steady system on diaconal ministry. In addition to elders and pastors (as overseers) and teachers (doctors), the diakonia was needed to carry out the service of love for those who were in a difficult situation in life. According to the Institutes of Christian Religion, there are two kinds of deacons: (1) the care of the treasury and (2) those who immerse in the community (a sort of ecclesiastical social worker).

4. Calvin Theological Status of Refugees

Calvin made Geneva a place of refuge (asylum) for exiles and a beacon of hope for the oppressed church. As a representative of the refugees, Calvin emphasized that the people of God were a displaced people. The Huguenots were refugees. Calvin said: "brothers are being chased, but the Holy Spirit is present everywhere and nothing can be safer than to make God the guardian and protector of our life." This is also of great importance with regards to predestination. Based on the understanding of Calvin, his followers first began to see Jews in another way. For centuries, Christians had viewed Jews as a people subject to the punishment of God, because they were constantly hunted and has no fixed residence. The fact that they were persecuted made it evident that God's wrath was directed at them. Now, Calvin and his followers had a similar experience: they were being chased across Europe and did not have a fixed residence. Based on that experience,

they realized that apparently those persecuted quite often are God's people. This realization led to change their view on Jews. The main criticism against the Jews was no longer acceptable. Calvin's sermon on 2 Samuel 5:4 motivated the refugees not to lose heart, just like David. David reigned for forty years, and his rule continued, constantly challenged, and caused division. Calvin saw the relevance of this passage in his own time. He said: We know that God rules. However, as far as the Lord Jesus Christ was hidden in Him, and His reign was hidden in this world, God's rule was considered unsuccessful, and rejected by most people. Therefore, let us not wonder that, although our Lord Jesus Christ was made king in the midst of mankind, not all men accepted Him.

Furthermore, Calvin taught to remain patient until the kingdom of God was set up perfectly. God will restore everything that is destroyed and straighten everything that is chaotic. Let us continue praying that God be willing to advance and build His Kingdom on earth. Let us submit ourselves to be governed by God. And that He will always be glorified in us, both in life and in death.

Calvin wanted the citizens to live within the limits specified by the Word of God. While they're still journeying in this world, they have already become citizens of heaven. Calvin's sermons and motivation for the refugees in Geneva, most of whom belonged to a persecuted minority, generated a theology of "the persecuted". In 1560, some

of these refugees published the Geneva Bible, it was the first English edition of the Bible that was printed successfully.

Calvin's theological understanding makes him the leader of the "refugee reformation". His correspondence with a large number of leaders throughout Europe, allowed him (as if with binoculars) to observe their situations, everywhere. In his study room the windows were wide open in all directions, as if it was his desire that his teaching spread everywhere. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that he remained deeply engrossed to his beloved homeland, France.

Since 1540, while he was in Geneva, Calvin directly influenced the Reformation in France. Through letters, preachers and shipment of books, he tried to be an encouragement to the persecuted church, while Geneva opened the door for those who were displaced. The churches of the Huguenots (Huguenot is a label for the French Protestants) were organized from Geneva. The first national synod in Paris (1559) received the confession of faith and order of the church, both fashioned by Calvin. The Protestant Church in France was patterned after Calvin.

Calvin stood in the middle of the world with his struggle and his teachings. Each time Calvin met with the new arrivals, he found an entrance to churches across Europe. On 7th May 1549, in one of his letters to Heinrich Bullinger, church leader in the city of Zurich, he wrote: if I had only paid attention to my own life and personal condition, I would have immediately gone to another place. However, I realized how important this small town at the end of the world is for the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ. I was trying to protect this city." One of his friends John Knox said: Calvin changed Geneva as "the most perfect school of Christ that ever existed on earth since the days of the apostles". Elsewhere, I admit that Christ is preached. But manners and religion that are really reformed, I have not seen elsewhere. This is the result of the strict discipline that Calvin instituted. To those who objected his discipline, he suggested that "they build a city where they could live according to their own will, because they do not want to live here under the yoke of Christ".

5. The meaning of the Geneva event for the Church Present

The Reformed Protestantism of Geneva, first of all in France, served as an example and as a sign of hope for those discriminated. Geneva was hailed as a stronghold for refugees who were persecuted for the truth of God's Word. Calvin taught that the Church must be totally aware that God sends it in the midst of the world. Church is not a society that is separate from the world. The church is

send in the world to declare the great works of God in the form of service to the world. The church should be inclusive, not limited to the confines of the church itself, but should reach out to anyone who needs a helping hand for the common good. Calvin wanted to strengthen the church to be a community that is changing the world.

Specifically, in terms of diaconal service that handles refugees, Calvin stated that the church is the mother of all the believers. Calvin agreed with church father Cyprianus, that "outside the church there is no salvation". It is therefore impossible for anyone to claim God as Father, if he/she does not acknowledge the Church as mother. For Calvin, the church in a real sense is the mother who fosters and nurtures her children in the faith, not something that can be seen and taken for granted. What can be seen is fellowship - fellowship of weak people who gather to listen to the Word of God preached by other weak people. The Church must be able to protect, as well as being the strength that builds-up life to be creative, progressive and constructive. In other words, the Church should face every problem in this world and directed it toward resolution in the light of Christ's love.

6. Closing

We need to realize that, during the time of Calvin, disease, poverty, distresses as well as suffering for one's faith were the realities that had to be confronted. Yet, the possibilities for changing this reality were not many. Calvin

solved some of these problems by building a steady diaconal organization. There is no apostolic church without a structures service of love (cf. Acts 6). In addition to the practical countermeasures, Calvin invited people to take advantage of the difficult circumstances as an opportunity to grow in faith. He does not say that distress and suffering is God's gift to the people of his choice. He does not glorify suffering nor propagate an attitude to be submissive to suffering. Behind it there is a belief that all suffering is not out of the control of God. The difficulties in life are not merely negative, but we should look for its positive meaning. The new man is born not passively but actively. It is expected of those who truly believe that they will transform themselves and become more like Christ.

Footnotes:

- ¹ Jean Calvin. *Institutio religionis christianae*, Basel, 1536. The Indonesian version, an abridged translation by Thomas van den End. Calvin, Yohanes: *Institutio*. Pengajaran Agama Kristen. Seri: Sumber-sumberSejarah Gereja Nomor 1, BPK GunungMulia, 1980.
- ² Mary Tudor was the oldest daughter of the first wife of Henry VIII, Katharina of Arragon. As a daughter of Spain, Katharina maintained strong Roman Catholic beliefs and passed them on to her daughter Mary Tudor.

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As they are chased out of their ancestral land: UCCP update on Indigenous People

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Lumad's Struggle : Our Land... Our life...

INTRODUCTION:

For more than a year now, the UCCP Haran Mission Center has sheltered around 700 Lumad or indigenous people who have sought sanctuary here in the Davao City. They have been displaced from their communities in Talaingod, Kapalong, San Fernando, and White Culaman in Davao, Bukidnon and Caraga Regions because of heavy militarization. The Lumads live in mineral rich areas coveted by foreign mining companies. There is massive militarization in these areas to protect foreign mining interests. Even as they are sheltered in UCCP Haran, a zone of peace, there are still threats to the Lumads' safety such as on basic food, education, environment but also their right to ancestral domain. Today, they form a large part of the *bakwit* (evacuees) who have had to leave their ancestral lands because of the militarization of the areas.

Our fellow LUMAD brothers and sisters sought help and refuge in our Church since 1994, the first of a series of internal displacement due to militarization that happened in the countryside's. Providing them sanctuary in our peace haven is a duty we embrace arising from our own UCCP Declaration of Principles, to wit:

"In accordance with the biblical understanding that all persons are created in the image of God, the Church affirms and upholds the inviolability of the rights of persons as reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights . . . and those that specifically to refugees, women, youth, children, minority groups and other persons who cannot safeguard their own rights." (Art II Sec 11, UCCP Constitution). "The United Church of Christ in the Philippines affirms its historic faith and its pastoral and prophetic witness in the life and culture of the Filipino people. The Church supports the people's aspiration for abundant life and holistic redemption from all forms of bondage, in accordance with the vision of the reign of God (Art II Sec 8, UCCP Constitution).

The UCCP also in its "Peacemaking: Our Ministry" statement noted that "Intensified military operations designed to eliminate insurgents have wrought havoc on the lives of our brothers and sisters in the countryside . . ."

This is why we have declared our churches and church facilities as sanctuaries and zones of peace.

Talking with the Lumad and Telling their Stories...

Listening with the Lumad's plight has been a daunting task to say the least. The complexity of their situation and its deep political and historical roots made it difficult to fully capture their story. Even while on the way to assist the Manilakbayan ng Mindanao or "Walk with the Lumad," the task of getting the issues right weighed heavily.

Datu Duloman's story...

