

Calvin, Van Lodenstein and Barth: Three perspectives on the necessity of church reformation

Wim A. Dreyer 

*Department of Church History and Church Polity
Faculty of Theology
University of Pretoria
South Africa*

Research Project Details

Project Leader: W.A. Dreyer 

Project Number: 77370920

Project Description: This research is part of the research project, 'History of Reformed theology and theologians', directed by Dr W. Dreyer, Department of Church History and Church Polity, Faculty of Theology, University of Pretoria.

Introduction

A quick search on the internet reveals a plethora of reformed theologians, churches and organisations using the term *ecclesia semper reformanda*. Some regard it as important as other reformed adages such as *sola scriptura*, *sola gratia* and *sola fidei*. It is also clear that there

How to cite: Dreyer, W.A., 2017, 'Calvin, Van Lodenstein and Barth: Three perspectives on the necessity of church reformation', in 'Nadenke oor 500 jaar se Reformatoriese teologie', *HTS Theological Studies/Teologiese Studies*, suppl. 11, 73(5), a4508. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v73i5.4508>

are diverse opinions on what it might mean. Van Ruler (1965:29), with reference to *semper reformanda*, wrote that it is a deeply contestable slogan and that the church should rather pray ‘save us from another Luther!’ (Koffeman 2015:1of 5). Darrell Guder (2000) wrote:

The reformed tradition emphasizes that ‘the church once reformed is always in the process of being reformed according to the Word of God.’ The phrase *ecclesia reformata secundum verbi Dei semper reformanda* is used a great deal in North Atlantic Reformed circles these days, probably because of the crisis in which most of these churches find themselves. (p. 150)

He is very critical of churches in the United States of America (USA) that are continually restructuring and believes that it is actually church reformation.

This contribution looks at the question whether church reformation is necessary. This is done by looking at three texts from different periods. In all three one gets the feeling of crisis, of urgency and the need for church reformation but it is articulated differently, both theologically and practically. Firstly, this contribution examines the first section of John Calvin’s (Calvin [1543] 1867:457–534) *De necessitate reformandae ecclesiae* of 1543, that highlights the most important reasons why Calvin was convinced that the reformation of the church was necessary. Secondly, Jodocus van Lodenstein’s ([1672] 1739) *Beschouwinge van Zion*, and thirdly Karl Barth’s (1947) ‘*Die Botschaft von der freien Gnade Gottes*’ will be discussed. In conclusion, the necessity of church reformation from a contemporary perspective will be addressed.

■ John Calvin: *De necessitate reformandae ecclesiae*

The Fourth Imperial Diet of Speyer was called together on 20 February, 1544 by Emperor Charles V. Charles called the meeting because he was planning war against France. He needed the support of the Lutheran princes, many of them were members of the Schmalkaldic League. He received their support by granting them concessions and almost completely abandoning his Catholic position, disregarding the wishes of Pope Paul III. The pope was not impressed with the emperor’s soft approach towards the Lutherans.

Knowing that the 1544 Diet of Speyer would address church matters, Calvin used the opportunity to air his views on the necessity of church reformation. Towards the end of 1543, Calvin addressed an open letter to the emperor under the heading ‘*Supplex exhortatio ad invictiss. Caesarem Carolum Quintum et illustrissimos principes aliosque ordines*’, better known and published in *Opera Calvinii* under the heading ‘*De necessitate reformandae ecclesiae*’.⁹⁰ Calvin wrote the letter because Martin Bucer asked him to present the emperor with a defence of the reformation movement.

90. Calvin, J., [1543] 1867, ‘*De necessitate reformandae ecclesiae*’, in G. Baum, E. Cunitz & E. Reuss (eds.), *Ioannis Calvinii opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. VI, Col. 457–534, C.A. Schwetsschke et Filium,

Calvin's open letter is an attempt to convince the Emperor of the weak position in which the church found itself, that it was in dire need of remedy and the Emperor had an important role to play in the process of reformation. With this in mind the text of the open letter is divided into three sections. Calvin ([1543] 1867) formulates it as follows:⁹¹

First, I must briefly enumerate the evils which compelled us to seek for remedies.

Secondly, I must show that the particular remedies which our people [*the reformers*] employed were apt and salutary. Lastly, I must make it plain that we were not at liberty any longer to delay putting forth our hand, inasmuch as the matter demanded instant amendment. (n.p.)

In this contribution only the first two sections are discussed, because it is well structured and the arguments presented are of utmost importance. In the third section Calvin focused on the urgency of church reformation in which he comes to the conclusion that church reformation is necessary, supported by some additional arguments. In this contribution, the focus is on sections one and two, which is sufficient to give us a clear view of Calvin's theological arguments and his understanding of church reformation.

The evils which beset the church

Calvin starts out by underlining the two main issues at stake: The *first* pertains to the mode in which God is duly worshipped, and, *secondly*, the source from which salvation is to be obtained.⁹² Of secondary importance, building upon the first two, are the sacraments and the form of church governance. Calvin defines the true worship as obedience and sanctification which necessarily include prayer. These are taught by the Holy Spirit and Holy Scripture and should be the basis of universal piety.

.....
 [footnote 90 continues...]

Brunsvigae. In this contribution it will be cited as OC VI with the column (Col.) number. The original Latin in footnotes will be translated in the text.

91. Calvin [OC VI Col.459] writes: '*Quanquam expediri hoc non potest, quin tria simul complectar. Nempe ut vitia breviter commemorem, quae nos ad quaerenda remedia impulerunt. Deinde, ut de remediis ipsis, quae a nostris hominibus sunt adhibita, quam apta fuerint et salutaria, disseram. Postremo ut planum faciam, quam non licuerit suspensa manu ulterius differre, quum res praesentem emendationem flagitaret [author's translation].*'

92. Calvin [OC VI Col. 459] writes: '*Si quaeritur, quibus potissimum rebus stet christiana religio inter nos, suamque veritatem retineat, has duas non modo summum locum occupare certum est, sed reliquas etiam omnes parites, adeoque totam vim christianismi sub se comprehendere: ut rite colatur Deus, ut unde salus sibi petenda sit, noverint homines.*'

However, Calvin argues, worldwide it had become evident that God has been robbed of more than half of his glory as the sole source and teacher of true worship, by distributing divine qualities and functions among *the saints*.⁹³ Calvin argues that praying through any saint who strikes one's fancy, constitutes robbery. It robs Christ of his status as sole mediator and it robs the believer of the promises and blessings when praying through the true mediator. This becomes clear when it is observed that men worship statues and images with the same adoration they would approach God himself.⁹⁴

After denouncing the veneration of saints, Calvin turns to the deformation of the *ceremonies* through all sorts of Judaist, puerile and heathen influences. The Word of God is the sole norm to be used in discerning what true worship is or what is false and a deviation from what God requires. Divine worship, according to Calvin, has become nothing but mere corruption of God's will.⁹⁵ The artificial, fictitious and superfluous ceremonies are an abomination in the eyes of God.

Turning to the second main issue of Christian doctrine, Calvin explains that the *knowledge of the source of our salvation* has to pass through three stages.⁹⁶ The first is our knowledge of our own wretchedness; the second is a true knowledge of Christ who is our only priest who reconciled us with God; thirdly the solid faith and assurance that in Christ we possess eternal life. The threefold structure of our knowledge of salvation strongly reminds us of the structure of the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), which we know used many Lutheran and Calvinist sources.

The knowledge of our salvation is fundamentally linked to the question of *original sin*. The reductionism evident in limiting original sin to bodily lusts, leads to two errors: Firstly, people believe by avoiding bodily lusts their works deserve more respect than those of Christ; secondly it leads to continual doubt of our own salvation. With reference to Romans 4:14 Calvin points out that these errors annihilate all confidence in the promises of God.⁹⁷

93. Calvin [OC VI Col. 461] writes: '*Verbo quidem, bonorum omnium gloriam concedunt Deo, sed re ipsa eum, vel dimidia, vel maiori parte spoliant: quum eius virtutes inter sanctos partiuntur.*'

94. Calvin [OC VI Col. 462] writes: '*Iam de adoratione quid dicam? Quidquid reverentiae exhibere volunt homines Deo, ad non id illi in statuis et imaginibus exhibent*'

95. Calvin [OC VI Col. 464] writes: '*Quum autem verbum Dei notam esse dixerimus, quae verum eius cultum a vitioso pravaque discernat, inde colligere promptum est, totam colendi Dei formam, quae hodie mundo est usitata, nihil quam meram esse corruptionem.*'

96. Calvin [OC VI Col. 464] writes: '*Alterum christianae doctrinae praecipuum membrum in eo posuimus, dum agnoscunt homines, ubinam salutem quaerere debeant. Porro salutis nostrae cognitio tres habet gradus.*'

97. Calvin [OC VI Col. 466] writes: '*Quorsum autem illa haesitatio, quam hostes nostri a suis discipulis requirunt nisi ut tota promissionum Dei fides evanescat? Ratiocinatur Paulus, evanuisse fidem, abolitas esse promissiones, si ex lege sit haereditas*' [Rm 4:14].

