

# DENNOM TIL VILLIE SOM LATINEN ICKE VEL KUNDE FORSTAA:



Translating as an act of confessionalisation in Niels Hanssøn Saxild's Danish translation of Hans Olufsen Slangerup's *In obitum Friderici II Oratio Funebri*

By Anders Kirk Borggaard\*

*This article explores how Niels Hanssøn Saxild translated Hans Olufsen Slangerup's Latin oration on the death of King Frederik II into Danish for the benefit of a readership outside the academic environment. Inspired by Marianne Pade's identification of a "confessionalised" translation practice influenced by the educational ideals of the protestant Reformation, it is argued that Saxild produced a translation that was not only confessionalised but also confessionalising, as it aimed at providing his readers with easily adoptable lessons on Lutheran theology.*

## Introduction

On 10 June 1588, five days after the state funeral of King Frederik II of Denmark-Norway had been celebrated in Roskilde Cathedral, the professor of theology Hans Olufsen Slangerup delivered a Latin funerary oration on the life and reign of the deceased king at a special service held at the University of Copenhagen. The oration was delivered in the morning – the professor of medicine, Anders Clausen, delivered another oration on the king's death in the afternoon – and later the same day, the manuscript from which Slangerup had read was rushed to the renowned Copenhagen-based printer Lorentz Benedicht for immediate publication. Ten days later, on 20 June, the printing of the *In obitum Serenissimi et Potentissimi Danicæ et Norvegiæ Regis Friderici II. Oratio Funebri* was completed.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Details on the service held at the University are shared by Slangerup himself within the oration (Slangerup 1588, fol. I3r), whereas information on the oration's hasty publication is recorded by Niels Hanssøn Saxild in the preface to his translation of the work (Saxild 1589,

The oration almost immediately attracted the attention of readers outside the academic circles of the university, and this led to a popular demand for it to be translated into Danish. By the late sixteenth century, funeral sermons in the vernacular had become popular with the nobility and the bourgeoisie throughout much of Lutheran Northern Europe. Sermons were published as markers of cultural identity and social status, and printed sermons were collected and read as sources of moral and religious edification by the Lutheran upper classes.<sup>2</sup> As such, it is not surprising that an oration on the pious, illustrious, and exemplary king Frederik II written by a university professor attracted the attention of a wider readership.<sup>3</sup> Slangstrup, however, rejected the requests for a translation into the vernacular. He was eventually approached by the 27-year-old Niels Hanssøn Saxild, most likely a student of his, who asked for permission to then attempt a translation of the work himself “dennon til villie som Latinen icke vel kunde forstaa”, that is, to the benefit of those unable to properly understand the Latin text.<sup>4</sup> Slangstrup finally agreed, but only, Saxild tells us, “on the condition that I should translate and render it word for word just as the Latin reads in and by itself.”<sup>5</sup> Saxild accepted the terms, and his translation, *Oratio Funebris, Det er: En kaart oc sørgelig Tale*, left the printing house of Mads Vingaard the following year.

### Translating in a Reformation context

In this article, I will discuss how Saxild approached the task of translating Slangstrup’s academic oration for a readership that, although used to reading erudite and moralising sermons in the vernacular, were far removed from the learned environment and, not least, from the learned discourse of the university. In the preface to his translation, Saxild claims to have translated

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fol. (:ijiv). On both works, see also Velleu 2019, 20–21. The funeral celebration in Roskilde and the circumstances surrounding it are treated in Hiort-Lorenzen 1912.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Jacobsen 2015 and Jacobsen 2019, esp. pp. 104–121. On the edifying function, see Amundsen 2015. Marianne Pade has presented a brief overview of the Latin funeral oration in Denmark in Pade 1987.

<sup>3</sup> Two vernacular sermons were also published around the same time as Slangstrup’s Latin oration: a German sermon which had been delivered at the funeral in Roskilde by the court preacher Christoffer Knoff (LN 1001) and a Danish sermon by Anders Sørensen Vedel originally delivered in Ribe Cathedral on the day of the funeral (LN 1612). On the large number of sermons given in and outside the kingdom, as well as the number of minor works produced for the occasion, see Karker 1965. A copy of Slangstrup’s Latin oration evidently made its way into the library of the noble Ulfeldt family as one of the copies now at the Royal Library in Copenhagen (LN 1497 8° copy 1) bears the owner’s signature of *Laurentius Wlffeldius* (Laurids Ulfeldt, 1605–1659).

<sup>4</sup> Saxild 1589, fol. (:ijr). Unless otherwise stated, all translations of Danish and Latin quotations are my own.

<sup>5</sup> “Dog met Saadanne vilkaar / at ieg skulde Ord fra Ord lige som Latinen Lyder i sig selff / hende transferere oc udsette.” Saxild 1589, fol. (:ijr).

the work “word for word”, as per Slangerup’s instructions, without adding to or subtracting from the professor’s oration.<sup>6</sup> His use of the technical phrase *Ord fra Ord*, a literal translation of the Latin term *verbum e verbo* from Classical and Renaissance translation theory, suggests that he aimed at reproducing Slangerup’s work slavishly and to the word while distancing himself from the idea of rendering its meaning more freely into Danish with a translation *ad sensum*.<sup>7</sup> However, while comparing the translation to the Latin original, I noticed that Saxild occasionally expands on topics in Slangerup’s text by including extra details or even entire new paragraphs that seem to add additional layers of meaning to his vernacular version. Rather than being violations of the faithful translation requested by Slangerup, or the result of an undisclosed desire for a freer sense-for-sense translation, I will argue that such additions may be regarded as Saxild’s attempts at making his vernacular readers aware of the more complex moral and theological lessons that he believed to be contained, albeit implicitly, within Slangerup’s oration, concealed as they were in the words, phrases, and topics that the professor had used in the presence of a learned audience.

The inspiration for this approach comes from one of Marianne Pade’s most recent articles, which I had the great pleasure of reading prior to its publication. In her article “Melanchthon and Thucydides: The reception of the *Peloponnesian War* in a Reformation context”, Pade argues that Philipp Melanchthon translated the often very difficult Greek of the *Peloponnesian War* into a more easily comprehensible Latin, in effect producing what she calls a “confessionalised” translation of Thucydides’ work. By comparing Melanchthon’s translation of Thucydides to Lorenzo Valla’s translation from 1452, Pade convincingly demonstrates how Melanchthon avoided the ornate and stylistically complex Latin used by Valla and popular among Italian humanists, opting instead for a style that favoured clarity, simplicity, and ease of understanding in accordance with the educational ideals of the protestant movement.<sup>8</sup>

Proper education was generally regarded as a key tool in the spread and development of the Lutheran Reformation.<sup>9</sup> To ensure its long-term success,

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<sup>6</sup> “Er hun derfor i Sandhed effter Doctor Hansis samtycke verteret Ord fra Ord som Latinen Lyder / intet er der taget fra / oc intet tillagt”, Saxild 1589, fol. (:):ijv.