The evacuations of 1,300 individuals started in 2014 because many violations have been committed by the military to the IP communities. We felt the military presence and even stayed in our houses. Our Salugpungan schools are being tagged as members of the New People's Army (NPAs) especially our teachers. In the year 1994, Salugpungan was formed. Our schools, being established by NGO was tagged as infiltrated by NPA and now it's being closed by the Department of Education (DepEd). As with many disasters we have experienced, children had not been spared. Aside from the closure of our schools, children have also had to cope with forceful removal. Now, we are forced to camp out in DepEd because we demand for the re-opening of schools.

Hamletting and harassments we have live through since late 1990s and up to the present, Human Rights Violations (HRVs) are still being done by 60th Infantry Battalion (IB) because many people were deprived to make livelihood. We are limited to work only 2 hours to go to the farm. Safety and security purposes are the main reasons why we seek refuge here in Haran.

Datu Kailo's story...

The detachment of military is near in my house. The truth is that I am not an NPA but a leader of the Salugpungan organization. Out of my fear, I complied to their demands as I have assured by the military that they will lower the charges or allegations against me if I will admit that I brought food for the NPA not knowing that this was taken as an added justification by the military for another new evidence of my alleged involvement with NPA because if I will tell the truth they will harassed me. If they charged me of being a carrier/ transporter of goods to the NPA,

hence, looked at my body? I am so slim and don't have the capacity to carry that load of sacks of food for NPA. In 2005, I was accused being the high ranking of NPA even when I conformed to their coercive approach. In fact, I am just around in the community doing things for us to survive with my family so that they will not be doubtful or suspicious. The 60th IB is still investigating this case till now.

That's why I am here because I am quite afraid because there are a lot of Lumads who were already been killed and I went here to protect myself from all this false accusation. Just recently, my wife already left there and she's here with me now. She pawned our motorcycle to have a fare in going here to UCCP Haran. As a leader, I have the right to say my stories because I am the one who is being violated here.

Teachers Stories: Rivers, mountains, arrests, harassments...

Amelia Pond is a motherly, soft-spoken senior citizen who, despite her age, still travels to communities we ourselves has a hard time reaching. But recently, three trained policemen dragging Amelia Pond from out of the cab she was riding, with the two Catholic nuns who were with her desperately trying to hold her back, demanding an explanation, but she was arrested and that Amelia Pond is innocent of the trumped up charges of murder and frustrated murder they have fabricated. She is still behind bars now, waiting for the slow wheels of Philippine justice to catch up with what everyone who knows her and have worked with her are certain that she must immediately be released.

Ronnie Garcia is the Director of the Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon Community Learning Centers that work mostly

among the Manobos of Talaingod. He is also a Mansaka tribe. Earlier this year, during the International Conference on Human Rights in the Philippines, we received a text that Sir Ronnie had been, for the better part of that morning, followed around by strange men and that his sister and even his father had actually been approached and asked questions by one of them. He and his family were at a hospital in Tagum to visit his ailing grandfather. At least three men made little effort to hide the fact that they were sticking close to, and watching Sir Ronnie's and his family's every move. One of them was spotted with a gun tucked in his waistband, and that was when he decided to slip away to Davao, where friends and supporters at the ICHRP were waiting for him.

Nowadays, it isn't just the challenges of topography and climate that place our teachers in peril – oh, if it were only that! It has become alarmingly commonplace for outright violence to threaten the wellbeing of community teachers like Sir Ronnie and Ma'am Amy, and we truly fear the day when images of teachers being menaced by military agents or arbitrarily arrested become as common, and as wanting for a resolution as ever, as that of the teacher who has to surmount the proverbial river crossing and mountain climbing.

ONGOING RESPONSES FROM DIFFERENT CHURCHES,NGOs & GOs THROUGH LUMADS HELP CAMPAIGN

H – Health

The health conditions of Lumads and peasants are affected by the loss of agricultural land and valuable herbs used in indigenous healing as a result of unabated logging, agribusiness expansion and also by military-induced displacement. This was compounded by the devastation left

by Typhoon Pablo in Southern Mindanao that destroyed crops. Most Lumads especially children suffer from malnutrition, hypertension, and pulmonary infections.

- DONATING medicines for these diseases.
- PROVIDING iodized salt, vitamins and clothing.
- JOINING medical missions and SHARING their medical skills
- ESTABLISHED health centers in the sanctuary area

E - Environment

Large-scale mining, agribusiness plantations, power utilities, big logging operations, have now denuded most of the arable lands and Lumad hunting grounds in the forestlands and rivers.

- DONATING seeds or seedlings (of hardwood varieties, or fruit trees like durian, native rambutan, mango, jackfruit and vegetables or food crops).
- ORGANIZING tree planting activities in critical watershed areas.

L - Literacy

The fight against illiteracy in the Lumad communities started in the mid-2000s where Lumad organizations under PASAKA put up formal community schools with the help of religious and interfaith institutions and MISFI. Education statistics show that nine of ten Lumad children have no access to education.

However, the schools and the community are constantly affected by military campaigns that find soldiers occupying schools and houses and putting surveillance on Lumads and teachers. This results to reduction of school-children and even displacement of communities. These

attacks on schools must be stopped, as the rights of communities and schoolchildren must be protected from these violations.

- SENDING Lumad children to formal and literacy school.
- SPONSORING community education programs.
- SPARING used/unused notebooks, pencils/ ballpens, pad papers, erasers, chalk, crayons, used clothing, etc.
- VOLUNTEERING as teachers in evacuation centers' make-shift classes.
- ADOPTING a Lumad student, teacher, or school.

P - Production

Long before environmentalism became mainstream, Lumads and peasants already practiced environmentally-sound farming techniques. But the onslaught of logging, mining and other destructive projects have threatened their food security.

- HELPING the Lumads increase food production.
- DONATING farm tools such as bolo, lagaraw, guna, bairan/limbas, corn/rice mills etc.
- SHARING skills on agriculture and BEING INVOLVED in food production

Hidden away

These are the stories that are frequently forgotten in favor of the politics surrounding it. Military officials said they were tasked to protect the communities from the New People's Army, but the deployment of military and para-military forces in the area were seen as troops supporting the mining and logging operations threatening the Lumad's ancestral land.

It's about two years now that they are here in UCCP HARAN sanctuary, Rev. Sonia Parera Hummel- UEM Asia Secretary asked members of the Lumad and their advocates if any steps have been taken to get the government moving. Lumad voices laced with weariness that came from frequent disappointment and resentment for the slow progress of their demands and that there's a queer feeling that as if they were hidden away like a "trash" but Jomorito Goaynon, another Lumad spokesperson, said he's still hopeful that with the new President who hails from Davao their problems would be resolved in the near future.

A lack of empathy

But for those who want to understand the tragic situation of the Lumads, the first step is to understand the historical context of their struggle. While it is true that thousands of soldiers and policemen and combatants have been the casualties of these wars, it should also be understood that it is the Indigenous People "the Lumads" civilians who have suffered the most in terms of being killed or being displaced.

Rather than just being a political case, the Lumad's story is essentially a human one and the response to this should be to feel some degree of empathy. However, in what is perhaps a greater tragedy, many have labelled the Lumad as rabble-rousers and some even claim that their situation is the result of a "tribal war." It is frustrating and dispiriting to read or hear these comments because it betrays a lack of unity in feeling for our fellow Filipinos. The Lumad's case seems to be one of many wherein we have become our own worst enemies by turning our backs on

the country's marginalized communities.

Maybe this is because many have not had the opportunity to hear the Lumad's accounts firsthand. News reports and social media are rarely ever enough to get a full understanding of the human aspect of the issue. This is why UCCP hope to reach those who still think the Lumad's suffering is merely for show or a tool to incite an armed struggle: We are inviting you to walk with the Lumad to see and hear their stories, because their pain is a real and human one, and they deserve your empathy and action.

**“...You give them something to eat” –
Credit Union Service in GKJTU
(Effort to declare the identity and give
meaning to Reformation)**

Rev. Petrus Sugito & Rev. Debora Suparni

The Reformation Traces of GKJTU

The Christian Church from the North Central Java (GKJTU) declares itself as Calvinist-Reformatory Church. It is not only reformed, but also it is a church that has the characteristics of German Pietism of XVII Century and Contextual.¹ The reformatory pattern is an option that is based on the heritage that were scattered. The reformatory church grew and developed geographically thousands of kilometers away from the beginnings of the Reformation Movement of Martin Luther and Yohanes Calvin. The socio-cultural context is certainly very different.