After discussing worship and the knowledge of salvation in principle, Calvin turns to *the sacraments*. He is of the opinion that ceremonies devised by men were ranked the same as the mysteries instituted by Christ. The seven sacraments are contrary to Scripture, as Christ instituted only two, the others rest on mere human authority.⁹⁸ What Christ commanded to be done, and in what order, is perfectly clear from Scripture. But in contempt of Christ, a theatrical exhibition replaced the Holy Supper, for there is little resemblance between the Roman Mass and the true supper of our Lord by turning it into a sacrificial rite. Furthermore: The priest separates himself from the congregation and ‘devours’ what is supposed to be celebrated and eaten by the congregation of believers. Another example: The faithful are made to pay for attending Mass, and in various districts it is openly advertised what the price of Mass would be, as in an open market.⁹⁹

In terms of the *ecclesial governance and offices*, Calvin is of the opinion that the offices of Roman bishops, priests and pastors for many years had no semblance to what the apostle Paul required of a true pastor, that is, the edification of the body of Christ through the proclamation of sound doctrine. One in a hundred bishops still regarded teaching as an important part of their office. This was mainly due to the perception that a bishopric is nothing more than a secular principality. Very little is seen of the spiritual governance under the headship of Christ or the kingdom of God. Even more, the practice of celibacy had turned into a horrifying ‘whoredom’ which is not concealed, but openly practiced.

In summary, Calvin described the ‘evils’ which threatened the very existence of the church as those pertaining to the true worship and sound doctrine which presented themselves plainly in the veneration of saints, corrupted ceremonies, the seven sacraments, ecclesial governance and a fundamental misunderstanding of original sin and salvation.

Remedies employed for the correction of evils

In his open letter, he draws Emperor Charles V’s attention to the fact that the only reason why they (the reformers) acted the way they did, was to benefit the church in some way

98. Calvin [OC VI Col. 467] writes: *‘Quantum ad sacramenta pertinet, primum eodem loco habita sunt mysteria a Christo instituta, et excogitatae humanitus caeremoniae. Septem enim sacramenta, sine alio discrimine, recepta fuerunt: quorum duo tantum mandaverat Christus, alia non nisi hominum autoritate fundata erant.’*

99. Calvin [OC VI Col. 469] writes: *‘Haec vero communis omnium profanatio, quod ad foedam nundinationem perinde sunt exposita, ac si non alio fine instituta forent, quam ut quaestui serviant. Neque vero eiusmodi est nundinatio, quae clam aut verecunde tractetur: sed palam exercetur, non secus atque in foro mercatorio. Scitur, quanti singulae missae in quaque regione veneant. Aliis etiam constitutum est suum pretium. Denique templa, si quis bene expendat, nihil a meritoriiis tabernis differunt: et nullum est sacrorum genus, quod non illic prostet venale.’*

to ‘ameliorate in some degree the very miserable condition of the church.’¹⁰⁰ The first ‘remedy’ Calvin mentions, are the confessions the reformers presented to the authorities. The confessions give a clear exposition of true Christian doctrine and were a great service to people all over the world, because they stirred them from the slumber of ignorance. All controversies, Calvin makes clear:

[C]oncerning doctrine relate either to legitimate worship of God or to the ground of salvation. As to the former, unquestionably we do exhort men to worship God neither in a frigid nor a careless manner.¹⁰¹

Following the same structure as in the first section where Calvin discussed the evils which endangered the church, he explains the changes which took place in reformed worship, placing the emphasis on preaching:

In our churches, only God is adored in pious form without superstition; since his goodness, wisdom, power, truth, and other perfections are there preached more fully than anywhere else; since he is invoked with true faith in the name of Christ, his mercies celebrated both with heart and tongue, and men constantly urged to a simple and sincere obedience.¹⁰²

Preaching was the most powerful and important instrument by which the reformers sought to reform the church, by changing people’s understanding of the gospel and the way they lived *coram Deo*. True worship fostered true faith, the eradication of superstitious veneration of saints and relics which is idolatry. Instead of wandering perpetually in the labyrinth of human wisdom, people could now worship God in truth and in spirit.¹⁰³

Turning to prayer *per se*, Calvin points out that:

[T]here are three things which we have corrected. Discarding the intercession of saints, we have brought men back to Christ, that they might learn both to invoke the Father in his name, and trust in him as Mediator; and we have taught them to pray, first, with firm and solid

100. Calvin [OC VI Col. 473] writes: ‘*sed ut appareat, non alio spectasse nostra studia, nisi ut status ecclesiae ex pessimo saltem aliquanto melior fieret.*’

101. Calvin [OC VI Col. 674] writes: ‘*Atque ut redeamus ad illam ante a nobis positam divisionem: omnes, quae inter nos sunt de doctrina controversiae, vel ad legitimum Dei cultum, vel ad certam salutis nostrae fiduciam pertinent. Certe ad colendum Deum, neque frigide, neque negligenter hortamur homines.*’

102. Calvin [OC VI Col. 474–475] writes: ‘*Quum ergo adoretur in ecclesiis nostris unus Deus puro ritu, et absque ulla superstitione, quum eius bonitas, sapientia, potentia, veritas et reliquae virtutes uberius, quam alibi usquam praedicentur, quum vera fide invocetur in Christi nomine, quum celebrentur eius beneficia et animis et linguis, quum ad simplicem sinceramque eius obedientiam perpetuo revocentur homines.*’

103. Calvin [OC VI Col. 479] writes: ‘*quam simpliciter Deum colere in spiritu et veritate.*’

confidence, and, secondly, with understanding also, instead of continuing as formerly to mutter over confused prayers in an unknown tongue.¹⁰⁴

With reference to the apostle Paul (Rm 10:14) prayer should flow from faith which is built on the promises of God which we find in his Word. The Word of God is the foundation of all prayer. Such prayer, in the name of Christ as the only true mediator, has great power. It is clear from Calvin's arguments that true worship (like prayer in the name of Christ) flows from true doctrine (the knowledge of salvation, Christ as only mediator).

The question of language in worship: Calvin rejects the notion that it is an affront to God to address him in a vulgar tongue and not in Latin. It is also at this point that Calvin finds it necessary to attend to the phenomenon of glossolalia. He condemns this in the strongest terms, using the words of the apostle Paul in 1 Corinthians:

There seems, as I lately observed, something monstrous in this determination to hold converse with God in sounds which fall without meaning from the tongue. Even if God did not declare his displeasure, nature herself, without a monitor, rejects it. Besides, it is easy to infer from the whole teaching of scripture how deeply God abominates such an invention. (v. 14)¹⁰⁵

Still following the structure of the first section, Calvin turns to doctrine and the remedies the reformers had implemented. He starts out with a long discussion of original sin, free will, good works and Augustine's views and then turns to the question of justification through faith. The ground of our justification is that God reconciles us to himself, not based on our good works but solely through Christ alone. This is the clear and uniform doctrine of Scripture as witnessed by the law and the prophets (Rm 3:21). The fact that God looks at us as if we have no sin and adopts us as his children, is based solely on the salvific work of Christ and the grace of God (CO 6:480–487).

Moving on to the question of the sacraments (OC VI Col. 487), Calvin points out that the celebration of the sacraments was restructured in accordance with Scripture. This included reducing the number of sacraments to only two and removing superfluous and useless additions. The main issue, Calvin explains, are the questions of (1) the efficacy of the

104. Calvin [OC VI Col. 479–480] writes: '*In oratione tria correximus. Nam et sanctorum intercessione valere iussa homines ad Christum revocavimus: ut tum in illius nomine patrem invocare, tum eo mediatore niti discerent; et ipsos docuimus, primum cum splida firmaque fiducia, deinde etiam cum intelligentia orare: quum ante confusas preces lingua incognita demurmurent.*'

105. Calvin [OC VI Col. 482] writes: '*Hoc quidem iam portentis simile, ut nuper dixi, colloquium cum Deo habere velle inani linguae sonitu. Hoc etiam si sibi displicere Deus ipse non testetur, natura, sine alio monitore, respuit. Praeterea ex tota scripturae doctrina iudicare promptum est, quantopere talem fictionem abominetur Deus.*'

sacraments¹⁰⁶ and (2) whether the Lord's Supper should be regarded as a sacrificial rite. Contrary to scholastic theology, Calvin rejects the notion that the efficacy of the sacraments is to be found in the visible signs of the sacraments. The sacraments are effective through Christ alone. In other words: It is not about the visible bread or wine or water, but about the real body of Christ through which we receive salvation. He points out that the reformers remedied the situation by removing all ceremonial practices which would point to the Lord's Supper as a sacrificial rite and banishing the fiction of transubstantiation.¹⁰⁷ To this end, Calvin says, the people were carefully educated about the importance, efficacy, meaning and advantages of celebrating the sacraments. In short – proper catechesis. Participation in the sacraments should be based on sound faith and true knowledge of the source of our salvation.