<sup>7</sup> On the concepts of *ad verbum* and *ad sensum* translations, and their reception in the Renaissance, see Hosington 2014; Bassnett 2014; Pade 2018.

<sup>8</sup> Pade 2020, 47–62.

<sup>9</sup> On the Lutheran view on education, see Witte 2002, 262–267. A testament to the importance places on education is of course the implementation of the Melanchthonian system in universities, gymnasia, and grammar schools. See e.g. Ludolphy 1984, 316–336; Smolinsky 1987, 25–26. Grane 1987 presents an overview of the Melanchthonian influence on the academic developments in both Wittenberg and Copenhagen.

people would have to be thoroughly confessionalised – i.e. educated in and made to conform to the teachings of Lutheranism, thus becoming part of a distinct religious community<sup>10</sup> – and this applied to commoners and noblemen as well as to the teachers and priests, who were responsible for instructing the former. As Pade points out, Melanchthon always tried to make learning as easy as possible. In his *Elementa Rhetorices* (1531 with later editions), he had introduced a fourth rhetorical genre, the *genus didascalicum*, which was particularly aimed at instructing an audience and leading them towards a deeper understanding of difficult subjects. The key to this was clarity as the main stylistic ideal along with a simple and easy-to-follow mode of argumentation, as the goal was to provide the audience with knowledge that could be put to use at a later time. To this end, Melanchthon had previously advocated the use of commonplaces, which he praised as being able to unfold complicated topics in a way that would be easy to remember and to reproduce.<sup>11</sup>

As Pade’s investigations show, Melanchthon translated Thucydides in accordance with these ideals, simplifying the language and syntax of his Latin version and aiding his readers by transforming difficult passages into simple and instructive maxims.<sup>12</sup> What caught my attention, however, was how the pedagogical translation strategy that Pade identifies connects to what Melanchthon sees as one of the great uses of the didascalie genre: instructing people in religious dogmas from the pulpit of the church. As people needed to be thoroughly instructed in the dogmas of the new confession if they were to subsequently apply these to their own lives and become good Lutherans, it was necessary to guide them through difficult passages of scripture and draw out the central points along the way.<sup>13</sup> This task naturally fell to the preachers, and as Pade points out, Melanchthon had given them clear instructions on how to do this in his previous work *On the duties of the preacher (De officiis concionatoris)*, 1529; first printed edition 1533). Here, Melanchthon explains how a preacher lecturing on Scripture should

at all costs avoid exaggerated subtlety that tends to cloud the understanding of the people and leads to endless argument. He should therefore read out the subject to the people in words with unequivocal

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<sup>10</sup> On the concept of confessionalisation, see e.g. Lotz-Heumann 2013; Kaufmann 2006. See also the discussion in Ramminger 2020 on the “weak theory of confessionalisation.”

<sup>11</sup> Pade 2020, 48–50. On the *genus didascalicum*, see also Leiner 2012. See also Ramminger 2020 for examples of the popularity of this ideal within protestant circles.

<sup>12</sup> Pade 2020, 50–53, 55–57.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Lotz-Heumann 2013, 34–35.

and specific meaning, repeat it often and drill it into them so that they grasp what it is about [...]<sup>14</sup>

Comparing this *modus predicandi* to Melanchthon's confessionalised translation practice, we can see how he advocates that preachers in effect 'translate' the figurative language of Scripture into a more concrete language that the congregation could better understand. Similar ideals were also promoted by Melanchthon's followers, among these the Danish theologian Niels Hemmingsen, as has been pointed out by Johann Ramminger.<sup>15</sup> This advice taps into what would also have been a more immediate need for translation. Religious instruction had to take place in the language of the people for it to be effective, something which Martin Luther had understood right from the start. Priests and teachers would therefore have to reproduce what they had been taught in Latin in the learned environment of the university, in the less cultivated vernacular of their congregation and in a form more suited to an audience with more basic levels of educations.<sup>16</sup>

In the following pages, I will explore how this pedagogical, or in the words of Pade, confessionalised view on translating shaped the way in which Saxild translated Slangstrup's oration into the vernacular of his readership. I will present three examples that each illustrate different techniques that Saxild uses to bring out the meaning of a particular passage as well as to provide an easily adoptable theological lesson. As I will argue, by reproducing difficult passages in a simpler language and thus 'drilling into' his readers what they were all about, Saxild produced not only a confessionalised, but also a *confessionalising* translation capable of transmitting complex lessons on faith and social theology to a less educated audience more used to openly devotional literature.

### Explaining moral philosophy through the example of sin

The first example comes from Slangstrup's catalogue of the individual virtues that he believed in one way or other had characterised Frederik's reign. Among virtues such as having strengthened defensive works, supported the poor, and preserved the purity of the Gospel through proper education(!), Slangstrup includes a maxim-like passage on the king's sense of justice and mercy:

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<sup>14</sup> Quoted from Pade 2020, 49.

<sup>15</sup> Ramminger 2020, 159–160.

<sup>16</sup> Ludolph 1984, 422; Galle 2012. The lack of priests with a Lutheran education during the first decades of the Reformation led to the distribution of vernacular handbooks containing pre-written sermons on a variety of Biblical lessons. See e.g. Haemig & Kolb 2008, 119–123. A Danish example is the *Postils* of Hans Tausen.

Erat quoque in hoc Rege, quoddam temperamentum seueritatis atque clementiæ, vt nunquam à iusticia misericordiam nec vnquam à misericordia iusticiam remitteret [...]<sup>17</sup>

The king also possessed a particular temper which combined severity and mildness, so that he never released mercy from the reins of justice, nor justice from the reins of mercy.