What are the traces of the reformatory GKJTU? The Grand Strategic Planning of GKJTU, based on the result of GKJTU Pastors meeting on November 18th -19th, 2002, mentioned the style of Calvinism in terms of (a) The church governmental system that has pattern of presbyterial-sinodal, (b) the simple liturgy and worship room, toga is worn only for certain services, (c) The theology of universal priesthood of believers and (d) The use of the Heidelberg Catechism.²

In terms of teachings as guided by the spirit of contextualization, this church during the Synod Assembly XXVII in 2008 has decided the Heidelberg Catechism Supplement teaching documents will be the basis of the GKJTU Teachings about Culture, Religious Pluralism and the Diversity of the Church, Politics, Economy as well as Science and Technology.³

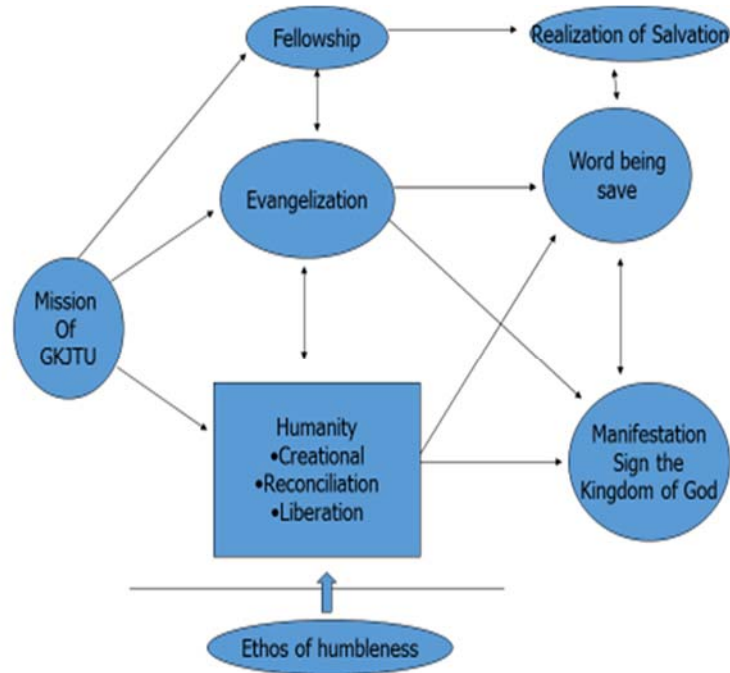
Embody the Spirit of Reformation

The Reformed Church motto that has become the common knowledge is *ecclesia reformata semper reformanda als*. This motto is the statement of the spirit of reformation, to do endless renewal. So, what is the essence of renewal? Renewal is spirit and action to change the situation to be better, free from the shackles of ignorance (lack of knowledge), poverty, and injustice.

The fruit of reformation is the empowerment of non-theologian church members to promote equality between clergy and laity. It is the consequence of the dogma of the universal priesthood of believers; the core of that dogma is that the access of interpreting the Bible is not only the authority of theologians but also for the members of the church in general. In addition, the calling of the church are more widely understood. Ecclesiastical calling is not only for the theological profession;

The spirit of reformation has pushed GKJTU to rethink about its mission as a church. In 2009, it has redefined the mission concept holistically.⁴ The diagram below is a description of that integral mission.

The missions diagram can be explained as follows:



1. GKJTU as the church has missions/the calling duties in the world and for the world. The whole and comprehensive missions of GKJTU are to make the realization of God's salvation in creation through the world individually, socially, spiritually and materially. The implementation of those missions can be broken down into three main calling namely, duties, communion, evangelization (testimony) and humanity (service/diaconal).
2. The calling duty of fellowship is done to achieve the Salvation from Jesus Christ which is also the foundation and starting point of the fellowship of believers.
3. The calling duty of evangelization is done as the main mandate from Jesus Christ to share the good news. God's salvation that is done in the name of Jesus has the purpose to save the world which is to fulfill the church's testimony.
4. The calling duty of humanity (service or diaconal) is to

bring God's love to the world to do creation mission, salvation mission, and reconciliation mission.

- a. Creation mission is created to protect and "to restore" the broken creation.
 - b. Salvation mission, to set free human beings from the chains of suffering, injustice, oppression, etc.
 - c. Reconciliation mission or peaceful mission is for the church to become the means to reconcile people in conflict as the fulfilment of God's peace through Jesus Christ.
5. All missions must be done by the church as they are mentioned above, based on selfless (honest) service. These missions are performed by observing the servant ethos (manner) through the Employer's duties, and by the examples demonstrated by Jesus Christ.

The three church duties: fellowship mission, evangelization mission and humanity mission on the above diagram are drawn by the arrow signs which connect one from the other. It means that those three missions are done all together, keeping pace with one another. One should not consider one mission to be more important than others. Those three must be performed together, and supporting one another.

Referring to the document of the concept and mission strategy of GKJTU, one of the society fields of life in the mission arena is in economic field. The document states that the general Indonesian economy is still highly dependent on foreign companies which increasingly destroy the natural resources of our country (Supplement of Heidelberg Catechism, question 64). (In addition, Indonesian economy is characterized by the fact that the financial circle in big cities is faster and far more than rural areas and small towns.) The business opportunities in the cities are more open, but the competition in business world is also more stringent, the economic inequality is sharper and the poverty is worse. But unfortunately, those business opportunities are still underutilized by the members of GKJTU.

Especially in the suburbs, farmlands are diminished because it is converted to residences, factories, buildings, resorts and golf courses. Residents who still have lands also tend to leave work as farmers and preferred jobs in the service sectors, both in the suburbs and villages, because everywhere, employments in the service and trade sectors are more profitable than a job in real sector, especially in agriculture. Rural communities often have difficulties responding to the challenges of free markets.

The church deals with the view that economic problems are not worthy to be discussed in the church as a spiritual institution, which may be helpful to help the church to be financially self-reliant. The self-reliance of the church fund is also hindered by the spoiled mentality which prefers to receive rather than to give or share. In this case, we also need to realize that 70% of the GKJTU congregations are in rural areas and the members of GKJTU come from the middle and lower class, with 70% of the members are in agriculture, 30% are teachers, civil servants, factory workers, etc.

GKJTU is called upon to carry out its mission for God's salvation to work in the economic field, both individually and socially, spiritually as well as materially. Economy is renewed by empowering the society and fighting for economic self-reliance for every strata of society that is also environmentally friendly. As a rural church, the mission of GKJTU since Reijer de Boer is to focus on the field of agricultural economy.⁵

To participate in the salvation work of God in the field of economy, GKJTU holds general economic coaching and training, co-operation economic training, land management training and environmentally friendly farming training for the church members as well as for the society in general. These trainings are organized based on the Supplement of Heidelberg Catechism on the economic part (questions 48-55). In order to realize the fund self-reliance for the congregation, classis and synod of

GKJTU hold the economic trainings for the church members.

Furthermore, GKJTU initiates to establish various types of co-operation and networking of producers and consumers so that rural communities can be more advantaged in marketing their agricultural products and urban communities can get better quality of agricultural products with cheaper price. The church members' (congregation) economy is built with various church self-reliant projects. As a result, the church members (congregation) are empowered to fund the evangelistic efforts and the society economic improvement program become the living testimony of evangelization.

Share Good News: Grace and Faith in Action

As a reformed church in the context of plural society, it has responsibility to be an inclusive church. The reformatory church realizes its duty to do empowerment and mobilization of social-economic reformation with the target of wider community. The socio-economy empowering projects are used as a bridge to carry out meetings among interfaith religious members. It aims to mobilize the church and the community to be increasingly powerful and independent. Since 2012, Yayasan Sion – Diaconal Foundation which establishment was initiated by GKJTU has been introducing the Community Empowerment Approach with the method of Church and Community Mobilization Process (CCMP). CCM is a specific form of church involvement, in which the church and the community work together, within CCM there are also multiple forms.⁶ Churches worldwide are driven by a joint vision, common values and the same scripture. This shared faith encourages us to work towards poverty reduction and justice. So it is not about the institution of the church but about the values of the churches. In the CCM process the church will share its vision with the local community, they talk together with the community about the problems and together they asses the needs. The church and the community discuss what they can do and how they can take action. They do this by using their own local resources and networks and by

building on existing structures and groups. If the local church is (1) the starting point and (2) engaged on value level, (3) it cooperates with other groups, (4) does needs assessment together, and (5) takes action with local resources in order to (6) solve the local needs we call these approaches CCM. The impact of CCM on the community is: changed mind-set leading to lifestyle changes, hope and sense of empowerment, sustainable change in livelihoods: agriculture, health, water & education, improved unity between groups, awareness of their own resources and the capacity to use them, improved relations between individuals, particularly between men and women.

The theme “you give them something to eat”, is manifested in a variety of inclusive community development projects. The general overview of the projects in this article is sharing our success story and it is expected to be a media to do knowledge management.