In terms of church governance, the remedy instituted by the reformers was the strict requirement that every person called to ministry should also teach. The pastor is not an *officium*, rather a *ministerium*. Being called as a minister does not imply an important position but rather a life of dedication and service to God, his Word and his flock. Calvin rejects any form of privilege associated with the bishops. He also points out the strict requirements to be allowed for ministry, also contra the common spectacle of dirty, ignorant and uneducated priests who were supposed to live a life of celibacy, but didn't. Because Christ is the only head of the church, being a pastor could never be about privilege, power or financial gain (OC VI Col. 490–497). He also rejects confession as a cruel torture of the conscience and a practice which gave priests undue power over their flock. It is enough for the believers to gather in a Sunday service and publicly confess their sins as part of the liturgy.

Concluding remarks on Calvin's understanding of church reformation

In the last section of the open letter to Emperor Charles V, Calvin turns his attention to the emperor and the princes to consider the urgency of the matter. They had an important role to play, for the divisions had turned into violence. Calvin points out the potential of further conflict and pleads that the princes should not act too harshly without considering what had been presented to them. With reference to the example set by the just kings in the Old Testament, the princes should ensure that the proper and true worship and doctrine were to be maintained in their territories.

106. Calvin [OC VI Col. 488] writes: '*Præposteram quoque fiduciam tollere studuimus, quae in externa actione defixa in Christum minime respiciebat. Ita enim, tam in scholis quam in concionibus, signorum efficaciam extulerunt, ut homines ad Christum non dirigendo visibilibus elementis confidere docerent.*'

107. Calvin [OC VI Col. 489], writes: '*Ad transubstantiationis commentum, ad morem item custodiendi et gestandi panis damnandum, maior nos impulit necessitas.*'

In his open letter to the emperor Calvin explains the necessity of reforming the church in obedience to God. The reformation of the church was not only obedience to God, but a matter of urgency to inhibit further division and violence. But it is also clear that Calvin was of the opinion that the reformation of the church should be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. Once the church was free from errors in terms of doctrine and worship, it should reach some sort of equilibrium. In this the princes and emperor had an important role to play, as a matter of urgency.

The modern-day maxim *ecclesia semper reformanda* is strange to Calvin's understanding of church reformation. Michael Bush (2008:294) comes to the conclusion that Calvin used 'reformata' as an adjective to describe a church that is more or less free of liturgical and doctrinal error and used 'reformanda' participially to describe a task that must be done in situations where that freedom did not yet prevail. It is clear from Calvin's correspondence with the churches in England and Poland that he understood reformation as a process (see Bush 2008:296–298).

For Calvin the *ecclesia reformata* was not defined by moral perfection, as suggested by Zanchius (see Bush 2008:291–297). In his exegesis of Isaiah 1, Zanchius concludes that everything will be burned away which is not according to the Word of God (*secundum verbum Dei*). That requires reformation in worship (liturgy) as well as morals. He concludes that a church that still maintains some remnants of papism is not really *ecclesia reformata*, it still needs 'reforming' (*reformanda*).

Calvin, borrowing from Augustine, was quite aware of the fact that the church is not perfect, that it is a *corpus permixtum* and that we should never be too self-assured in our estimate of the visible church (Mudge 2008:613). However, sin does not detract from the fact that it is still the visible body of Christ. The marks of the true church are the pure preaching of the gospel in accordance with the Word of God. Wherever the gospel is preached truly, we find the church of Christ. As long as that does not happen, there still is a need for reformation. From this it is clear that Calvin would not agree with *semper reformanda*. At some stage the churches should agree on doctrine and how it manifests in liturgy.

■ Jodocus van Lodenstein: *Beschouwinge van Zion*

That church reformation was necessary, was also the view of one of the important figures of the *Nadere Reformatie* in the Netherlands, Jodocus van Lodenstein (1620–1677) in his book *Beschouwinge van Zion* (Van Lodenstein [1672] 1739).¹⁰⁸ He (Bush 2008:287) refers

.....
 108. Van Lodenstein, J., [1672] 1739, '*Beschouwinge van Zion: Ofte Aandagten en Opmerkingen Over den tegenwoordigen toestand van't Gereformeerde Christen Volk. Gestelt in eenige t' Zamenspraken, Gde druk, vermeerderd met een Voor-Berigt, Adrianus en Johannes Douci, s'Gravenhage.*' The copy used is in the Johannes à Lasco Library in Emden (Germany). In Bush (2008:286) the original date of publication is given as 1674.

to a 'learned man' who would prefer not to speak of a reformed church, but rather a reforming church (*de Gerform. kercke genoemt woude hebben niet Reformata of Gereformeert, maar Reformanda, of Reformeren*).

Graafland (1986:89–93) explains that Van Lodenstein used his *Beschouwinge van Zion* as a criticism of the Reformation a century earlier, as well as the 'deformation' of the church of his own time. On the one hand he regarded church reformation as a necessity (as Calvin). The Reformation during the 16th century was the start of a new and better era in the history of the church. His criticism was (contra Calvin) that it was limited to a reformation of doctrine and not also of Christian life (which was Zanchius' view). According to Van Lodenstein, the importance of good works was dismissed too easily (Graafland 1986:89). Many of the poems and theological treatises Van Lodenstein wrote reflect his deep-felt agony about the disobedience and lack of piety among so-called church people.

Van Lodenstein does not mention explicitly the growing influence of the Calvinist orthodoxy or the never-ending disputes about pure doctrine of the time, but it was obviously at the back of his mind. Van Lodenstein had an ambivalent view of the reformed confessions. He accepted reformed doctrine, especially the formulations of the Belgic Confession and Heidelberg Catechism, but not so much the Canons of Dort. He became very critical of the influence of the growing rationalism evident in Calvinist orthodoxy. He calls it a 'horrible blindness of rational enlightenment' (*gruzame blindheid van redelike verlichten*) (Graafland 1986:91). What is also interesting in Van Lodenstein's understanding of doctrine, is that truth is not found in confessions which are the work of theologians, but in Christ himself. Truth cannot be reduced to exact formulations, truth is Jesus Christ himself.

Van Lodenstein ([1672] 1739:40–52) understood the reformation of the church as the work of the Holy Spirit (*Godsdienst wederom door Gods Geest geschieden zoude*). The work of the Holy Spirit is the author of all ecclesial reform. His criticism of the 'Reformed Christians' is that it became even worse than papism (Graafland 1986:93). Reformation had become a 'deformation'. For that exact reason, the continual reformation of the reformed church was unavoidable (Van Lodenstein [1672] 1739 *Beschouwinge van Zion II*, p. 65, 137). Van Lodenstein maintained the reformed principle of the unbreakable unity between Word and Spirit. There is no Word without Spirit and no Spirit without the Word. In this dynamic interaction between Word and Spirit the church will reform.

■ Karl Barth: *Die Botschaft von der freien Gnade Gottes*

After Van Lodenstein, the continuing reformation of the church more or less moved into the background (Bush 2008:288–289). It was only after World War II that the phrase

ecclesia semper reformanda became more prominent, especially through the Swiss reformed theologian, Karl Barth (1886–1968). During 1947 and 1948 several editions of his ‘*Die Botschaft von der freien Gnade Gottes*’ (see for instance Barth 1947, 1948), in which Barth reflected on the Sixth Article of the *Barmen Confession*. In this article, the *Barmen Confession* articulates its ecclesiology, namely the calling of the church to proclaim the free grace of God to all people. It also rejects the notion that the church exists through or is the result of human endeavour.

Karl Barth (1948:34) comes to the conclusion that the free grace of God is the principle on which the church is founded. From that principle flows its right and freedom to exist, to be church in the world as *ecclesia semper reformanda*. The grace of God frees the church to stand without fear (to be understood against the context of Nazi Germany) against all Christian and unchristian demons. The free grace of God makes it possible for the church to become the church God intended it to be. All the rest is of secondary importance: The rituals, the confessions and church order are all subjected to the principle of God’s free grace to all humanity. In this way, God delivers the church from all ‘*Steckenpferden und Steckköpfigkeiten*’ [personal hobbies and stubbornness] (Barth 1948:35). After 1947–1948, the expression was used in various ways and received prominence through its use by prominent theologians, *inter alia* Hans Küng who delivered by invitation of Barth a series of lectures at Basel University during 1959 on *ecclesia semper reformanda* (Bush 2008:290). Through Küng it also found its way to the Second Vatican Council and became part of the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) Constitution (*Lumen Gentium* para. 8) as *ecclesia sancta et simul semper purificanda* (see Koffeman 2015:5 of 5). During this period, it also found its way to the USA by means of various publications.