A common topic in princely panegyrics, Slangstrup in a few words sums up how Frederik had balanced the need to punish with the desire to pardon, neatly structuring his statement around the concept of the Golden Mean. This philosophical ideal would have been well-known to an audience familiar with classical moral philosophy, and it would therefore have been easy for them to grasp the full meaning of Slangstrup's praise and commit it to memory. What he meant was not that Frederik had never been strict nor lenient, as the text might at first glance suggest, but rather that the king had always been able to tell when he needed to be severe, and when he could allow himself to show mercy.<sup>18</sup> To someone outside the circles of higher education, however, this may not have been so obvious. Since the essence of the phrase lay hidden not in the individual words nor in the meaning that they produced, but in the associations made by a culturally defined audience, Saxild was thus faced with the task of reproducing what modern translation theory has described as culturally untranslatable.<sup>19</sup> Turning now to his translation of this brief yet meaningful passage, we can observe how therefore he expands it slightly in order to help his readers grasp what might otherwise have been outside their sphere of reference, and thus guides them towards the right culturally defined interpretation of the passage:

Denne gode Herre / viste oc vel besynderlige at moderere sig / saa at hans Kongelige Maiestat tempererede Strenghed / met Naade oc Mildhed / der til ocsaa / icke vaar saa mild / at hans Naade / io wdi groffue Synder oc Laster / som giengse ere iblandt Menniken / oc aff huilcke GVD kand fortørnis / oc tit oc ofte / Straffer Land oc Riger for saadanne / lod Retfærdighed haffue sin Gang / effter GVDS Mandat oc Befalning.<sup>20</sup>

This good Lord also knew particularly well how to curb himself, so that his Royal Majesty tempered harshness with mercy and mildness. But he was not so mild that his Grace, in the case of grave sins and vices,

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<sup>17</sup> Slangstrup 1588, fol. F4v.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Aristotle in *Nicomachean Ethics* 1106a–b.

<sup>19</sup> On Cultural untranslatability, see Bassnett 2013, 40–45. This has some similarities with what renaissance humanists referred to as the *proprietas* of words. I will return to this concept below.

<sup>20</sup> Saxild 1589, fol. L4r.

which are common among humans and a source of anger to God, often causing Him to punish countries and kingdoms, did not let justice run its course in accordance with God's command and instructions.

While reproducing the topic of balancing severity and mildness, Saxild also makes sure that his reader understands the trope correctly. He could not rely on his readers to be familiar with moral philosophy, and so he uses a concrete example to demonstrate how the king's *temperamentum* had not consisted in a complete absence of severity, but rather in the wisdom of knowing when to punish to the full extent of the law. Sinning against God was a crime so serious that it threatened to expose the entire kingdom to the wrath of God, and the king was therefore obliged to punish it severely in accordance with the divine mandate of his office. By adding this clause on the royal duty to punish sinful behaviour, Saxild moreover manages to bring out the distinctly religious connotations that could also be read into Slangstrup's praise: Frederik had realised that as king, he had been divinely entrusted not only with the authority, but also with the duty to punish sinful practices in obedience to *GVDS Mandat oc befalning*, and he had therefore allowed this precept to guide his hand when dispensing justice among his subjects. The passage thus becomes, in Saxild's translation, a brief and condensed lesson on the social and religious duties that were seen as part of the king's office as God's representative on earth. The translated version thereby aided in the confessionalisation of the reader, who was instructed in the Lutheran doctrine on the office of the king. But Saxild's translation also afforded an easily absorbable lesson meant for the more practical edification of his intended readership.

Within Lutheran social theology, all temporal authorities (*magistratus; Obrigkeit; øvrighed*) were expected to see to the godliness and correct religious instruction of those in their care. Whether you were a *Hausvater* in charge of a single household, or a prince responsible for a large and populous territory, you were regarded as having been entrusted by God with a divine office that required you to aid in preserving true religion and thus sustain God's creation in accordance with His commandments.<sup>21</sup> As such, the responsibility of the individual Lutheran magistrate to crack down on sins and vices was in its essence no different than that of the king's. This was especially true for the Danish nobility, as they were responsible for the day-to-day dispensation of justice within their respective fiefs as well as for overseeing that the Gospel was preached correctly within their parishes.<sup>22</sup> The lesson on the duty to combat sin that Saxild draws out in his translation would

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<sup>21</sup> Stopa 2018; Jakobsen 2018, 249–250; Koefoed 2018, 321–327.

<sup>22</sup> On the position of the nobility, see in particular Jakobsen 2019, 59–101, 135–173.

therefore concern a large part of his intended readership. In his instructive portrayal of the king, they could see how they themselves, in order to fulfil their God-given offices, were expected to never overlook the sinful behaviour of those in their care. Saxild's translation thereby contributed to the socio-theological education of his upper-class readers, and this could in turn aid in the further confessionalisation of the kingdom at the hands of the now well-instructed magistrates.

### **Salvation through faith and the promotion of a Lutheran *ars moriendi***

In the second example, we shall see how Saxild translated a simple passage into a more complex lesson on how to achieve salvation through faith. This passage takes us to the end of Slangerup's oration where he portrays the king on his deathbed. Here, he describes how Frederik piously endured the attacks that impending death launches upon man's consciousness, demonstrating the king's unflinching faith through a long passage of direct speech on the futility of life and the necessity of seeking God. Then, Slangerup breaks off:

Incredibile autem dictu est præstantissimi auditores, in hac temporis angustia, quomodo, sese ante postremos agones gesserit, qui nihil aliud fuerunt, quàm assidua pietatis, veræ inuocationis et confessionis exercitia, omnibusque astantibus perpetua æternaque *μνημόσυνα*, atque ad pietatem stimuli acerrimi. Sed hanc partem doctissimo collegæ et clarissimo Medico, Dn. D. Andreae Christiano Ripensi, à prandio perorandam relinquo.<sup>23</sup>

It is, however, impossible to describe, excellent listeners, within the short time available, how he conducted himself in the face of his final struggles, which were nothing but constant exercises in godliness, true invocation, and confession of faith, and a source of lasting, eternal memory to all of those present, as well as a forceful stimulus to godliness. But I leave this part [of the king's life] to be portrayed by my learned colleague, doctor Anders Christensen of Ribe, in the afternoon.