- The background of Credit Union (CU) service in GKJTU

Many poverty alleviation programs only focus on the abilities of poor people to fulfill their needs, and do not look for ways to improve. The expectations to alleviate poverty through programs are not met because it did not solve the real problem. Poverty can be overcome when the programs are directed to empower the poor. It says that “Dig a hole, close a hole” indicates what poor cannot avoid to do to meet their needs of food, clothing, shelter, education, and health (added by instant and consumerism culture, dependence to other parties). The poor condition get worse when self-reliance (self-help), togetherness, and solidarity gradually disappear. These conditions become the trigger of the emergence of the GKJTU Credit Union Program. Through Credit Union, the process of overcoming poverty and community self-reliance are gradually accomplished, because it prioritizes the three (3) key pillars: Education, Solidarity and Self-Reliance.

- Education helps the members understand the role, rights and obligations as members of the credit union so that they are wiser in managing both their family finance and

the business finance, know and understand financial report as well as the development of the credit union. It clearly states in a famous motto: start with education, develop through education, and control by education.

- Solidarity helps how each member of credit union pays attention to the common interest rather than self-interest and serve one another.
- Self-reliance makes the program support/fund itself. To make it happen, the members should strive to make their cooperation bigger and more accountable. It is done by depositing to the Credit Union regularly and as much as possible avoid saving money to another financial institution.

Currently, there are 26 assisted groups of GKJTU in Credit Union with approximately 1.500 people, of which 75% are Moslems and 25% are Christian. Credit Union is as a means for the members to learn from each other, mutual trust, and mutual respect and help each other. Besides opening the opportunities for the groups to finance itself independently in serving its members, both in the form of savings and loans, it also improves personal relationships that are prone from conflicts.

- How does Credit Union contribute in developing an inclusive society?

Seeing from the principle of Credit Union" from, by and for the community", it really contributes in building the society that is empowered and inclusive. What we understand with inclusive community, is taking the opinions of the experts to promote social integration, that inclusive society is a society that overrides differences of race, gender, class, generation, and geography, and ensures inclusion, equality of opportunity as well as capability of all members of the society to determine an agreed set of social institutions that govern social interaction.⁷ Through Credit Union, various basic principles that are applied include open and voluntary memberships that have opened opportunities to all who are willing to be responsible members

regardless of gender, religion, race, social status and educational background. Non-discriminative service means that the principle "from, by and for the members" is truly upheld and every member has the same rights and obligations to avail of the service, to control, and save for their future.

- Sharing the success story; Credit Union is not only to reform social-economy, but also to reform the exclusive view into inclusive.

Credit Union group of "Dewi Sri" Kemasan Village, Berbah Sub-district, Bantul Regency – Yogyakarta, which was established after the earthquake in May 2006 when the collapsed buildings/houses in that village reached 95%, because there were 110 families, only 2 undamaged houses were left. The economic condition was paralyzed because the rice fields, as well as business tools could not be used anymore. Within 3 months after the disaster, Yayasan Sion approached the women to set up self-help groups that consisted of 26 women, and collected their savings with the amount of Rp. 123.000, which was successfully lent to a family that had bread business, Mrs. Sutini. With that loan, this bread business was able to produce again, even as time goes by, this time Mrs. Sutini has recruited 17 women employees from her village, and her business now has successfully entered the markets outside Yogyakarta. Now, Mrs. Sutini already has a good house and cars to expand her business, her children who could not continue their studies can now continue.

Dewi Sri Group won the first winner in a competition in DIY Yogyakarta level in 2012 for "Good Management" and also the first winner of the initiator of Food Sovereignty and Endurance in the area of Sleman – Yogyakarta Regency. Currently, the total members of Credit Union are 149 with assets of Rp. 150 million.

Dewi Sri Credit Union Group – Kemasan – Sleman Regency also has become the bridge of interfaith peace among the religious members in Kemasan village – Berbah Sub-district – Sleman

Regency. There were tensions between Moslems and Christians in the area, even a destruction of a Christian church. The intensive assistance to Credit Union "Dewi Sri" has helped to break the tensions and conflicts between religions, this time, there is harmony by the building of a mosque and a church in that area. Christians in that area are now comfortable to worship and can openly show their identity as Christians.

This success story also occurs on the slope of Mount Merbabu, where Credit Union Group "Sido Dadi" in Tawang Orchard – Tajuk Village, Getasan Sub-District, has become a bond of religious harmony in the religions conflict-prone areas. The presence of Credit Union group enhances the capacity of women in managing their family finance, and it can be seen from the interview of beneficiaries, they feel happy because their wives are beautiful and smart. The presence of this Credit Union group, has improved their lives, as proven by their celebration of religious holidays. For example on Christmas day, all of the committee that are involved in organizing Christmas celebration are Moslems, they also sing Christmas songs together. On the other hand, during the feast of Eid, Christians take charge as the committee to organize the celebration. In 2010 Tawang village was known as the dirtiest and the worst village, but in 2013, this village was awarded as the cleanest village in Getasan sub-district.

Closing Remarks: A Reflection

What is the meaning of *ecclesia reformata semper reformanda* in the moment of the 500th anniversary of the 16th-century Lutheran Reformation marks the action of Martin Luther in publishing his 95 Theses on 31 October 1517? Rev. Dr. Olav Fykse Tveit – WCC General Secretary, speaking at the Peterskirche, the University Church of Heidelberg, on 27 October, said the Reformation can only be commemorated properly if the remembrance is done in a modus of mutual accountability.⁸ He said that "mutual accountability is exercised when we are asking and answering each other in a transparent, open, humble, and constructive way what we have done with our common legacy

as churches, the Gospel and the One Tradition of the Church. Mutual accountability involves dialogue about how we deal with the differences and divisions that have developed and how we are stewards of this legacy. We need to ask, too, how we are mutually accountable to the values and learnings that we affirm and share together and how we, therefore, engage each other in finding the way forward together. We must show that we are accountable, reliable, and honest. In all of this, we are mutually accountable to how the Gospel is shared so that those to whom the Gospel is addressed can receive it as the word of liberation, transformation, and hope that the Holy Scripture brings to the church and the world in every generation and in every context."

Sharing good news in action means intensifying the realization of the words of God that liberate, transform and give hope. Give them something to eat is an action that actualizes the words of God as the "word of liberation, transformation, and hope that the Holy Scripture brings to the church and the world in every generation and in every context."

Footnotes:

- ¹ The article 55 of Synod Assembly XXVI in 2003 on GKJTU Theological Pattern: "The assembly affirmed that GKJTU Theological Pattern is influenced by Calvinism, German Pietism of XVII century and contextualization. It is recognized that Yohanes Calvin, German Pietism of XVII century that was pioneered by Rev. Philipp Jacob Spener was in a one red line series of church reformation. Therefore, GKJTU is a church that has theological patterned of Reformatory Church. "
- ² Grand Strategic Plan of GKJTU 2003-2028.
- ³ Article 36 37th General Synod Assembly of GKJTU 2008.
- ⁴ Document of the concept and the strategy of GKJTU mission's: An Effort to strenghten itself undergoing the contextual integral mission.
- ⁵ Dr. Christian Gossweller: Mission in the history of GKJTU under theme, Mission during time of Reijer de Boer (1869-1891).
- ⁶ Umoja facilitator's guide book, TEAR Fund – UK.
- ⁷ Expert Group Meeting on Promoting Social Integration Helsinki (July 2008), p. 8

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Lent Fasting in Christian Tradition and Critics of Huldrych Zwingli

Dr. Jozef M.N. Hehanussa

Fasting is generally understood as abstaining from food and drink. Muslims add abstaining from sex and bad behavior in their fast practice. On the one hand, fasting has become part of religious tradition. Fast can be found in all religious tradition. On the other hand, fasting has been practice in relation to spiritual growth. In Indonesia some people, especially Javanese people, fast when they facing a problem (see 2 Sam. 12:16). Some Javanese parents fast during examination days of their children. They said that through fasting they take part in the situation faced by their children and support them. This type of fast can be categorized into spiritual growth.

The Old Testament recorded practice of fasting by the Israeli. Fasting first mentioned in the book of Leviticus, in which fasting was related to atonement day, especially Sabbath (Lev. 16:29,31). During fasting the Israeli should not work. Another story related the fast of Israeli with the death of King Saul and his son Jonathan (1 Sam. 31:13; 2

Sam. 1:12). The prophet Isaiah introduced another type of fast not concerning food and drink, but related to doing justice for others (Isa. 58:6). In the New Testament when the book of Matthew talked about fast it was putted in the context of Jewish tradition. Jesus himself practice fasting when the Gospel reported that he fasted for forty days and forty nights. It is reported that the twelve disciples of Jesus did not fast (Matt 9:14), although as Jews they used to fast. The presence of Jesus became the reason why the disciples did not fast (Matt 9:15).¹ Based on this argumentation some Christians interpreted that fast is not part of Christian tradition. Is it true that Christianity does not teach about or practice fast or is it true that fasting is not part of Christian tradition?