In many of his publications, Barth preferred not to speak of ‘the reformed church’, but rather of ‘*durch Gottes Wort reformierte Kirche*’ (see Weinrich 2013:33). Barth was of the opinion that there is not a static ‘reformed church’, only a church that is being reformed through the Word of God. This is directly related to his threefold distinction of God’s Word, namely the living Word (Jesus Christ), the written Word (Scripture) and the proclaimed Word (preaching). Barth was convinced of the transforming power of the Word, as long as it is *God’s Word* and God remains the subject of revelation (Weinrich 2013:34).

On the 22nd July 1933, just before important church elections in Bonn, Karl Barth delivered a passionate plea not to jeopardise the freedom of the gospel by voting for a direction which would enslave the church to nationalistic ideals (Barth 1933:7). He points out that neither nature, history nor culture:

[M]acht die Kirche zur Kirche und nicht von daher ist die Kirche als Kirche zu verstehen. Evangelium heisst ja nicht: der Mensch für Gott!, sondern ganz und gar und allein: Gott für den Menschen. Will die Kirche Kirche sein und bleiben, dann muss sie zäh und eifersüchtig über dieser Verkündigung wachen als über ihrem Wesen [...]. (pp. 6–7)

If 'the church wants to be church' it has to protect the freedom of the gospel which proclaims Jesus Christ as the only head and king of the church.

We should understand what Barth had in mind. With the expression 'the church must be church' the first reference to 'church' has to do with the '*credo ecclesiam*', the church in which we believe. The second has to do with the church that manifests empirically. If there is a discrepancy between the visible and invisible church, it calls for reformation according to the Word of God (Barth 1933:10–11). In other words: The continued reformation of the church is a reformation according to the Word of God with the purpose to 'be church' in accordance with the gospel and not the sort of renewal (*Erneuerung*) which people and politicians are expecting.

The challenge facing the church is to 'be church' (Busch 2004:246–247) and to 'stay church' as the body of Christ, the community of the Spirit and the people of God (cf. Bender 2005). To be a church with integrity means 'to be church'; to make the invisible visible, to be what God meant it to be. Integrity implies a deep consciousness of the true nature of the church and continual reformation of the church to be what it is.

■ Conclusion: *Ecclesia semper reformanda*

The maxim '*ecclesia semper reformanda*' became very popular after World War II. It became a spontaneous 'rallying cry' (Koffeman 2015:1 of 5) for reformed churches during the last few decades. There is a growing consensus that churches are again in dire need of reformation, even fundamental transformation. Radical questions need to be asked: Are reformed principles still relevant after 500 years? If so, how could they be applied to new and challenging contexts?

At the beginning of the 21st century, it is not enough to think of church reformation only in terms of structural changes. Many churches in the world are going through changes, but mostly these are limited to structural changes with the intention to make churches and congregations financially sustainable. Examples of such efforts are for instance the reform processes taking place in regional churches of North Elbia, Middle Germany and Württemberg since the beginning of the 1990s. Stefanie Brauer-Noss, who did extensive research on these reform processes, comes to the conclusion that reform was almost exclusively focused on structural changes, or '*Prozessentwicklung*' (Brauer-Noss 2016:17). It resulted in a tension-filled relationship between structural processes of reform and a theological understanding of the church.

If the church is an earthly-historical form of existence of the risen Lord Jesus Christ, the most powerful witness to the world is the fact that the church exists and functions as church. If we understand the essential nature of the church, 'being church' is a mind-boggling enterprise. If, like Barth, we believe that the church is 'in its visible being a witness to its invisible being' it has far-reaching implications (Healy 2008:115).

The spontaneous use of the expression *ecclesia reformata semper reformata* by so many reformed theologians and churches is, to my mind, a contemporary and essential addition to the famous reformed principles of *solus Christus*, *sola fidei*, *sola gratia* and *sola scriptura*. The fact that such an expression could rise like a phoenix and find almost universal acceptance is an indication that after 500 years, there are signs of a renewed reformation, of an *ecclesia reformata semper reformanda*.

■ Summary: Chapter 4

During 2017, churches with their roots in the 16th-century Reformation, will be celebrating the legacy of the Reformation. It affords theologians and churches the opportunity to reflect on the principles of the Reformation and its relevance at the start of the 21st century. This contribution reflects on the question of the necessity of church reformation, based on three texts from different periods in the history of the church. Firstly and primarily, Calvin's '*De necessitate reformandae ecclesiae*' of 1543 sheds light on the issues the 16th century reformers were faced with and why they believed the church needed reformation. Calvin had a very clear view on the necessity of church reformation, but that it should also come to some conclusion once the liturgy and doctrine are in order. The question of church reformation is then further discussed in the light of two other texts, one from Jodocus van Lodenstein ('*Beschouwinge van Zion*') and Karl Barth (1947, 1948) ('*Die Botschaft von der freien Gnade Gottes*'). All agree on the necessity of church reformation, but differ in terms of theological and practical implications. The contribution concludes with a few remarks on the modern maxim '*ecclesia semper reformanda*'.

Literaturverwysings

■ Hoofstuk 1

- Axt-Piscalar, C., 2013, *Was ist Theologie? Klassische Entwürfe von Paulus bis zur Gegenwart*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.
- Barth, H.-M., 2009, *Die Theologie Martin Luthers: Eine kritische Würdigung*, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh.
- Barth, M., 1969, *Rechtfertigung: Versuch einer Auslegung paulinischer Texte im Rahmen des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, EVZ-Verlag, Zürich. (Theologische Studien, 90).
- Bayer, O., 1995, *Freiheit als Antwort: Zur theologischen Ethik*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.
- Bayer, O., [2003] 2007, *Martin Luthers Theologie: Eine Vergegenwärtigung*, 3. durchges. Aufl., Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.
- Beintker, M., 1998, *Rechtfertigung in der neuzeitlichen Lebenswelt: Theologische Erkundungen*, Mohr, Tübingen.
- Beintker, M., 2013, 'Gottes Urteil über unser Leben: Das Jüngste Gericht als Stunde der Wahrheit', *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 110(2), 219–233.
- Christoffersen, S., 2016, 'Justification and the Church in Scandinavian Theology', in M. Beyer, M. Hauger & V. Leppin, (Hrsg.), *Herausforderung Reformation: Reformationsgeschichte zwischen theologischer Deutung und historischer Forschung*, S. 183–205, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen. (Evangelische Impulse, 7).
- Ebeling, G., [1995] 2015, 'Theologie als Kunst des Unterscheidens', in C. Danz (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther*, S. 84–128, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt. (Neue Wege der Forschung: Theologie).
- Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (EKD), [2014] 2015, *Rechtfertigung und Freiheit: 500 Jahre Reformation 2017. Ein Grundlagentext des Rates der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland (EKD)*, 4. Aufl., Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh.
- Fichte, J.G., [1804–1805] 1991, 'Die Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters. Vorlesungen 1804–1805, 7. Vorlesung', in R. Lauth & H. Gliwitzky (Hrsg.), *Gesamtausgabe*, Bd. 8, S. 269–372, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München.
- Hamm, B., [2010] 2015, 'Naher Zorn und nahe Gnade. Luthers frühe Klosterjahre als Beginn seiner reformatorischen Neuorientierung', in C. Danz (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther*, S. 39–83, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt. (Neue Wege der Forschung: Theologie).
- Hermes, E., 2017, '„Der Glaube ist ein schäftig, tätig Ding.“ Luthers „Ethik“: Sein Bild vom christlichen Leben', in U. Heckel, J. Kampmann, V. Leppin & C. Schwöbel (Hrsg.), *Luther heute: Ausstrahlungen der Wittenberger Reformation*, S. 90–126, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.