Resorting to the trope of time being too limited to properly account for the subject, Slangerup refrains from saying any more himself on the theme of Frederik's death. Interestingly, he does so despite emphasising the exemplarity of the king's final hours, which he openly describes as having the potential to rouse people to a devout living. His reasons for omitting these *assidua exercitia* were most likely of a practical nature, since the task of speaking on the life and death of the king had been shared between him and Anders Christensen, the *Medicus secundus*, who were to treat this subject in a separate oration. Slangerup's audience would thus have been presented with

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<sup>23</sup> Slangerup 1588, fol. 13r.



a, presumably thorough, description of the king's pious encounter with death later in the day, and so he may have intended to tell them in advance that this were going to be exemplary and full of devotional stimuli. However, Slangstrup simultaneously appears to reserve this didactic effect to those who had actually been present at the king's death and witnessed his pious exercises with their own eyes, thereby creating a distance to the event which effectively excludes his own audience from benefitting from the royal example. The result is a somewhat unclear impression of Frederik's role as a potential example, as he appears to be a source of inspiration to some but not to others. This potentially limited relevance would fit very poorly into a translation meant to serve as devotional literature to a larger readership, and turning our attention to Saxild, we can see how he responds by turning the passage into a more universally applicable lesson in deathbed theology. Like the translator who brings a text towards a new audience, Saxild closes the distance between his audience and the exemplary event by explicitly including them in its didactic scope, while moreover reminding them just how important it is to die a proper death in order to attain eternal life:

Ja i gode Tilhørere / det er wmueligt / at ieg paa denne kaarte Tid / kand  
opregne eller beskriuffue / huorledis denne Salige Høybaarne Herre oc  
Konge / Kong FRIDERICH, haffuer skicket oc beridt sig til Døden / Ja  
øffuede sig stedze oc altid / i all Gudfryctighed / med en sand Guds  
paakaldelse oc Bekiendelse / som er baade dennem alle / som den Tid  
omkring stode / oc OS til en Euig Hukommelse / oc Bør at opuecke alle  
oc huer / til en sand Gudfryctighed / i voris Liffs Tid.

Saa vaare saadanne Bønner krafftige / oc Dyrebare i GVDS Aasiun /  
huorfore den Euige GVD / Naadelige Bønhørde hans Kongelige  
Maiestat / huilcken som sactelige hensoff i Herren / hoss huilcken den  
Salige Herre / Nyder oc Bruger/ Euig Glæde oc Rolighed / huilcken  
hans Naade nyde skal / met alle GVDS vdualde Børn oc Helgene til  
Euig Tid.<sup>24</sup>

It is indeed impossible, good listeners, in this little time, to account for or describe how this blessed and noble Lord and King, King Frederik, prepared and readied himself for death; indeed, constantly engaged himself in all godliness with a true invocation of God and confession of his faith, which is a source of lasting memory to all those, who were present at the time, as well as to us, and ought to encourage every single one of us to a true godliness in all the days of our lives.

So powerful were these prayers, and so precious in the eyes of God, that the eternal God mercifully answered the prayers of His Royal Majesty,

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<sup>24</sup> Saxild 1589, fol. Rijv.

who peacefully fell asleep in the Lord, with Whom the blessed Lord now enjoys and possesses eternal bliss and tranquillity, which His Grace will enjoy together with all of God's elected children and saints for all eternity.

By omitting the announcement of Anders Christensen's oration, which had followed Slangstrup's at the commemorative service at the university, Saxild is able to detach his translation from the practical setting that had defined Slangstrup's text, although he retains the illusion of addressing the original audience of listeners and not the new group of readers. This simple omission allows him to easily integrate his new audience into the group of people supposed to learn from the king's death, thereby giving the lesson contained in the passage a more universal scope. The new readers are told directly that the king's pious death-struggle deserves to be remembered by them as well as by those who had actually witnessed it, as his salvific example ought to inspire *alle oc huer*, in effect every subject regardless of rank or relation to the king, to lead more pious lives. This in itself constitutes a significant alteration to Slangstrup's original text, but Saxild takes it a step further as he inserts the additional paragraph on Frederik's ascent into heaven. Here, we are told how God was so pleased with Frederik's many ways of declaring his faith that He granted him a peaceful death and admitted him straight into the heavenly kingdom to enjoy eternal bliss in the company of God's elected. While Frederik's prayers had pleased God and secured His assistance at the time of death, the true power of the prayers seems to stem from the fact that they had allowed him to face death with the unflinching faith that, to a Lutheran, guaranteed eternal life. Saxild thereby brings attention to a key point that Slangstrup had left unspoken: because of his many pious exercises on his deathbed, Frederik had succeeded in conquering death and attaining everlasting life, the final prize to which all Christians aspire.

Lutheran doctrine taught that salvation was achieved through faith alone, and not by virtue of good works. While a pious life in faith and sincere worship of God was naturally the best kind of preparation for dying in certainty of salvation, nowhere was piety and unshakeable faith in the Gospel more needed than in the hour of death, when fear and doubt could attack even the most devout minds. Descriptions of how others maintained their faith and thus conquered death therefore became a popular theme in devotional literature such as the vernacular funeral sermon, whose deathbed descriptions in turn contributed to the creation and wider distribution of a distinctly Lutheran *ars moriendi*.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Oftestad 2018. The main study of the Lutheran *ars moriendi* and its development is Reinis 2007. On salvation through faith in the context of the deathbed, see also Resch 2015; Oftestad 2015. The deathbed, as well as descriptions of it, also became an ideological

Within this cultural framework, the Lutheran apotheosis that Saxild adds to his translation in effect functions as a powerful testament to the efficacy of the pious exercises that Frederik had performed during his final days, proving how his *ars moriendi Lutherana* had in fact enabled the king to finally achieve salvation in death after a lifetime of piety. The short passage thus becomes a sort of concluding *argumentum*, in which Saxild demonstrates to his readers, in plain but striking terms, why it was so important that they should internalise the lesson contained in the preceding paragraphs. Here lay the key to salvation, for as the king's apotheosis indicated, they too could conquer death and enjoy eternal life, if they approached death just as Frederik had done. As such, the addition allows Saxild to bring out the theological implications of the deathbed description, specifying how the king's example could teach the individual how to die in a way that would lead to salvation.

As we can see, Saxild makes sure that his translation not only turns Frederik and his pious death into an unequivocally instructive example for the edification of his entire readership, but also specifies exactly what they are supposed to take away from the particular passage. He thereby presents an easily adoptable lesson with a clear learning objective, and he had in fact already made sure to provide them with additional material that could help them achieve their goal of salvation. Whereas Slingerup had relied on Anders Christensen to describe all the pious exercises that allowed Frederik to die an exemplary death, Saxild did not have that option; and so, while translating the actual deathbed description in the paragraphs that precede the passage we have just considered, he created a fuller and, as a result, more instructive image of the king's final hours. As mentioned earlier, Slingerup had only included how the king had given a philosophical speech full of theological subtleties on the brevity of life<sup>26</sup> before breaking off his short description of the deathbed, leaving the rest to Anders Christensen. Saxild, on the other hand, shortens this philosophical speech by leaving out some of the more complex theological reflexions. Instead he adds several extra details of a more pastoral nature on how the king had recited particular passages from Scripture and sung a selection of comforting psalms, as a way for him to strengthen his spirit and confess his faith amidst the agonies of death.<sup>27</sup> These very concrete

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battlefield in the confessional disputes between Catholics and different reformed denominations such as the protestants in Ireland (Tait 2002, 7–18) and the Huguenots in France (Roberts 2000, 131–137).