I start with an argument that fast has become part of Christian tradition since early Christianity. This tradition, in particular Lent fasting, was practiced by Christians until the time of church reformation. That is why one of Zwingli's critics was related to tradition of Lent fasting in Christianity. Zwingli's critics against Lent fasting especially related to the rule of food. This critics of Zwingli will become main concern in this paper.

This paper will discuss fasting in the Christian tradition and how this tradition influence Christians' life. First, in this paper I will focus on the growth of fast in Christian tradition. Secondly, I will discuss tradition of Lent practice in Christianity until the time of reformation, in particular its criteria to fast. Thirdly, critics of Zwingli, the reformer of Zurich, against fasting practice will be discussed. Fourthly, I will discuss practice of fast among Indonesian Christians and how relevance of Zwingli's critics for Christians in Indonesia in practicing fast.

Historical Background of Lent Fasting in Christian Tradition

The first record in the New Testament which directly related to life of early Christianity can be found in the book of Acts. The book of Acts which described community life of Jesus' followers reported practice of fast among the community. According to Acts 13:2 while those community are praying and fasting the Holy Spirit ask them to send Barnabas and Paul (Saul) to spread the God's word. Paul and Barnabas also do the same thing, praying and fasting, during their ministry in Lystra, Iconium and Antioch (Acts 14:21-23). They were praying and fasting before they appointed elders for each church there. Fasting, therefore, in this context is related more to election of people who take responsibility in the church. Fasting is as important as praying before someone take important decision for the church in the early years of Christianity.

Didache, as an early Christian document which according to some of the Fathers, like Eusebius and Athanasius, has been used by early Christians next to Holy Scripture, has mentioned fast as part of Christian practices. In chapter 7 of Didache it was said that someone who will be baptized should fast first. Fasting for he or she who will be baptized should have be done one or two days before the ritual. Another rule concerning time for fast according to Didache (chapter 8) is that the believers should not fast like the hypocrites. The hypocrites fast on the second (Monday) and fifth (Thursday) days of the week, while the believers fast on the fourth (Wednesday) and sixth days (Friday). There is, however, reason for this

time rule. There is also advice to fast concerning persecution (Didache chapter 1). Thus, Didache as an early document connected fasting more with baptism, not with penitence, especially in the preparation for Easter (lent tradition).

Relation between baptism and fasting was still found during the fourth century. Everett Ferguson noted that preparation for baptism was not only about preparatory lecture and listening to instruction on the creed, but also including fasting, penitence and confession. The preparation was done in 40 days before Easter.² Church in Carthago, for example, during Tertullian's time (155-240) related baptism and fasting. Tertullian asked the person who will be baptized to pray, fast, kneel, watch and confess their previous sins before baptism. Tertullian differed between fasting before baptism and fasting as an exorcistic measure.³ Justin Martyr did the same with his congregation as well. The candidates should fast and pray to ask for forgiveness for their past sins, since they should already begin to live their faith. Justin, therefore, instruct only older children and adult to be baptized.⁴

We can notice here that fasting in early Christianity, as noted by some church fathers and early church documents as well, was done in relation to Easter fest. Before Christian celebrated Easter they have to fast and pray. Fasting and praying before Easter was a time of preparation and remission of sins. In this time Baptism will also take part and before baptism those who will be baptized should fast. This baptism usually will be done on the Saturday before Easter to emphasize the importance of fasting before Easter. During the third century people will fast for 6 days before Easter. The aim of this fasting, namely as mystical unity with Christ, is stressed.⁵

Fasting is practiced not only by baptism candidates, but also by people in general. This type of fasting is called communal fasting.⁶ Irenaeus looked at it as a common Christian identity. This type of fasting has been practiced since first century⁷ and was put in relation to Easter. It was also understood as type of asceticism life style. This ascetic life was clearly seen through the development of monastic communities in the fourth century. In the ascetic life two important elements are fasting and celibate. Therefore, ascetic life style is known also as the life of virgins, as described by Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria. Of course fasting was the central element. Event fasting was regarded as the way to paradise.⁸ The fourth century ascetic life style was not about fasting only, but also sexual absence (celibacy). Those monastic communities can be found not only in deserts and other remote areas, but also in major urban centers.⁹ Scholar suggested that this tradition may be rooted in Greek-speaking Jewish-Christian community of the early second century, as can be observed through the life of church in Alexandria of the late second or early third century. In Irenaeus letter to Victor, bishop of Rome, it was described that one day before Easter that properly celebrated on the Sunday some Christians fasted. Fasting, as well as celibacy and vigils, as elements of asceticism was considered as both important practice, especially as spiritual exercise, and part of repentance and prayer. Therefore, through those practices people prepared themselves for special events or to do difficult task.¹⁰

Fasting Practice in the Lent Tradition

In the 4th century duration of fasting was developed. People were fasting for about 40 days.¹¹ The tradition of 40 days fasting was known as Lent. In the early Christianity

the practice of Lent was known through Greek word '*tessarakoste*' (fortieth) or in Latin '*quadragesima*' (fortieth day). Although historians noted that Christians have practiced Lent as early as Christianity, as continuation of Jesus' teaching by his disciples, Lent has not become a formal liturgy of Christianity. The tradition was practice by Christians especially when Christianity became an official religion in the Roman Empire during the reign of Constantine. Irenaeus and Tertullian have mentioned the Lent fasting in their writings. Athanasius of Alexandria has recommended his Christians to fast for 40 days before Holy Week, the last week before Easter. It was the council of Nicea (325) which decided a fixed date to celebrate Easter. In the council of Nicea the 40 days preparatory fast before Easter was established.¹² This liturgical calendar started on Ash Wednesday until six weeks later before Easter Sunday. The 40 days fasting refers to Jesus' fasting in the desert after he was baptized (Matt. 4:1-11; Luke 4:1-12). The Lent fasting haven been widely practice since the 5th century.¹³

The council of Nicea dated Easter based on full moons calendar. Easter, then, was scheduling as the first Sunday after the first Ecclesiastical Full Moon, namely after March 20th. Therefore, Easter for Western churches will be celebrated between March 22nd and April 25th. The Eastern Orthodox Church will celebrate Easter after the Western Easter, because the Eastern Church do not use Gregorian calendar as used by Western Churches, but Julian calendar. Julian calendar was used to schedule Easter for the first time. There are also other reasons for this difference of Easter Fest.¹⁴

During the Lent fasting people are supposed to fast from their favorite food. For that reason, people usually enjoy their food before the Lenten fast in which they cannot eat such food. Even before the Lent people still have chance to do silly things and have time for recreation. There is also another name to call the day before Lent, namely Mardi Gras (Mardi means Tuesday and Gras means fat - from French words). The day is called Mardi Gras because this is the last chance for people to eat all the buttery and greasy foods which could not be eaten during Lent fasting. Some people consume their eggs, milk and butter by cooking a lot of pancakes or crepes before Lent. People, therefore, call this day as 'Pancake Day'.¹⁵

An important element of Lent which loss in Christians practice today during Easter fest is asking forgiveness. In the night before Lent begin people will attend a special service in church which through a special liturgy people will confess their sin. During the service they will hear readings which remind them to do well and endeavor to purify their souls. After they heard the readings, people, then, will bow one into another to ask for forgiveness for their wrong doing in the past year.¹⁶ People tend to give more emphasis on fasting, since fasting was a hallmark of the Lent practice in the early Christianity. Therefore, Christians identified fasting with Lent, besides fasting for the purpose of baptism and almsgiving. Fasting duration in the Lent practice, however, is generally contrasted to fasting before Christmas (40 days), fasting related to the Dormition of the Theotokos or mother of Christ (15 days) and fasting related to the feast of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Duration of the last fasting started from the Sunday after Pentecost until the vigil of the saint's feast day [June 29th].¹⁷

Possibly, Christian practice of Lent fasting in the early practice of 40 days fasting duplicated Jewish practice of fasting, especially the prohibition of meat.¹⁸ In Jewish fasting practice those who fast did not eat meat and drink before the evening comes. In the evening they still cannot eat meat, only eggs and certain kind of herbs. Butter cannot be eaten during Lent period as well. Christians in early Church also stopped fast when the sun set and eat no meat and all food which derived flesh, as well as fish, and drink only water. The rule has change over time.¹⁹ Some church leaders gave a dispensation according to situation and climates. In the 10th century of England and France, for example, people were permitted to eat food made of milk. Butter have been used for the sake of need of oil, and later cheese can also be eaten. Concerning Lent fasting, however, Zwingli said that selection of foods among Christians were more onerous than among Jews. Since, Jews fast and have no certain foods just in certain periods, except the Passover, but Christians fast and abstain from certain foods for long seasons. Possibly, Christians fast more than Jews.²⁰