- Honecker, M., 1990, *Einführung in die Theologische Ethik: Grundlage und Grundbegriffe*, De Gruyter, Berlin.
- Iwand, H.J., [1941] 1980, 'Glaubensgerechtigkeit nach Luthers Lehre', in G. Sauter (Hrsg.), *Glaubensgerechtigkeit: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, II, S. 11–125, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München. (Theologische Bücherei, 64).
- Iwand, H.J., [1974] 1983, *Nachgelassene Werke*, Bd. 5, *Luthers Theologie*, V.J. Haar (Hrsg.), Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Jüngel, E., [1988] 1990, 'Leben aus Gerechtigkeit. Gottes Handeln – menschliches Tun', in E. Jüngel (Hrsg.), *Wertlose Wahrheit: Zur Identität und Relevanz des christlichen Glaubens: Theologische Erörterungen*, III, S. 346–364, Kaiser, München. (Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie, 107).
- Jüngel, E., 1998, *Das Evangelium von der Rechtfertigung des Gottlosen als Zentrum des christlichen Glaubens: Eine theologische Studie in ökumenischer Absicht*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.
- Jüngel, E., [1968] 2000, 'Gottes umstrittene Gerechtigkeit. Eine reformatorische Besinnung zum paulinischen Begriff', in E. Jüngel (Hrsg.), *Unterwegs zur Sache. Theologische Erörterungen*, I, 3. Aufl., pp. 60–79, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.
- Kasper, W., 2016, *Martin Luther: Eine ökumenische Perspektive*, Patmos Verlag, Ostfildern.
- Kaufmann, T., [2016] 2017, *Erlöste und Verdammte: Eine Geschichte der Reformation*, 2. durchges. Aufl., C.H. Beck, München.
- Kohnle, A., 2015, *Martin Luther: Reformator, Ketzer, Ehemann*, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt (SCM), Leipzig.
- Korsch, D., [2005] 2010, 'Glaube und Rechtfertigung', in A. Beutel (Hrsg.), *Luther Handbuch*, 2. Aufl., S. 372–381, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen. (UTB, 3416).
- Körtner, U., 2014, *Die letzten Dinge, Neukirchener Theologie, Neukirchen-Vluyn*. (Theologische Bibliothek, 1).
- Leppin, V., 2016a, *Die fremde Reformation: Luthers mystische Wurzeln*, Verlag C.H. Beck, München.
- Leppin, V., 2016b, 'Luther's transformation of medieval thought: Continuity and discontinuity', in R. Kolb, I. Dingel & L. Batka (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*, pp. 115–124, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Lohse, B., 1995, *Luthers Theologie in ihrer historischen Entwicklung und in ihrem systematischen Zusammenhang*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.
- Luther, M., [1518] 1883, 'Resolutiones disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute' in J.K.F. Knaake (Hrsg.), *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 1. Bd., S. 522–628 (WA 1, 522–628), Hermann Böhlau, Weimar.
- Luther, M., [1519] 1884, 'In epistolam ad Galatas commentarius', in J.K.F. Knaake (Hrsg.), *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 2. Bd., S. 436–618 (WA 2, 436–618), Hermann Böhlau, Weimar.
- Luther, M., [1534] 1910, 'Predigten über die Taufe', in J.F.K. Kaake (Hrsg.), *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 37. Bd., S. 627–672, (WA 37, 627–672), Hermann Böhlau's Nachfolger, Weimar.
- Luther, M., [1532–1538] 1914, 'Enarratio Psalmi LI', in J.K.F. Knaake (Hrsg.), *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 40. Bd. 2. Abteilung, S. 313–470 (WA 40, 2, 313–470), Hermann Böhlau's Nachfolger, Weimar.

- Luther, M., [1522] 1925, 'Adventspostille: Mt 11:2–10. Am dritten Sonntag des Advents 1522', in J.K.F. Knaake (Hrsg.), *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 10. Bd., 1. Abteilung, 2. Hälfte, S. 147–170 (WA 10, I/ 2, 147–170), Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, Weimar.
- Luther, M., [1537] 1926, 'Die Promotionsdisputation von Palladius und Tilemann', in J.K.F. Knaake (Hrsg.), *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 39. Bd., 1. Abteilung, S. 205–257 (WA 39, 1, 205–257), Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, Weimar.
- Luther, M., [1532–1533] 1930, 'Vorlesung über die Stufenpsalmen (Psalm 130:4)', in J.K.F. Knaake (Hrsg.), *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 40. Bd., 3. Abteilung, S. 348–360 (WA 40, III, 348–360), Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, Weimar.
- Luther, M., [1522–1546] 1931, 'Vorrede auss die Epistel S. Pauli an die Römer', in G. Webermeyer (Hrsg.), *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 7. Band, *Die Deutsche Bibel, Das Neue Testament*, 2. Hälfte, S. 3–27 (WA DB 7, 3–27), Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, Weimar.
- Luther, M., [1543] 2006a, 'De fide iustificante', in J. Schilling (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther: Lateinisch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 2, *Christusglaube und Rechtfertigung*, S. 481–489, (WA 39(II), 235–239), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Luther, M., [1518] 2006b, 'De remissione peccatorum', in J. Schilling (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther: Lateinisch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 2, *Christusglaube und Rechtfertigung*, S. 25–33, (WA 1, 630–633), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Luther, M., [1520] 2006c, 'Propositiones de fide infusa et acquisita', in J. Schilling (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther: Lateinisch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 2, *Christusglaube und Rechtfertigung*, S. 91–95, (WA 6, 85–86), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Luther, M., [1520] 2006d, 'Quaestrio, utrum opera faciant ad iustificationem', in J. Schilling (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther: Lateinisch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 2, *Christusglaube und Rechtfertigung*, S. 97–99, (WA 7, 231–232), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Luther, M., [1519] 2006e, 'Sermo de duplici iustitia', in J. Schilling (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther: Lateinisch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 2, *Christusglaube und Rechtfertigung*, S. 67–85, (WA 2, 145–153), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Luther, M., [1518] 2006f, 'Sermo de triplici iustitia' in J. Schilling (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther: Lateinisch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 2., *Christusglaube und Rechtfertigung*, S. 53–65, (WA 2, 43–47), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Luther, M., [1535–1537] 2006g, 'Thesen für fünf Disputationen über Römer 3,28', in J. Schilling (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther: Lateinisch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 2, *Christusglaube und Rechtfertigung*, S. 401–441, (WA 39(I), 44–53, 82–86, 202–204), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Luther, M., [1545] 2006h, 'Vorrede zum ersten Band der lateinischen Schriften der Wittenberger Luther-Ausgabe', in J. Schilling (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther: Lateinisch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 2, *Christusglaube und Rechtfertigung*, S. 491–509, (WA 54, 179–187), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Luther, M., [1522] 2012, 'Ein kleiner Unterricht, was man in den Evangelien suchen und erwarten soll', in D. Korsch (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther: Deutsch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 1, *Glaube und Leben*, S. 485–499, (WA 10(I), 8–18), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.

- Mattes, M., 2016, 'Luther on justification as forensic and effective', in R. Kolb, I. Dingel & L. Batka (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*, pp. 264–273, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Moltmann, J., 1977, 'Rechtfertigung und neue Schöpfung', in J. Moltmann (Hrsg.), *Zukunft der Schöpfung: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, S. 157–179, Chr. Kaiser, München.
- Moltmann, J., 1991, 'Gerechtigkeit für Opfer und Täter', in J. Moltmann (Hrsg.), *In der Geschichte des dreieinigen Gottes: Beiträge zur trinitarischen Theologie*, S. 74–89, Kaiser, München.
- Müller, G., 2016, 'Luther's transformation of medieval thought: Discontinuity and scontinuity', in R. Kolb, I. Dingel & L. Batka (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*, pp. 105–114, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Peters, A., 1984, *Rechtfertigung*, Mohn, Gütersloh. (Handbuch Systematischer Theologie, 12).
- Saarinen, R., 2016, 'Justification by faith: The view of the Mannermaa school', in R. Kolb, I. Dingel & L. Batka (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*, pp. 254–263, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Sauter, G., 1989, *Rechtfertigung als Grundbegriff evangelischer Theologie: Eine Textsammlung eingeleitet und herausgegeben von Gerhard Sauter*, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München. (Theologische Bücherei, 78).
- Schäufele, W-F., 2016, 'Die Rechtfertigungslehre: Motor der Reformation?', in M. Beyer, M. Hauger & V. Leppin (Hrsg.), *Herausforderung Reformation: Reformationsgeschichte zwischen theologischer Deutung und historischer Forschung*, S. 58–84, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen. (Evangelische Impulse, 7).
- Schilling, J., (Hrsg.), 2006, *Martin Luther: Lateinisch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 2, Christusglaube und Rechtfertigung, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Schilling, J., [2005] 2010, 'Gattungen – Erbauungsschriften', in A. Beutel (Hrsg.), *Luther Handbuch*, 2. Aufl., S. 295–305, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen. (UTB, 3416).
- Schwarz, R., [2015] 2016, *Martin Luther – Lehrer der christlichen Religion*, 2. Aufl., Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.
- Slenczka, N., [2005] 2010, 'Christliche Hoffnung', in A. Beutel (Hrsg.), *Luther Handbuch*, 2. Aufl., S. 435–443, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen. (UTB, 3416).
- Van Selms, A., 2016, 'Toeligting op die Belydenis van die Hervormers: 'n Katkisasieboek oor die Christelike Geloofsleer. Opgestel en uitgegee in opdrag van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika', *Tydskrif vir Hervormde Teologie* 4(4), 1–259.
- Van Wyk, I.W.C., 2001, 'Die "gemeenskaplike verklaring oor die regverdigingsleer" van 30/31 Oktober 1999', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 57(3&4), 835–867.
- Van Wyk, I.W.C., 2011, 'Wat is reformatoriese teologie? Nadenke na aanleiding van 'n kerklike beswaarskrif', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 67(3). Art # 1156, 11 pages. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67i3.1156>
- Van Wyk, I.W.C., 2015a, 'Martin Luther oor oneerlikheid in die ekonomie', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 71(3), Art. # 2869, 7 pages. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i3.2869>
- Van Wyk, I.W.C., 2015b, 'Martin Luther en teologiebeoefening in die toekoms', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 71(3), Art. # 3070, 8 pages. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i3.3070>