<sup>26</sup> Slingerup 1588, fols. I2r–I3r.

<sup>27</sup> Saxild 1589, fols. Q4r–R1r. Saxild most likely supplied the details on scriptural readings from Anders Christensen's unpublished oration or copied them from the Latin oration that Anders Lauridsen had presented at the funeral in Roskilde (Lauridsen 1588, fol. H1r). I don't know wherefrom he gets his information on the hymns sung, both of which are good protestant hymns with texts by Luther: *Fader vor wdi Himmerig / som baad oss leffue*

details were easy to pick out and commit to memory, and they clearly illustrated what the individual reader would be expected to do when their time came. By supplying details that Slangstrup had consciously omitted, Saxild presents his readers with a deathbed description that instructs them in a way of dying that led to eternal life, and thus transmits to them a Lutheran view on death and salvation. As a result, his translation becomes even more suited to act as devotional literature to a late sixteenth-century vernacular readership, since it initiates them into the beliefs and practices of Lutheran confessional culture, thereby aiding them in becoming fully-fledged members of the reformed community.<sup>28</sup>

### **Making hidden threats plain through familiar examples**

By time of Frederik's death in 1588, the confessional divides that had emerged across much of protestant Europe had led to an intensification in the confessionalisation processes within the different religious communities.<sup>29</sup> In Denmark, devotional literature naturally came to play a central role in the edification and confessionalisation of the population, and the period saw a surge in the popularity of printed funeral sermons targeting a vernacular readership.<sup>30</sup> Saxild appears to have been conscious of this development, as he occasionally goes a very long way to ensure that his translation fits into the devotional genre, continuously taking the needs of his readership and their frame of reference into account when translating Slangstrup's learned text. This will be particularly clear from our third and final example, in which we shall see how he tackles the next part of Slangstrup's oration. As Slangstrup concludes his idyllic but learned portrayal of Frederik's pious death, he immediately turns his attention to the state of the subjects who had now been left behind on earth without their virtuous king. Reflecting on historical precedents, he argues that the death of a king such as Frederik is to be interpreted as a divine warning of bad times to come:

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*Brøderlig and Nu bede wi den Hellig Aand*. He may have gotten details from Anders Christensen's oration, or he may simply have added them himself, inspired by how Frederik's father, Christian III, had been portrayed as singing hymns on his deathbed, one of them having been *Nu bede wi den Hellig Aand* (cf. Bording 1559, fol. C4v and Thomesen 1560, 60).

<sup>28</sup> The vernacular funeral sermon was often used to instruct the bereaved in the Lutheran doctrine on salvation, cf. Leppin 2015 and Sundmark 2020. See also Tait 2002, 7–28 and Roberts 2000, 131–137 on the importance of particular *artes moriendi* as confessional markers.

<sup>29</sup> On the development of the confessionalisation, see e.g. Kaufmann 2006, 6–9; Ingeman 2014, 43.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Jacobsen 2015, 3–7; Oftestad 2018.

Interim si historiae omnium temporum, testantur fidelibus custodibus religionis et disciplinae, extinctis aut remotis, sequutas esse vastitates Ecclesiarum, interitus literarum, barbariem cyclopicam, et tristissimas confusiones opinionum, cultuum ac morum, et sapientum Sententiae extra Ecclesiam ab experientia sumptae, idem docent, inter quas celebratissimum est id, quod Pausaniam pronunciassse legimus, de Spartanorum cladibus, rege Cleombroto obruncato in praelio ad Leuctra, *μάλιστα γὰρ ἐπὶ πταίσμασι μεγάλοις ἐθέλει προαιφαιρεῖσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὁ δαῖμων*, hoc est magnis cladibus impendentibus, solet Deus è medio tollere Principem. ὁ nunc miseros et calamitosos nos, qui cū indigni facti essemus tanto Rege, ac haud dubiè nostris demeritis peccatis id exigentibus, ideo Deus nobis illum abstulit, quòd suum esse maluerit.<sup>31</sup>

Meanwhile, if world history shows that when faithful custodians of religion and learning have died or been removed, the devastation of churches, annihilation of letters, one-eyed barbarity, and the most sad disordering of opinions, practices, and manners have ensued; and if the same is also taught by the judgements made by wise men on the basis of experiences outside the Church, among which the most famous is the line that we read in Pausanias on the misfortune of the Spartans following the death of their king, Cleombrotus, who had been killed in the battle at Leuctra: *μάλιστα γὰρ ἐπὶ πταίσμασι μεγάλοις ἐθέλει προαιφαιρεῖσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὁ δαῖμων*, that is, ‘when great misfortune threatens, God usually removes the prince from this world’; then o how wretched and miserable we are now, since we have been deemed unworthy to such a king – no doubt having caused this ourselves with our many sins – and God therefore has taken him away from us, as He preferred to have him for Himself.

While Slingerup believes history to be full of examples of how the deaths of virtuous rulers have often been followed by destruction and cultural decline, he quotes Pausanias’ observation on the death of the Spartan King Cleombrotus as historical proof that God in fact carries off a nation’s leader as a kind of divine foreboding whenever such catastrophes are about to strike.<sup>32</sup> We can see how he has adapted his translation of the Greek to achieve this ominous effect by qualifying the *magnis cladibus* (*πταίσμασι μεγάλοις*) with the participle *impendentibus*, thereby moving the impending threat into the future in contrast to the very present destruction that defines Pausanias’ original utterance. Moreover, he has translated *προαιφαιρεῖσθαι* as *è medio tollere*, and he thereby alters the meaning of the entire sentence so that the prince no longer falls as one of the first in a disastrous event, as in Pausanias’

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<sup>31</sup> Slingerup 1588, fol. I3r–v.

<sup>32</sup> Paus. 3.6.1.

Greek, but is instead removed by God before disaster strikes, thus allowing his death to be seen as a bad omen.<sup>33</sup>

However, Slingerup does not say what kind of disaster followed the foreboding death of King Cleombrotus. The battle of Leuctra had been a humiliating defeat for the powerful Spartans – Pausanias calls the Theban victory the greatest ever won by Greeks against Greeks<sup>34</sup> – and it had put an end to Spartan hegemony in Greece. This would of course have been obvious to a learned audience familiar with Greek history, but the same was less likely to have been the case for Saxild’s vernacular readership. If they were unable to deduce from the quotation just how disastrous it could be when God decided to suddenly remove a prince from his people, then its ominous subtext would consequently lose much of its threatening effect. This could moreover influence their understanding of Slingerup’s pessimistic conclusion, thus making it difficult for them to fully grasp how *miseros et calamitosos* he believed the people to have become as a result of their loss. For while Slingerup argues that Frederik was killed because of the sins of his people, thus insinuating that his death may therefore foreshadow some kind of divine punishment, he leaves it to the individual reader to make out what the repercussions of all this might actually be.