In early Christian practice of Lent fasting Christians were encouraged to have no food for 24 hours and only eat one or two meals during Holy Week. In fact, it is not easy to fast in 40 days.²¹ According to Irenaeus there were different rules of discipline ad practice concerning fast before Easter, especially about the number of fasting days. Christians, therefore, followed those different rules. Some fasted only one day, others some days, and had no food for 40 days. However, church fathers of the fourth century, as Aurelius Ambrosius and Gregory of Nazianzus, stated that Lent fasting had to be 40 days. The emphasis of such strict rule is indeed Christians are supposed to eat less than their usual meal, especially eat meat or foods

which considered rich foods.²² Catholic church made another option that people can eat only one meal a day during fasting time. They can eat it only in the evening. They should not eat meat and drink wine, as those have been forbidden since early church. In the medieval era people did not eat only meat, but also other foods like eggs, butter, cheese and milk. Those foods are considered rich foods and bring indulgences. They can still eat fish, since fish is not considered meat. Those rules, however, can be broken for the sake of money. When people for example want to eat butter then they will give money to the church, since such act is allowed by the church. For Christians of Eastern Orthodox Church, they should not only eat meat from mammals, birds and fish, but also drink milk, eat eggs and other dairy products as well, and consume olive oil and wine. Those foods are considered as rich food and can be part of almsgiving.²³

Fasting Controversy and Zwingli's Critics Against Fasting

Protestants tend to look at Lent practice as a primitive tradition. They did not admit it as part of Christian teachings or ordinances which in the early church became an ecclesiastical law.²⁴ There was no obligation to celebrate days before Easter with fasting. People have a free choice to fast as long as they think that it is proper. Specific fasting, however, can be done as an obligation for particular purpose. Since some Christians relate fasting with effort to benefit of justification, reformer like Luther tended to regard fasting as merit. Luther, however, thought that fasting is still needed for spiritual life of believers, especially concerning discipline of flesh. Luther thought that

fasting is not only a matter of food or choosing certain days. Those who fasting in a such way "not fasting at all but rather a mockery of fasting and of God".²⁵ According to Luther, those who want to fast can choose freely when and how long they want to fast, and food which he will not eat. They should not fast according to what church leaders had ever commanded it.²⁶ Fasting, therefore, can still be practiced by Christians, but Luther tried to give a middle way for fasting, when one group think on fasting as an obligatory tradition, while another think that Christians have a free will to fast or not. Among reformed churches word 'adiaphora' (Greek) to call church traditions of Roman Catholic Church which is not obligated to be practiced by reformed churches. These are traditions which are not instructed and prohibited by the Bible. This word was first used by Philip Melanchthon in Diet of Augsburg in 1530. Fasting is among this adiapora. Calvinists are stricter that all traditions which not taught by the Bible should not be practiced.²⁷ Nevertheless, Calvin himself did not forbid people to fast, since he put fasting as important as praying.²⁸

In reformation era the Roman Catholic Church has fixed the regulation of fast and was strict to it.²⁹ The church used the civil authorities to enforce this rule. Christians were allowed to eat once a day only. They should not eat meat, and all products from animals, like milk, butter, cheese, and eggs. Only fish or shellfish and other animal which live in water, like otters, beavers and certain water fowls, except wild duck or wild goose, man can eat. Drinks which had been allowed were water, wine, beer, coffee, tea, lemonade. These drinks were regarded can relieve their thirst. They were not allowed to drink milk and soup. Zurich Reformer, Huldrych (Ulrich) Zwingli, re-

fused to strictly obey this regulation, both Lent fast and food regulation. He found that those regulations were lack of Biblical foundation. Thus, he came to conclusion that as long as any practice is lack of Biblical support it should not become an obligation. Some members of his congregations followed him by eating meat during fasting.

Zwingli's critics against fasting practice is known as 'Lent controversy' or 'The Affair of the Sausages'. It happened in one evening during the Lent of 1522.³⁰ Zwingli was in a meeting together with the printer Froschauer and other men, including other two priests, Leo Jud and Laurence Keller. As the host Froschauer asked his wife to prepare a dinner for the guests. Since fish was expensive, he asked his wife to buy meat for the dinner. His wife, then, provided sausages for the guests. Zwingli refused to eat it, while other guests, including Jud and Keller, enjoy the food without forbidden by Zwingli. Some people regarded Zwingli's attitude as his respect to others. Since the controversy has become public and critics was raised against Zwingli, on March 29, 1522, Zwingli preached to defend his friends and his position. In his preaching he quoted many bible passages related with food as basic of his critics as response to the controversy. Zwingli put Jesus' permission to his disciples to break Sabbath practice, in particular the statement that "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath" in parallel with Lent practice. He said:³¹

"Here you see that all things are intended for men or for the service of men, not for their oppression, yes, the Apostles themselves are for men, not men for the Apostles. ... Then as far as time is concerned, the need and use of all food are free, so that whatever food our daily necessity requires, we may use at all times and on all days, for time shall be subject to us."

Zwingli was very critical towards Lent practice. He, however never reject fasting as part of Christian tradition or never people to fast during Lent period. Zwingli's objection is people fast just for show. Zwingli said that fasting should be understood as a good work in which fasting "ought to be done simply for the purpose of hearing of the voice and bidding of the Spirit."³² In his perspective, when people practice fasting just as show it means that they measure all things just using their own criteria, not God's criteria. Zwingli only wanted that this tradition will not be so imperiously. Man has free will to practice it. It is even possible for him / her to continue fasting after Lent, when he / she want to do it.³³ Zwingli emphasized indeed Christians freedom to take part in Church tradition like Lent fasting, without being bound by the existing regulations. Church or church leaders could not enforce church members to follow those regulations. Zwingli's idea of man's freedom was influenced by Luther's writing '*Von der Freiheit eines Christmenschein*'.³⁴

Zwingli's critics was against food regulation during Lent fasting. His argument was based on Mark 7:15: "Nothing outside a person can defile them by going into them. Rather, it is what comes out of a person that defiles them." Zwingli said: "If he had said 'no food,' he would have left out the category of drinks; if he had said 'no drink,' he would have left out that of food. Therefore, it pleased him who is the Truth to say 'nothing.' Then he added 'cannot even defile.'"³⁵ Zwingli solemnly said:³⁶

"... we wish to be free, not to burden our consciences with that. e.g., if pope or council commands us, at risk of mortal sin, to fast, or to eat no egg, no butter, no meat, which God has not ordered us to do, Luc. x. 7; Col. ii. 16, 21, but is permitted and made voluntary,

therefore we will not believe that such and other ordinances decreed by the councils are decreed by the Holy Ghost, and to be respected equally with the Gospel. How does it happen that they wish to order us to eat no cheese, no eggs, no milk, but stinking oil, with which they scarcely oil their shoes at Rome, and otherwise eat chickens and capons? But if one says it is thus written in the canons and decreed by the fathers, I say it is written otherwise in Paul, and Christ has given another and easier law. Now do we owe more obedience to God or the Holy Ghost, or to human beings? Acts v. 32."

Zwingli emphasized his argument by making a choice whether food or money is more necessary for man.³⁷ Food in his perspective is more necessary and important than money. If man think that money is more useful than food, then he / she will die in hunger with his / her money. Man need food, because food preserve his/ her life. There is no food good or bad in itself. It becomes bad, when man use it without measure and not in faith. Zwingli gave more focus on Christ's teaching than teaching of church fathers or church canons. In his perspective Christ gives us easier teachings or regulations to be his followers or Christian than those by church fathers or canons. His critics is, actually, against church leader, particularly pope at Rome. He found that church leaders at the time was tyrannical. Therefore, they brought this Church to a wrong and errable way.

Zwingli put faithfulness to God's will in His Word than to Church decree or canons. He made a clear distinction between doctrines created by man and God's word and put authority of those doctrines in a low level. Thus, in his opinion man decision to practice church tradition, in particular fasting, should not be based on church doctrine itself but on God's will or God's Word. He reminded Chris-

tians:³⁸

" Let no man therefore judge you in and meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holiday, or of a new moon, or of the Sabbath days. Which are a shadow of things to come," etc. Col. ii. 16 ff. God wants from us His decree, His will alone, not our opinion. God the Lord cares more for obedience to His word (although they use the word "obedience " for human obedience) than for all our sacrifices and self-created church usages, as we have it in all the divine writings of the prophets, twelve apostles and saints. The greatest and correct honor to show to God is to obey His word, to live according to His will, not according to our ordinances and best opinion."