- Weinrich, M. & Burgess, J. (eds.), 2009, *What is justification about? Reformed contributions to an ecumenical theme*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.
- Wenz, G., 2015a, 'Der Jüngste Tag, Himmel und Hölle', in G. Wenz (Hrsg.), *Vollendung: Eschatologische perspektive*, S. 288–307, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen. (Studium Systematische Theologie, 10).
- Wenz, G., 2015b, 'Rechtfertigung im Endgericht. Eschatologie in reformatorischer Tradition', in G. Wenz (Hrsg.), *Vollendung: Eschatologische perspektive*, S. 18–36, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen. (Studium Systematische Theologie, 10).

■ Hoofstuk 2

- Barth, K., [1922] 1993, *K. Barth Gesamtausgabe: Akademische Werke*, Bd. 2, H. Scholl (Hrsg.), *Die Theologie Calvins 1922*, Theologischer Verlag, Zürich.
- Barth, H.-M., 2009, *Die Theologie Martin Luthers: Eine kritische Würdigung*, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh.
- Bayer, O., 1995, *Freiheit als Antwort: Zur theologischen Ethik*, Mohr, Tübingen.
- Bultmann, R., [1952] 1968a, 'Die Bedeutung des Gedanken der Freiheit für die abendländische Kultur', in R. Bultmann, *Glauben und Verstehen: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 2. Bd., 5. erw. Aufl., S. 274–293, Mohr, Tübingen.
- Bultmann, R., [1952] 1968b, 'Gnade und Freiheit [1948]', in R. Bultmann, *Glauben und Verstehen: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 2. Bd., 5., erw. Aufl., S. 149–161, Mohr, Tübingen.
- Bultmann, R., [1959] 1975, 'Der Gedanke der Freiheit nach antikem und christlichem Verständnis', in R. Bultmann, *Glauben und Verstehen: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 4. Bd., 3., durchges. Aufl., S. 42–51, Mohr, Tübingen.
- Calvini, I., [1559] 1864, *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, in *Libros quatuor nunc primum Digesta certisque distincta Capitibus, ad aptissimam Methodum, Aucta etiam tam magna Accessione ut Propemodum Opus novum haberi possit, Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. XXX, ediderunt G. Baum, E. Cunitz, & E. Reuss, Theologi Argentoratenses, volumen II, Apud C.A. Schwetschke et Filium, Brunsvigae.
- Calvyn, J., [1559] 1984, *Institusie van die Christelike Godsdiens*, bk. 1, vert. H.W. Simpson met medewerking van C.M.M. Brink, Calvyn Jubileum Boekefonds (CJBF), Potchefstroom.
- Calvyn, J., [1559] 1986, *Institusie van die Christelike Godsdiens*, bk. 2, vert. H.W. Simpson met medewerking van C.M.M. Brink, Calvyn Jubileum Boekefonds (CJBF), Potchefstroom.
- Calvyn, J., [1559] 1988, *Institusie van die Christelike Godsdiens*, bk. 3, vert. H.W. Simpson met medewerking van C.M.M. Brink, Calvyn Jubileum Boekefonds (CJBF), Potchefstroom.
- Ebeling, G., [1964] 2017, *Luther: Einführung in sein Denken*, A. Beutel, Nachwort, 6. Aufl., Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.
- Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (EKD), [2014] 2015, *Rechtfertigung und Freiheit: 500 Jahre Reformation 2017. Ein Grundlagentext des Rates der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland (EKD)*, 4. Aufl., Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh.

- Huber, W., 2007, *Im Geist der Freiheit: Für eine Ökumene der Profile*, Herder, Freiburg.
- Joest, W., 1967, *Ontologie der Person bei Luther*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.
- Jüngel, E., [1978] 2000, 'Zur Freiheit eines Christenmenschen. Eine Erinnerung an Luthers Schrift', in E. Jüngel, *Indikative der Gnade – Imperative der Freiheit*, S. 84–160, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen. (Theologische Erörterungen, IV).
- Kjeldgaard-Pedersen, 2016, 'Freiheit als reformatorischer Kernbegriff?' in M. Beyer, M. Hauger & V. Leppin (Hrsg.), *Herausforderung Reformation: Reformationsgeschichte zwischen theologischer Deutung und historischer Forschung*, S. 107–130, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen. (Evangelische Impulse, 7).
- Kolb, R., 2016, 'Luther's hermeneutics of distinctions: Law and Gospel, two kinds of righteousness, two realms, freedom and bondage', in R. Kolb, I. Dingel & L. Batka (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*, pp. 168–184, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Korsch, D., [1998] 2015, 'Christliche Freiheit und Handeln in der Welt: Freiheit als Summe. Über die Gestalt christlichen Lebens nach Martin Luther', in C. Danz (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther*, S. 193–211, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt. (Neue Wege der Forschung: Theologie).
- Körtner, U., 2010, *Reformatorische Theologie im 21. Jahrhundert*, Theologischer Verlag, Zürich. (Theologische Studien: Neue Folge, 1).
- Laube, M., 2012, 'Tätige Freiheit: Zur Aktualität des reformierten Freiheitsverständnisses', *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 109(3), 337–359.
- Leppin, V., 2016, *Die fremde Reformation: Luthers mystische Wurzeln*, Verlag CH Beck, München.
- Leppin, V., 2017, 'Priestertum aller Gläubigen. Amt und Ehrenamt in der lutherischen Kirche', in U. Heckel, J. Kampmann, V. Leppin & C. Schwöbel (Hrsg.), *Luther heute: Ausstrahlungen der Wittenberger Reformation*, S. 149–169, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.
- Luther, M., [1523] 1891, 'Epistel Sancti Petri gepredigt und ausgelegt', in J.K.F. Knaake (Hrsg.), *Dr. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 12. Bd., S. 249–399 (WA, 12, 249–399), Hermann Böhlhaus, Weimar.
- Luther, M., [1533] 1912, 'Vorrede zum Catalogus oder Register aller Bücher und Schriften Luthers. 1533', in J.K.F. Knaake (Hrsg.), *Dr. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 38. Bd., S. 132–134 (WA 38, 132–134), Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, Weimar.
- Luther, M., [1525] 1927, 'Fastenpostille' in J.K.F. Knaake (Hrsg.), *Dr. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 17. Bd., 2. Abteilung, S. 1–247 (WA 17, II, 1–247), Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, Weimar.
- Luther, M., [1525] 2006a, 'De servo arbitrio', in W. Härle (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther: Lateinisch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 1, *Der Mensch vor Gott*, unter Mitarbeit von M. Beyer, S. 219–661, (WA 18, 600–787), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Luther, M., [1520] 2006b, 'Epistola Lutheriana ad Leonem Decimum summum pontificem. Tractatus de libertate christiana', in J. Schilling (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther: Lateinisch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 2., *Christusglaube und Rechtfertigung*, S. 101–185, (WA 7, 42–73) Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Luther, M., [1520] 2009, 'De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae. Praeludium Martin Lutheri', in G. Wartenberg & M. Beyer (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther: Lateinisch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 3., *Die Kirche und ihre Ämter*, S. 173–375, (WA 6, 497–573), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.