When translating this passage, Saxild was therefore faced with two main problems: another case of cultural untranslatability, since the ominous essence of the reference to Pausanias risked getting lost to an audience without the right cultural horizon; and the somewhat vague conclusion, since this relied on the reader’s ability to interpret the reference correctly and from there follow the implied argumentative chain towards its intended climax. This was not optimal, and Saxild goes a long way to avoid such vagueness and guide his reader through the difficult passage, making sure that every little detail is spelled out with unmistakable clarity. As a result, he almost quadruples the number of words used to convey the message of Slingerup’s ominous paragraph, clearing up the meaning of the Pausanias-quote as well as explaining how his readers were then to deal with the impending threat that Frederik’s death clearly signaled:

Men effterdi / at alle Historier bære vidne / at naar GVD haffuer  
henkaldet / Gudfryctige Øffrigheds Personer / Som haffue hafft stor  
vilge oc behagelighed / til at forfremme / den Christne Kircke oc sande  
Religion / da effter deris Afgang / haffuer det sig meenlig effterfølgd /  
megen forandring / Krig oc feyde / end ocsaa vndertiden / Forandring i

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<sup>33</sup> Slingerup does not use the Latin translations of Pausanias by Abraham Loescher and Romolo Amaseo, although his choice of words suggests that he may have been familiar with one or both of them. On Latin translations of Pausanias, see Parks 1971.

<sup>34</sup> Paus. 9.13.11.

Religionen / Scholer oc Bogelige Konster / huilke tit oc offte ere foractede oc forskutte / oc i deris Sted ere vidtagne store Vildfarelser met atskillige oc vrangne Meninger / Dyrckelser oc groffue Seder / huilcket ocsaa mange Vise oc Forfarne Mend / vel vitterligt er. Ja end ocsaa andre / som ere leeg Folck / oc kand vide aff at sige / oc flitteligt acted oc obserueret haffue.

Iblant huilcket / dette er gantske merckeligt / som læsis wdi Historier / oc synderlige det / der den Scribent Pausanias skriffuer / om de Spartaners ynckelige Forstyrning oc Feyde / wdi huilcken / deris Konge oc Herre / Kong Cleombrotus, bleff slagen oc dræbt / i den Krig oc Slag / Som stod for Leuctra, der hand saa sagde: Magnis cladibus impendentibus, solet DEVS è medio tollere Principem. Det er / naar stor Forstyrning / vaade oc Fare / offuerhenger noget Land eller Rige / da pleier den Euige GVD meenlige / at lade forandring skee / ia saadan / at hand henkalder Landzens Førster oc Herrer / som haffue hantheffuet / sine Vndersaatte oc Regemente.

Da effterdi at vor Herre nu i disse Aar / ligeruiss som oc Aar effter GVDS Byrd / Tusinde Femffhundrede halffrediesindz tyffue oc Ny (oc lidet der effter) Døde mange drabelige Førster / som vaare Keyser KARL den Femte / Salige Kong CHRISTIAN den Tredje / Kong CHRISTEN den Anden / Kong GØSTE i Suerige / Tuende Konger i Franckerige / den ene effter den anden / Tre Dronninger / Dronningen i Engeland / oc Dronningen i Vngeren / oc Dronningen i Lante Polen. Trende Chur Førster / Phaltz Greffuen / Biscopen aff Treir / oc Biscopen aff Kølne / oc mange andre. Huilcken Tid / der strax effterfølgde / Her oc anden Sted / Stor Krig oc Feyde / oc siden grusom Pestilentze oc andet Ont. Saa haffuer oc nu / i disse faa Aar / den Almectigste GVD / teed sin vrede imod Menniken / for Syndens skyld oc Letfærdighed / oc mange ypperlige oc Naffnkundige Førster henkaldet / som ere / AVGVSTVS, Churførste i Lante Saxen / Churførstinden i Samme Sted / som vaar vor Salige Herris Søster / Førsten van Anhalt. Hertog HANS oc Hertog ADOLPH, oc / Som sagt er / Førstinden i Lante Michelborg / vor Allernaadigste Dronnings Gudfryctige oc Førstelige Moder / STEPHANVM, Konge i Polen / oc nu denne vor Salige Herre oc Konge / Kong FRIDERICH, met mange andre ypperlige / oc drabelige Lærde oc Naffnkundige Mend.

Saadanne siger ieg / effterdi vor Herre / saa plutzelige / haffuer henkaldet / da Bør oc vi / som saadant vederfaret er / vor sag vel at betencke / oc frycte at for vor Seckerhed oc wgudelighed / er visselige Herren oss vred / oc wden wi aluorlige omuender oss til Herren / maa wi wden all tuil foruente / at hand io oss visselige i andre Maade besøge oc straffe wil.

Derfore kand vel huer bentencke oc acte / som nogen sandz er wdi / met  
 huor stor Fare / wi nu ere besnerede / oc maa vel i alle Maade / sigis /  
 at were Wlycksalige oc Elendige / at wi haffue mist / saadan en Lands  
 Første / Religions forsuar oc beskiermere. Ja wi / som vaare aldellis  
 wuerdige til / at beholde hoss oss / saadan en Første oc Herre / huilcken  
 den Euige GVD wden all tuil haffuer for vor mangfoldige Synd oc  
 Ondskabs skyld / henkaldet aff denne Verden / til sit Euige Rige / oc  
 huilcken hand heller vilde / der skulde høre hannem til / end OS fattige  
 Danmarckis indbyggere.<sup>35</sup>

But consider how every piece of history shows that whenever God has taken away pious magistrates, who have shown great willingness and desire to promote the Christian church and true religion, their deaths have regularly been accompanied by much alteration, war, and strife, and even also by changes to religion, schools, and letters, which are very often despised and shunned, and in place of which great delusions full of numerous wrongful opinions, practices, and manners are adopted. This is also well-known to many wise and learned men, and even men who come from outside the church, have experienced, noticed, and observed such things. Here, it is especially worth paying attention to that which can be read in works of history, and particularly what the writer Pausanias writes about the Spartans' miserable destruction and war, during which their king and lord, King Cleombrotus, was slain and killed in the battle taking place at Leuctra, at which he said: *Magnis cladibus impendentibus, solet DEVS è medio tollere Principem*, that is, 'whenever great destruction, misfortune, and danger threatens a country or kingdom, The Eternal God usually lets change take place in such a way that he calls away the country's prince and lord, who has sustained his subjects and his dominion.'