There are nine points in Zwingli's arguments against fasting tradition. Each point of arguments is based on the Bible verses.³⁹ [1] As long as man eat in moderation and thankfulness, man can eat all kind of food (Matt 15:17). [2] Man cannot make distinction among food, whether it is clean or not, can be eaten or not, since God has cleaned all (Acts 10:10-15). [3] Man has right to decided which food he / she will eat without losing his freedom under someone's authority (1 Cor. 6:12). [4] No food which man eat or not will bring she / he close to God or make her / his life less or more worthy before God (1 Cor. 8:8). It is, therefore, strange, when certain foods were forbidden. [5] Man are free to buy and eat anything sold in the meat market without asking whether this action is morally right or wrong (1 Cor. 10:25). "But do not let yourself err." [6] No one can judge others whether he / she is good or bad from his / her food or drink, since they eat to satisfy their needs of life (Col. 2:16). Those who eat should not eat however with immoderation or greediness. [7] Foods which has been forbidden in the Old Testament has been made free in the New Testament. Thus, man will not be

evil just because food which he / she eat. Those who prohibit man to eat certain food are inspired however by the devil (1 Tim. 4:1-3). [8] Any food is clean or not depend on someone's belief firmly on God's words. If someone believe that those foods will not defile him / her, they remain clean (Titus 1:15). [9] Man should respect and trust the Gospel as the good news of the grace of God and depend on it more than on any other doctrine (Heb. 13:9). Similarly, man should not be strengthened by following rules about food, whether to eat or abstain from it.

The Scriptures in Zwingli's opinion are doctrine for all Christians. Therefore, concerning eating food during fasting time, no Christian can deny this doctrine. Those who force people to accept rule of the food are not Christian, because they deny the Christian doctrine. Finally, it should be cleared that Zwingli still respect fasting tradition, but it should not be imposed upon Christians. His arguments in fact do not mean that he banned or did not allow Christians to fast or to fast just by following their own desires. Immoderation and greediness are two key words to understand his arguments rules of food and man's freedom. If someone believe that the Holy Spirit urges him / her to fast, he / she can fast as often as the Holy Spirit persuade him / her. For those who are idle and want to satisfy themselves always with their favorite foods, they should fast often and abstain from such foods.⁴⁰

Fasting Practice among Indonesian Protestants

Zwingli's attitude is general portrait of reformer's attitude towards fasting practice, in particular Lent fasting. Like Zwingli, church reformers refused to practice or continue church practices, including fasting, which regarded as practices of Roman Catholic Church than as Christians practices in general. However, they never banned fasting practice, but Christians are allowed to practice it as a free choice. They did not include fasting practice as part of their teaching. When Protestantism was spread to Indonesia, missionaries did not teach people to fast. Wherefore fast do not become practice of Protestants in Indonesia. Indonesian Protestants even for a long time do not know what is Lent practice. When I taught my first year students about Zwingli and Lent controversy, I asked them if they know about Lent practice. Their answers showed that majority of them did not know about it. However, as I mentioned in the beginning of this paper, many people have practiced fasting freely with different reasons.

Reformata, a National Christian Tabloid, informed that church members of the Indonesian Presbyterian Church, Congregation of Antioch, fast every Friday, when in the coming Sunday Holy Communion will be celebrated. The church celebrates Holy Communion twice a month. Purpose of this fasting is as a training of spiritual self-control. Some members of the *Huria Kristen Batak Protestan* (HKBP) also have a fasting tradition personally to have self-control and to love God and neighbors.⁴¹ However, there is tendency that fasting become superstition, or what called by Calvin as a sign of humiliation, since some people fast not as a spiritual practice, but to get their will.

Gerrit Singgih noted that many Indonesian Protestants fasted after received an appeal letter from the Director

General for Guidance of the Christian Community (*Dirjen Bimas Kristen*) in 1997.⁴² The Director General asked Christian to fast to celebrate Good Friday and Easter. This appeal letter was related to violence or riots which experienced by many Indonesia churches. Such thinking is similar with Calvin's opinion about fasting. According to Calvin when religious controversy, pestilence, war, and famine happen, as sign of the divine anger, church pastors may ask people to do public fasting and extraordinary prayer.⁴³ Fasting is understood here as repentance.

Nowadays many Protestant churches in Indonesia have a special worship to celebrate Ash Wednesday as the beginning of Lent time. However, I found that those who took part in this worship did not really the meaning of the worship yet. It is shown through their attitude after the worship. There is a part of liturgy of Ash Wednesday in which all worshipers will receive cross sign from ashes in their foreheads. After the worship many of them will take a picture of the sign and post it in their Facebook, Twitter or other social medias. The church usually will also remind church members that it will be better if during this Lent time they can fast. For those who cannot fast, they can change their eating habit. If they used to follow their desire in which they eat what make them lustful, it is better if during this Lent time they can eat in moderation. However, after the worship many church members posted photos when they were eating lustful foods in restaurant. These conditions showed that on the one side, this is portrait of people in the era of social media. On the other side, they do not really live up the meaning and purpose of this tradition yet. People took part in the church tradition, but the tradition was celebrated just for show as criticized by Zwingli.

Protestant churches in Indonesia until today do not have, indeed, church rule about fasting or formal regulation about Lent practice. Even for centuries Protestant churches in Indonesia never celebrates Ash Wednesday. It is different compare to the Catholic Church in Indonesia. Based on Canon Law of the Catholic Church, in particular number 1249-1253 about 'Days of Penance', The Indonesian Bishops Conference has made fasting regulation for Catholics in Indonesia.⁴⁴ The Catholic Church in Indonesia distinguish between fast and abstinence. Abstinence is an obligatory for Catholics aged 14 years and above, while fast is an obligatory for Catholics between 18 and 60 years old. Fast means that people are allowed to eat only once a day during the fasting period. They are free to choose whether they want to have breakfast, lunch or dinner. What's important is they eat only once a day and have self-control. They are expected to eat in moderation and thankfulness. Abstinence means that people can choose not to eat meat or fish, or to use salt in their food, or snack or smoke. Nevertheless, people can make their choice for abstinence without feeling stressed. During Lent time people may fast every Friday or every day if according to their own choice.

Catholic rules about fasting today is not as strict as in the era of Zwingli and other reformers. These rules have similarity with the idea of Zwingli about fasting. Today we can learn from Zwingli, if we want to take part in fasting practice. First, people have freedom to practice fasting, since fasting, like praying, is a personal relationship between man and God. This idea has its basic more on Calvin teaching of fasting, in which Calvin look at fasting as important as praying. We should not fast just because people around us are fasting. Nevertheless, we should not be angry to others if they do not fast. Secondly, fasting

should not be limited to Lent time or 40 days before Easter only. People can fast any time as long as they can fast, since fasting is a spiritual practice to bring man nearer to God. Through fasting people learn about self-control and have result in repentance. Thirdly, although people are free to fast, it is better if they have time to practice fasting, when they cannot be free from the things that please them, in particular lustful food. Fourthly, fasting is not a matter of not eating certain food only, or absent from certain things, but also to eat and absent from something with thankfulness. Therefore, as Zwingli said, we can eat all kind of food during fasting time as long as we eat them in thankfulness. Fifthly, we eat once a day or absent from something during fasting time not because we follow fasting rule, but because we learn to have self-control and live not in greediness. Therefore, although Zwingli permitted people to eat all kinds of food during fasting time, he also asked people to abstain from certain food, like he asked rich man not to eat meat, but fish during Lent fasting. Sixthly, fasting should not be a show, but a form of living up God's word and will in human life. Zwingli stressed important point of fasting, that fasting should be based on God's word, not on human will. Wherefore, church should remind people that fasting is not only an anamnesis of Christ's suffering, but also through fasting they take part in the experience of Christ's suffering and to glorify him.

Footnotes:

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- ² Everett Ferguson. s.v. "Catechesis, Catechumenate." *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*.