- Luther, M., [1520] 2012a, 'Ein Sendbrief an den Papst Leo X, 1520', in D. Korsch (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther, Deutsch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 1, *Glaube und Leben*, S. 256–275, (WA 7, 1–11), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Luther, M., [1520] 2012b, 'Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen (Von der Freyhey eyñiß Christenmenschen)', in D. Korsch (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther, Deutsch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 1, *Glaube und Leben*, S. 277–315, (WA 7, 20–38), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Luther, M., [1520] 2016, 'An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation: Von der Reform der Christenheit', in H. Zschoch (Hrsg.), *Martin Luther: Deutsch-Deutsche Studienausgabe*, Bd. 3., *Christ und Welt*, S. 1–135, (WA 6, 404–469), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Melanchthon, P., [1559] 1856, *Loci Praecipui Theologici*, Sumtibus Gust. Schlawitz, Berolini, Berlin. (Abdruck der 1559 zu Leipzig erschienen Ausgabe. Copied and distributed by Amazon.de 2015).
- Melanchthon, P., [1521] 1997, *Loci Communes*, Lateinisch-Deutsch, übersetzt H.G. Pöhlmann, Lutherisches Kirchenamt VELKD (Hrsg.), 2. Aufl., Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh.
- Melanchthon, P., [1553] 2010, *Heubartikel Christlicher Lere*, Melanchthons deutsche Fassung seiner Loci Theologici, nach dem Autograph und dem Originaldruck von 1553, R. Jenett & J. Schilling (Hrsg.), 2. aktualisierte u. erg. Ausg., Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Melanchthon, P., [1522] 2011, 'Unterschied zwischen weltlicher und Christlicher Fromkeyt', übersetzt H. Junghans als 'Der Unterschied zwischen weltlicher und christlicher Gerechtigkeit', in M. Beyer, S. Rhein & G. Wartenberg (Hrsg.), *Melanchthon Deutsch*, Bd. 2, *Theologie und Kirchenpolitik*, korrigierte Aufl., S. 20–24, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Niesel, W., 1938, *Die Theologie Calvins*, Kaiser, München.
- Parker, T.H.L., 1975, *John Calvin: A biography*, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, London.
- Reinhardt, V., [2009] 2017, *Die Tyrannei der Tugend: Calvin und die Reformation in Genf*, 2. Aufl., C.H. Beck, München.
- Rohloff, R., 2011, *Johannes Calvin: Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.
- Sauter, G., 1986, '„Freiheit“ als theologische und politische Kategorie', in G. Besier & G. Ringhausen (Hrsg.), *Bekenntnis, Widerstand, Martyrium: Von Barmen 1934 bis Plötzensee 1944*, S. 148–165, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.
- Schilling, J., [2005] 2010a, 'Aneignungen – Geschichtsbild und Selbstverständnis', in A. Beutel (Hrsg.), *Luther Handbuch*, 2. Aufl., S. 97–106, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen. (UTB, 3416).
- Schilling, J., [2005] 2010b, 'Gattungen-Erbauungsschriften', in A. Beutel (Hrsg.), *Luther Handbuch*, 2. Aufl., S. 295–305, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen. (UTB, 3416).
- Schwarz, R., [1986] 2014, *Luther*, 4. durchges. Aufl., Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen. (UTB, 1926).
- Schwarz, R., [2015] 2016, *Martin Luther – Lehrer der christlichen Religion*, 2. Aufl., Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.
- Selderhuis, H. (Hrsg.), 2008, 'Gattungen: Institutio', in *Calvin Handbuch*, S. 197–204, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.
- Van Wyk, I.W.C., 1996, 'Het die kerk 'n politieke verantwoordelikheid?: Oor die noodwendigheid en grense van die "twee-ryke-leer"', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 52(4), 765–799.

- Van Wyk, I.W.C., 2011, 'Wat is reformatoriese teologie? Nadenke na aanleiding van 'n kerklike beswaarskrif', *HTS Teologiese Studies Theological Studies* 67(3), 11 pages. Art# 1156. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67i3.1156>
- Van Wyk, I.W.C., 2013, 'Die Hervormde Kerk: Soekend na 'n weg tussen ekklesiologiese verstarring en innovasie sonder tradisie', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 69(1), 11 pages. Art.# 1999. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v69i1.1999>
- Van Wyk, I.W.C., 2015a, 'Martin Luther oor oneerlikheid in die ekonomie', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 71(3), 7 pages. Art #2869. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i3.2869>
- Van Wyk, I.W.C., 2015b, 'Rudolf Bultmann se verstaan van vryheid', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 71(3), 8 pages. Art #2895. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i3.2895>
- Van Wyk, N., 2017a, 'Die 95 stellings oor die aflaat', *Tydskrif vir Hervormde Teologie* 5(1), 1–3.
- Van Wyk, N., 2017b, 'Feit en fiksie oor die kerkdeur(e) van Wittenberg', *Tydskrif vir Hervormde Teologie* 5(1), 4–6.
- Zschoch, H., [2005] 2010, 'Aneignungen – Lebenslauf', in A. Beutel (Hrsg.), *Luther Handbuch*, 2. Aufl., S. 82–91, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen. (UTB, 3416).

■ Hoofstuk 3

- Allen, J.W., 1961, *A history of political thought in the sixteenth century*, Methuen, London.
- Backus, I., 2003, 'Calvin's concept of natural and Roman Law', *Calvin Theological Journal* 38, 7–26.
- Balke, W., 1977, *Calvijn en de doperse radicale*, Ton Bolland, Amsterdam.
- Balsarak, J., 2013, 'Examining the myth of Calvin as a lover of order', in P. Opitz (ed.), *The myth of the Reformation*, pp. 160–175, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.
- Blacketer, R.A., 2009, 'Commentaries and prefaces', in H.J. Selderhuis (ed.), *The Calvin handbook*, pp. 181–192, Wm. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.
- Calvin, J., [1557] 1845, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, vol. 1, transl. J. Anderson, viewed 10 June 2016, from <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/calvin/calcom08.titlepage.html>
- Calvin, J., [1536] 1863, 'Christianae Religionis Institutio etc.', in G. Baum, E. Cunitz, & E. Reuss (eds.), *Ioannis Calvinii opera quae supersunt omnia*, volumen I, C.A. Schwetsschke et Filium, Brunsvigae.
- Calvin, J. [1532] 1866a, 'L. Annei Senecae Romani Senatoris ac Philosophi Clarissimi, Libro duo De Clementia, ad Neronem Caesarem: Io. Calvinii Noviodunaei Commentariis Illustrati', in G. Baum, E. Cunitz, & E. Reuss (eds.), *Ioannis Calvinii opera quae supersunt omnia*, volumen V, pp. 1–162, C.A. Schwetsschke et Filium, Brunsvigae.
- Calvin, J., [1534] 1866b, 'Vivere apud Christum non dormire animis sanctos qui in fide Christi decedunt, quae vulgo Psychopannychia dicitur', in G. Baum, E. Cunitz & E. Reuss (eds.), *Ioannis Calvinii opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. V, pp. 166–232, C.A. Schwetsschke et Filium, Brunsvigae.
- Calvin, J., [1535] 1870, 'L. Praefatio', in G. Baum, E. Cunitz & E. Reuss (eds.), *Ioannis Calvinii opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. IX, C.A. Schwetsschke et Filium, Brunsvigae.

- Cottret, B., 2000, *Calvin. A biography*, transl. M.W. McDonald, William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.
- Dankbaar, W.F., 1957, *Calvijn – Zijn weg en werk*, GF Callenbach N.V., Nijkerk.
- Ganoczy, A., 1966, *Le jeune Calvin. Genèse et évolution de sa vocation réformatrice*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden.
- Ganoczy, A., 2004, 'Calvin's life', in D. McKim (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to John Calvin*, pp. 3–24, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hugo, A.M., 1957, *Calvijn en Seneca. Een Inleidende studie van Calvijns Commentaar op Seneca, De Clementia, anno 1532*, J.B. Wolters, Groningen–Djakarta.
- Lang, A., 1913, *Zwingli und Calvin*, Leipzig, Bielefeld.
- Lange van Ravenswaay, J.M.J., 1990, *Augustinus totus noster. Das Augustinverständnis bei Johannes Calvin*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.
- Lee, H.B., 2004, 'Calvin's sudden conversion (subita conversio) and its historical meaning', *Acta Theologica, Supplementum* 5, 103–116.
- McGrath, A., 2007, *A life of John Calvin*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Millet, O., 2011, 'Calvin's self-awareness as author', in I. Backus & P. Benedict (eds.), *John Calvin and his influence 1509–2009*, transl. S. Gebhardt, pp. 84–101, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Neuser, W.H., 2001, 'The first outline of Calvin's theology – The preface to the New Testament in the Olivétan Bible of 1535', *Koers* 66 (1&2), 1–22.
- Simpson, H.W., 1984, 'Voorwoord', in J. Calvin, *Institusie van die Christelike Godsdiens*, vert. H.W. Simpson, pp. v–xxiii, Calvyn Jubileum Boekefonds, Potchefstroom. <http://www.cjbf.co.za/boeke/1536Institusie.pdf>
- Tavard, G.H., 2000, *The starting point of Calvin's theology*, Wm. B Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.
- Van Eck, J., 1992, *God, mens, medemens. Humanitas in de theologie van Calvijn*, Uitgeverij Van Wijnen, Franeker.
- Van't Spijker, W., 1990, 'De kerk bij Calvijn: Theocratie', in W. Van't Spijker (red.), *De Kerk. Wezen, weg en werk van de kerk naar reformatorische opvatting*, pp. 143–162, Uitgeverij De Groot Goudriaan, Kampen.
- Van Wageningen, J. & Muller, F., 1921, *Latijnsch Woordenboek*, J.B. Wolters, Groningen.
- Wendel, F., 1978, *Calvin–The origins and development of his religious thought*, transl. P. Mairet, William Collins Sons, London.