Consider then how Our Lord in these years, like during the year 1559 after the birth of Christ (and in the few years following), killed many distinguished princes, these being Emperor Charles V, the blessed King Christian III, King Christiern II, King Gustav in Sweden, two kings in France, one after the other, three queens, the queen of England, the queen of Hungary, and the queen of Poland, three electors, the count palatine, the bishop of Trier, and the bishop of Cologne, as well as many others, and how great wars and strife followed immediately after, both here and elsewhere, and thereupon disease and other kinds of evil. In the same way, The Almighty God has now, in these few years, shown His anger towards mankind, because of our sin and frivolity, and called away many great and illustrious princes, these being August, the Elector of Saxony, the electress in the same place, who was our blessed Lord's

<sup>35</sup> Saxild 1589, fols. Rijv–R4v.



sister, the prince of Anhalt, Duke Hans and Duke Adolph, and, as mentioned, the princess of Mecklenburg, our gracious queen's pious and princely mother, Stephen, the king of Poland, and now this our blessed Lord and King, King Frederik, along with many fine and distinguished learned and illustrious men.

Thus I say, that since our Lord has so suddenly taken away such princes, we too, who have experienced such things, ought to consider our situation closely, and be fearful that our light-heartedness and ungodliness has surely caused the Lord to be angry with us, and unless we earnestly restore ourselves to the Lord, we must no doubt expect that He will surely visit and punish us in other ways. Every person who possesses some kind of intellect, should therefore be able to consider and perceive how great a danger now threatens us, and how we must be said to be wretched and miserable in every respect, since we have lost such a prince and defender of the faith. For we were utterly unworthy to keep among us such a prince and lord, whom The Eternal God has undoubtably called away from this world to His eternal kingdom because of our numerous sins and evils, preferring that he should belong to Him rather than to us, the poor inhabitants of Denmark.

As we can see, Saxild reproduces Slangerup's ominous version of Pausanias by quoting his Latin translation instead of the Greek text. But he in turn translates this into Danish, or rather paraphrases it in a way that much emphasises the idea of an impending divine punishment. To a reader who relies only on the vernacular, Pausanias in effect declares that God uses princely deaths as a tool with which to harm or change human society. Saxild thereby guides his readers towards the realisation that all changes and disasters that follow the deaths of good magistrates, are in fact part of some divine plan, which God has put into action through princely death.<sup>36</sup>

Saxild then follows up this unsettling statement by presenting his own list of more recent examples of rulers who had been carried off by God as a precursor for His divine punishment. This addition not only lends further authority to Pausanias' claim, but further allows Saxild to verbalise some of the connotations that we can expect Slangerup's learned audience to have gotten from the reference to Cleombrotus and the Battle of Leuctra. Attempting to get around the problem of recreating the culturally determined interpretation of the reference, he inserts these additional examples as functional equivalents that serve to bring out a similar set of connotations in

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. Sen. *Cl.* 1.4. It was a common perception among Lutherans that God carried out His will through select individuals, the so-called 'masks of God' (*larvae Dei*); see e.g. Thompson 2014, 133–139.

his own readers.<sup>37</sup> The many deaths that Saxild mentions all occurred around the year 1559, and three of the examples moreover came from a Scandinavian context (King Gustav of Sweden as well as the Danish kings Christian III and Christiern II, whose nationalities naturally did not need to be mentioned). As such, the examples were very likely to have been familiar to his intended readership, who might even have experienced firsthand the wars and diseases that had indeed followed in the wake of these particular deaths. They would only have to recall how the Nordic Seven Years' War (1563–1570) had erupted between the two young heirs of Christian III (†1559) and Gustav Vasa (†1560), while an outbreak of the plague had simultaneously swept through parts of Europe and Scandinavia during the mid-1560's. Saxild thereby uses these additional examples in a way analogous to a 'domesticating' translation practice<sup>38</sup>, making the strange and foreign of the original reference more familiar to the translation's target audience and thus providing them with a much clearer picture of the kind of destruction they could expect to see whenever God decided to take away a good prince and let disaster strike. He does not stop there, however, as the readers are immediately confronted with another list of additional historical examples, this time of princes and princesses who had died within the last couple of years. Culminating with Frederik II, "this our blessed Lord and King", this current wave of deaths, Saxild explains, are in fact similar to the ominous deaths that had taken place a generation ago. This alarming comparison allows him to spell out the essence of Slangerup's condensed paragraph: since Frederik's death had also been caused by the sins of his people, it too should be seen as a sign that God is about to unleash new punishments on the subjects left behind. We can see how Saxild subsequently tries to lead his readers towards this conclusion by pedagogically asking them to now consider their current situation in light of what has just been described to them. But in case they are slow to connect the dots, he makes sure to spell out with unmistakable clarity what Slangerup left for his audience to figure out themselves: their numerous sins have angered God, and so He has taken away their king for him to enjoy eternal bliss, while they in turn are to face His divine punishment.

Having gradually led his readers through Slangerup's intricate and learnedly implied argument with familiar, or rather domestic, examples and explanatory comments, we see how Saxild finally concludes that by now, every person with a bit of intellect should have grasped the true but hidden meaning of King Frederik's death. He evidently felt that his many additions

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<sup>37</sup> On 'functional' or 'dynamic' equivalents, see Bassnett 2013, 33–39.

<sup>38</sup> For a brief introduction to 'domesticating' and 'foreignising' translations, terms coined by Lawrence Venuti, see Bassnett 2013, 46–47. For their uses in Renaissance translation theory, see Pade 2017, 57–59; Pade 2018, 5–12.

had made it perfectly clear why they ought to consider themselves wretched and miserable as a result of Frederik's death, and so he finishes his translation of the passage by reproducing Slangstrup's otherwise cryptic conclusion, as its meaning with all its ominous connotations should now be within their reach. But in order to get there, it had been necessary to first to clear up points that had been hidden in the learned discourse of Slangstrup's text. We have already seen how Saxild previously explained the philosophical concept of the Golden Mean to his readers by providing them with a very concrete example of how the idea of balancing severity and mercy should be understood. Apparently, something even more radical was needed in this case to translate the culturally untranslatable and thus properly reproduce the full meaning of the reference to Cleombrotus and the Battle of Leuctra.