- New York & London: Routledge, 1999, 224.
- 3 Henry Ansgar Kelly. *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama*. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock Publisher, 2004, 106.
 - 4 Steven A. McKinion, "Baptism in the Patristic Writings." In *Believer's Baptism: Sign of the New Covenant in Christ*, edited by Thomas R. Schreiner & Shawn D. Wright. Nashville, Tennessee: B&H Publishing, 2006, [267-304] 276.
 - 5 Lynne M. Baab. *Fasting: Spiritual Freedom Beyond Our Appetites*. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2006, 54.
 - 6 Richard Finn Op. *Asceticism in The Graeco-Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 59-60.
 - 7 C.f. Samuel Rubenson. s.v "Ascetism: Christian Perspectives." *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*. Vol. I: A-L. Chicago & London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000, 93.
 - 8 Ulrich Bener. "Epicurus' Role in Controversies on Asceticism in European Religious History." In *Asceticism and Its Critics: Historical Accounts and Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Oliver Freiberger. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, [43-60] 44-45.
 - 9 Eric Orlin (ed.). *Routledge Encyclopedia of Ancient Mediterranean Religions*. s.v. "Asceticism." New York: Routledge, 2016, 96.
 - 10 Samuel Rubenson. s.v "Ascetism." 93.
 - 11 C.f. Daniel J. Sahas. s.v. "Lent." *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*. New York & London: Routledge, 1999, 673.
 - 12 Mary Birmingham. *Word and Worship Workbook for Year A: For Ministry in Initiation, Preaching, Religious Education and Formation*. New York: Paulist Press, 1999, 131-132.
 - 13 Amy Hackney Blackwell. *Lent, Yom Kippur, and other Atonement days*. New York, Chelsea House Publisher, 2009, 5-8.
 - 14 Amy Hackney Blackwell. *Lent, Yom Kippur, and other Atonement days*. 8-9.
 - 15 Amy Hackney Blackwell. *Lent, Yom Kippur, and other Atonement days*. 10.
 - 16 Amy Hackney Blackwell. *Lent, Yom Kippur, and other Atonement days*. 12.
 - 17 Daniel J. Sahas. s.v. "Lent." 673; c.f. Michael D. Peterson. s.v. "Fasting: Eastern Christian." *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*. Vol. I: A-L. Chicago & London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000, 468.
 - 18 Alban Butler. *The Moveable Feasts, Fasts, and Other Annual Observances of the Catholic Church*. London: C. Kiernan, Fullwoods-Rents, 1774, 144.
 - 19 Alban Butler. *The Moveable Feasts, Fasts, and Other Annual Observances of the Catholic Church*. 146-147.
 - 20 Samuel Macauley Jackson (ed.). *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531): The Reformer of German Switzerland*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1901, 17.
 - 21 Alban Butler. *The Moveable Feasts, Fasts, and Other Annual Observances of the Catholic Church*. 190-193.

- ²² Amy Hackney Blackwell. Lent, Yom Kippur, and other Atonement days. 20.
- ²³ Michael D. Peterson. s.v. "Fasting: Eastern Christian." 468-469.
- ²⁴ Alban Butler. *The Moveable Feasts, Fasts, and Other Annual Observances of the Catholic Church*. 119-122; 133-134.
- ²⁵ Martin Luther. *A Treatise on Good Works*. Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 2005, 47.
- ²⁶ Martin Luther. *A Treatise on Good Works*. 47.
- ²⁷ F.D. Wellem. *Kamus Sejarah Gereja*. Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 2006, 3-4.
- ²⁸ Jean Calvin. *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Translated by Henry Beveridge. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2008, 820.
- ²⁹ Samuel Macauley Jackson (ed.). *The Latin Works and The Correspondence of Huldreich Zwingli Together with Selections from his German Works: Volume One 1510-1522*. New York & London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1912, 70.
- ³⁰ Jean Rilliet. *Zwingli: Third Man of the Reformation*. London: Lutterworth Press, 1964, 67-70; Peter Opitz. *Ulrich Zwingli: Prophet, Ketzer, Pionier des Protestantismus*. Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2015, 25-29.
- ³¹ Samuel Macauley Jackson (ed.). *The Latin Works and The Correspondence of Huldreich Zwingli Together with Selections from his German Works: Volume One 1510-1522*. 82-83.
- ³² Ulrich Zwingli. *Commentary on True and False Religion*. Edited by Samuel M. Jackson and Clarence N. Heller. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2015, 104; Samuel Macauley Jackson (ed.). *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli*. 18-19.
- ³³ Samuel Macauley Jackson (ed.). *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli*. 19.
- ³⁴ Peter Opitz. *Ulrich Zwingli: Prophet, Ketzer, Pionier des Protestantismus*. 26.
- ³⁵ Samuel Macauley Jackson (ed.). *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli*. 19-20.
- ³⁶ Samuel Macauley Jackson (ed.). *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli*. 84-85.
- ³⁷ Samuel Macauley Jackson (ed.). *The Latin Works and The Correspondence of Huldreich Zwingli Together with Selections from his German Works: Volume One 1510-1522*. 79-80.
- ³⁸ Samuel Macauley Jackson (ed.). *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli*. 96.
- ³⁹ Samuel Macauley Jackson (ed.). *The Latin Works and The Correspondence of Huldreich Zwingli Together with Selections from his German Works: Volume One 1510-1522*. 73-79.
- ⁴⁰ Samuel Macauley Jackson (ed.). *The Latin Works and The Correspondence of Huldreich Zwingli Together with Selections from his German Works: Volume One 1510-1522*. 80, 87; c.f. Jean Rilliet. *Zwingli: Third Man of the Reformation*. 69.

- ⁴¹ Paul Makugor. "Puasa, Sarana Menodong Tuhan?" *Reformata*, Vol. 69, Year V (16-31 Oktober 2007), 3.
- ⁴² E.G Singgih. *Iman dan Politik dalam Era Reformasi di Indonesia*. Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 2000, 201.
- ⁴³ Jean Calvin. *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. 819.
- ⁴⁴ C.f. Stefanus Tay and Ingrid Listiati. "Berpuasa dan Berpantang Menurut Gereja Katolik." *Katolisitas.org*. <http://www.katolisitas.org/berpuasa-dan-berpantang-menurut-gereja-katolik/>, last accessed: 24-10-2016.

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**“I would still plant my apple tree” –
A meditation during the Eukumindo:
Tree-Planting-Ceremony in Wittenberg**

Rev. Sonia Parera-Hummel

Isaiah 11: 1

A shoot will come up from the stump of Jesse; from his roots a branch will bear fruit.

Dear Sisters and Brothers in Christ,

In many cultures in the world specifically in Asia, there is a tradition of “tree planting”. Special rite of tree planting is done when a baby is born or when a person is about to die.

Thus, it became one of the best practices of our village’ local culture. Then and now, everybody plants trees. For example, our elders knew exactly that they were as old as either the mango, durian or jackfruit trees in front of their houses because their fathers have planted those trees the very day they saw the light of the world. Moreover, they will repeat the same act of planting trees the moment they feel like facing death soon. In their lifetime, they might also have planted several trees for their new-born children. At present, many of the residents of Ambon city be-

lieved that this 'ceremonial tree planting' is the reason why our village became the source of water catering to most of the city's population.

Significant tradition such as this is slowly diminishing. The generation of today does not practice this rite as rigid as their ancestors in their respective native land many years ago. Therefore, it is slowly forgotten. Most of us are not planting trees anymore when our dearest children are born and several people would not plant trees when they are nearing death, too. Pity!

Today's special occasion dubbed as 'Green Revolution' became extra special because you came here not just to grace this momentous event but also to take part in our tree planting activity. Together we are going to plant 500 trees.

In my desire to create a great impact to everyone present here, I have chosen the text from the prophecy of prophet Isaiah 11:1 "A shoot will come up from the stump of Jesse; from his roots a branch will bear fruit" coupled with the optimistic and visionary statement of Dr. Martin Luther *Wenn ich wüsste, dass morgen der jüngste Tag wäre, würde ich heute noch ein Apfelbäumchen pflanzen.* "Even if I knew that tomorrow the world would end, I would still plant my apple tree today." From these, we can reflect about the 'sense of urgency' of planting trees now.

My Dear Sisters and Brothers,

We are living in a world, where people try to take as much as they possibly can from others, from the nature and even worst from God. In many occasions, you can easily agree that nowadays men's' prayers are charged with requests and demands and asking for instant answers but with less or empty of thankfulness.

I am pretty sure that even in some part of Indonesia and elsewhere in Asia there are persons, who never planted any single tree, rather they already have cut down thousands of trees which were planted by others or grown by God.

Most of our forests are denuded now due to the greediness of human beings who do not know the meaning of "enough".

Recently, the culture of 'death' is replacing the biblical culture of 'life' which was well understood and practiced by our elders through different pro-life cultural rites in the past. We have to learn from them. It's about time to change our lifestyles. Don't you think?

"A shoot will come up from the stump of Jesse". A life will be born out of death. "Even if I knew that tomorrow the world would go to pieces, I would still plant my apple tree".

In the midst of a dominating culture of death which is evident in the form of greediness, terrorism, human trafficking, deforestation, environmental destruction and others, the church itself has a calling to preach the gospel of life. We all have to be responsible as stewards of God's creation. We are called to act accordingly in different simple forms like what we are doing at the moment.

May the trees we plant today, will have another 14 partner trees in our campuses in Indonesia and Malaysia.

And when our time comes to face the Creator, we must not want to be buried in a big plot or to demand a monument to be erected for us. For actually those plots could still be used by our children and grandchildren.

On the contrary, let us plant trees beforehand or make a testament that on top of our simple graves our children shall plant trees that can give shelter and life for the generations after us.

Hopefully, when our time in this world come to an end, a new life, a new tree, a new shoot will sprout for the generation after us.

Then, the prophecy of Isaiah and the optimism of Martin Luther would materialize through our sincere commitments. Amen.

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