As Pade has previously discussed, humanists translating from Greek into Latin were regularly faced with the task of transferring what they considered to be the *proprietas* of particular words from one language into the other. This *proprietas*, Pade argues, signified "something that is so special to a language or a culture that it may be impossible to render it satisfactorily in another language without radical changes."<sup>39</sup> A popular solution to this cultural untranslatability was to rephrase the word in question and thereby make it more familiar, and the resulting paragraph more accessible, to the intended audience; or, if a more literal translation was opted for, the resulting 'foreignness' could be explained through the addition of a commentary.<sup>40</sup>

Although the difficulty for Saxild lay not so much in translating the individual words of the Pausanias-reference as in reproducing the interpretation that a learned audience would make from the reference as a whole, we can see how he tackles this culturally defined *proprietas* using analogous techniques. He rephrases the quote in a form that spoke more directly to sixteenth-century readers living in a Lutheran monarchy, while his inclusion of contemporary examples acts as a sort of commentary interpreting the passage and transmitting its meaning in a style that was easy for them to follow.<sup>41</sup> This latter strategy in particular was perfectly suited to a confessionalised translation practice. Despite resulting in what Jerome had

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<sup>39</sup> Pade 2017, 58.

<sup>40</sup> On the connection between *proprietas* and the concepts of 'domesticating' and 'foreignizing' translations known from modern translation studies, see Pade 2018, 5–12. See also Pade 2017, 57–59.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Manuel Chrysoloras on trying to reproduce *proprietas*, as related by Cencio de'Rustici: "For if anyone were to alter the Greek *proprietas* somehow, with the object of speaking better and more clearly to his own people, he would act the part of a commentator rather than that of a translator." Quoted from Pade 2018, 6.

long before referred to as “a long detour around a short course”<sup>42</sup>, Saxild’s considerably longer, but also more gradual and pedagogically repetitive buildup towards Slangerup’s final conclusion, followed Melanchthon’s advice by making it straightforward for his readers to understand and internalise what they were supposed to learn from it all: their king had died, and they were to blame. Slangerup had hinted at this point only once, but Saxild drills it into his readers three times in the course of his pedagogical lecture. Their sinfulness had become so great that God, in His righteous anger, had decided to chastise the people of Denmark, and so He had first taken away their good and pious king as a sign of the destruction that would soon follow, unless they abandoned their sinful way of life.

The lesson that Saxild brings out in effect constituted a call for his readers to devote themselves fully to the type of Lutheranism practiced within the Danish kingdom. Presented with the cause of Frederik’s death, they should realise that they had not been observant enough, repent their sins, and henceforth lead more pious lives in order to appease God and persuade Him to put off His divine punishment. This would have been an all too familiar topic at the time. To deter people from flirting with rival confessions, preachers regularly presented disasters such as royal deaths as signs that their congregation were sinners who did not live according to the confession of the country and in their blindness incurred the wrath of God. On the day of Frederik’s funeral, the court chaplain at Copenhagen Castle, Niels Lauridsen Arctander, devoted an entire sermon to this theme as he spoke on the king’s death on the basis of the ominous words of Isaiah 57:1–2: “The righteous perish, and no one takes it to heart; the devout are taken away, while no one understands. For the righteous are taken away from calamity, and they enter into peace; those who walk uprightly will rest on their couches. (NRSV)”<sup>43</sup>

But whereas Arctander limited himself to criticising people for their inability to see the sign that God had sent with the death of their king, urging them to open their eyes and return to the right path, Saxild’s pedagogical translation effectively opened the eyes of his readers as he guided them through Slangerup’s learned attempt at doing the same thing. While doing so, Saxild urged them to lead more pious lives, and his translation could in turn aid them in this undertaking. By giving them easy access to lessons on important issues such as how to combat sin and how to achieve salvation in

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<sup>42</sup> Jerome on the difficulties of reproducing *proprietas*: “when I try to accommodate its full sense, I take a long detour around a short course.” Quoted from Pade 2017, 58.

<sup>43</sup> Arctander 1590, see esp. fols. D1r–F7v. The sermon was given in Danish, but was translated into Latin before it was published. See also Billeskov Jansen 1990, 42–45. Similar examples can be found in funeral sermons from early 17<sup>th</sup> century Calvinist Transylvania, cf. Murdock 2000.

death, his translation thus contributed to the confessionalisation of his readership and the construction of a religious community.

### Conclusion

In his preface, Saxild claimed to have translated Slangerup's text word for word without adding anything to the professor's oration. As I hope to have shown, this was not exactly true, but neither completely wrong. For although he in places added significantly to his vernacular version, he did so in ways that not only clarified the often condensed and learnedly implied style of Slangerup's oration, but also helped bring out the theological lessons that were contained within the learned text, lessons on important matters such as sin and salvation. As we have seen, he used concrete examples to explain what it meant, in practice, to walk the middle road between justice and mercy, and how this related to combatting sin. He stated clear learning goals to aid his readers in reading the translation as devotional literature, and, most importantly, he moved the oration out of the learned world of the university and into the world of a vernacular readership. This meant making its content available to them not only in Danish, but also in a language and style they could actually understand, such as when Saxild references contemporary history to explain the meaning of Slangerup's reference to Pausanias and the Battle of Leuctra. It was necessary to supply additional information that brought out explicitly what Slangerup's learned audience would have tacitly understood from context alone. As such, it was not really additional information; it was simply a matter of stating directly what should be read between the lines, interpreting the text for a reader who might need a bit of help.

Lutheran educational ideals promoted a very pedagogical approach to preaching and teaching, and as Pade has demonstrated, this also contributed to the creation of a confessionalised translation practice. Saxild translated Slangerup's oration according to similar ideals, and this enabled him to steer his readers towards the theological lessons that lay hidden in the wording of the Latin text without adding details that altered its original message – and successfully, it appears. As the translation left the printing press, Slangerup went over the finished product, and he had a few comments on the work added to Saxild's preface (which had evidently been the last thing to have been printed). He had found several errors in the spelling of words according to the local Zealand-dialect, and the young translator had been too eager in his use of punctuation marks and virgules, which Slangerup felt disturbed the reading of the text.<sup>44</sup> However, nothing is said about the actual translation itself. This

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<sup>44</sup> Saxild 1589, fol. (:):4r.

suggests that Saxild had indeed succeeded in producing a translation that faithfully reproduced Slangstrup's oration and brought out the theological lessons it contained, but in a form more suited to those who were unable to properly understand the Latin text.

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- est brevis narration, de pompa, quâ exuuiæ, gloriosissimi, optimè meriti ac Christianissimi Regis, Friderici II. humo mandatæ sint, et quo ordine, funus ex sede Episcopali Roschildensi, in templum Cathedrale sit deductum, tum quomodo publica processio habita sit, Hafniæ (LN 1497).*
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