■ Hoofstuk 4

- Barth, K., 1933, 'Für die Freiheit des Evangeliums', in *Theologische Existenz heute*, Heft 2, Chr. Kaizer Verlag, München.
- Barth, K., 1947, 'Die Botschaft von der freien Gnade Gottes', in K.G. Steck & G. Eichholz (eds.), *Theologischen Existenz heute*, Heft 9, S. 24–37, Chr. Kaizer Verlag, München.

- Barth, K., 1948, *Kirche für die Welt. Die Botschaft von der freien Gnade Gottes*, W. Kohlhammer Verlag, Stuttgart.
- Bender, K.J., 2005, *Karl Barth's Christological ecclesiology*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Burlington, VT.
- Brauer-Noss, S., 2016, 'Die Öffnung der Kirche in die Gesellschaft hinein. Reformprozesse in der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland', *Evangelische Theologie* 76(1), 7–20.
- Busch, E., 2004, *The great passion. An introduction to Karl Barth's theology*, transl. G.W. Bromley, D.L. Guder (ed.), William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.
- Bush, M., 2008, 'Calvin and the reformanda sayings', in H. Selderhuis (ed.), *Calvinus sacrarum literarum interpres. Papers of the International Congress on Calvin Research*, pp. 285–299, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.
- Calvin, J., [1543] 1867, 'De necessitate reformandae ecclesiae', in G. Baum, E. Cunitz & E. Reuss (eds.), *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. VI, Col. 457–534, C.A. Schwetschke et Filium, Brunsvigae.
- Graafland, C., 1986, 'Jodocus van Lodenstein (1620–1676)', in T. Brienen et.al. (eds.), *De Nadere Reformatie. Beschrijving van haar voornaamste vertegenwoordigers*, pp. 85–125, Boekencentrum, 's-Gravenhage.
- Guder, D.L., 2000, *The continuing conversion of the church*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids.
- Healy, N.M., 2008, 'The church in modern theology', in G. Mannion & L.S. Mudge (eds.), *The Routledge companion to the Christian church*, pp. 106–126, Routledge, New York.
- Koffeman, L.J., 2015, "'Ecclesia reformata semper reformanda" Church renewal from a Reformed perspective', *HTS Theologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 71(3), 5 pages. Art. #2875. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i3.2875>
- Mahlmann, T., 2010, "'Ecclesia semper reformanda." Eine historische Aufklärung', in T. Johansson, R. Kolb, & J.A. Steiger (eds.), *Hermeneutica Sacra: Studien zur Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, pp. 381–442, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Mudge, L.S., 2008, 'Ecclesiology and ethics in the Western church', in G. Mannion & L.S. Mudge (eds.), *Routledge companion to the Christian church*, pp. 607–622, Routledge, New York.
- Van Lodenstein, J., [1672] 1739, *Beschouwinge van Zion: Ofte Aandagten en Opmerkingen Over den tegenwoordigen toestand van't Gereformeerde Christen Volk. Gestelt in eenige t' Zamenspraken*, 6de druk, vermeerderd met een Voor-Berigt, Adrianus en Johannes Douci, 's-Gravenhage.
- Van Ruler, A.A., 1965, *Reformatorische opmerkingen in de ontmoeting met Rome*, Paul Brand, Hilversum.
- Webster, J., 2000, *Barth*, Continuum, London.
- Weinrich, M., 2013, 'Karl Barth (1886–1968) – ein reformierter Reformierter. Theologie für eine durch Gottes Wort reformierende Kirche', in M. Hofheinz & M. Zeindler (eds.), *Reformierte Theologie weltweit. Zwölf Profile aus dem 20. Jahrhundert*, pp. 23–46, Theologischer Verlag, Zürich.

■ Hoofstuk 5

- Bultmann, R., [1948] 1968, 'Gnade und Freiheit', in R. Bultmann, *Glauben und Verstehen*, 2.Bd., 5. erw. Aufl., S. 149–161, Mohr, Tübingen.
- Bultmann, R., [1928] 1972a, 'Die Bedeutung der "dialektischen Theologie" für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft', in R. Bultmann, *Glauben und Verstehen*, 1. Bd., 7. Aufl., S. 114–135, Mohr, Tübingen.
- Bultmann, R., [1927] 1972b, 'Zur Frage der Christologie', in R. Bultmann, *Glauben und Verstehen*, 1. Bd., 7. Aufl., S. 85–113, Mohr, Tübingen.
- Du Plessis, K., 2012, 'Gebed', in *FAK-Sangbundel*, vol. II: 'n *Versameling van Afrikaanse musiek in ses verskillende rubrieke*, Die Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge, Parow.
- Ebeling, G., [1950] 1967, 'Die Bedeutung der historisch-kritischen Methode für die protestantische Theologie und Kirche', in G. Ebeling, *Wort und Glaube*, 3. Aufl., S.1–49, Mohr, Tübingen.
- Engelbrecht, B.J., [1962] 1982, 'Wat is die reg en vryheid van die eksegeet?' in B.J. Engelbrecht, *Versamelde opstelle*, deel 2, bl. 51–67, Universiteit van Pretoria, Pretoria. [Ook gepubliseer in HTS, 1986, 42(3), 485–501.]
- Luther, M., [1521] 1931, Luther an Melanchthon, Wartburg, 1. August 1521 in O. Clemen (Hrsg.) *D. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel*, 2. Bd., S. 370–372, H. Böhlau, Weimar.
- Luther, M., [1538] 1914, Die Schmalkaldischen Artikel in J.K.F. Knaake et al (Hrsg.) *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, 50. Bd., 160–254, H. Böhlau, Weimar.
- Melanchthon, P., [1521] 1890, *Die Loci communes in ihrer Urgestalt*, 2. Aufl., besigtig 24 Februarie 2017, by <https://ia800306.us.archive.org/9/items/dielocicomunes00plitgoog/dielocicomunes00plitgoog.pdf>
- Die Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk en die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk, 2001, *Liedboek van die Kerk vir gebruik by die erediens en ander byeenkomste*, NG Kerk-Uitgewers, Goodwood.
- Van Niekerk, A., 2017, 'Kerk moet altyd hervorm', *Beeld*, 11 Februarie, p. 18.
- Van Selms, A., 1936, 'Hoe Lezen wij het Oude Testament?' *Onder eigen vaandel* 11(1), 10–27.
- Van Selms, A., 1937, *De Zondag tussen Farizeïsme en Libertinisme*, Callenbach, Nijkerk. (Onze Tijd, 3).
- Van Selms, A., 1938a. *De Bijbel in het gezin*, Ploegsma, Zeist. (Het Boek der Boeken: Een serie monografieën over den levenshoud van den Bijbel, V).
- Van Selms, A., 1938b, 'Evangelie en Wet in die eksegeese van het Oude Testament', *Onder eigen Vaandel* 13, 88–104.
- Van Selms, A., 1940, 'Ps. 130:4. Maar by U is vergewing, dat U gevrees mag word', in T.F.J. Dreyer (red.), *Die blye Boodskap: 'n Bundel preke van verskillende predikante en professore van die Nederduits Hervormde Kerk van Afrika*, bl. 9–86, Afrikaanse Pers, Johannesburg.
- Van Selms, A., 1947, *II Kronieken*, Wolters, Groningen.
- Van Selms, A., 1948a, 'Geregtigheid as 'n Bybelse begrip', *HTS* 4, 152–163.

- Van Selms, A., 1948b, *Licht uit Licht: Het Christelĳk geloof naar de Belijdenis van Nicea*, Ploegsma, Amsterdam.
- Van Selms, A., 1949, 'Die noodsaaklikheid van voortgesette studie', *Die Hervormer*, Desember, 8.
- Van Selms, A., 1950, 'Studiemateriaal van die Sondagskoolonderwyser', *Die Hervormer*, Julie, 9.
- Van Selms, A., 1951, 'Tekskritiek en exegese in de behandeling der Psalmen', *Kerk en Teologie* 2, 76–96.
- Van Selms, A., 1952, 'Die Calvinisme van die eerste nedersetting', *Die Hervormer* April, 8 & 10.
- Van Selms, A. (s.a.), 'Toeligting op die Belydenis van die Hervormers: 'n Katkisasieboek oor die Christelike Geloofsleer', *Tydskrif vir Hervormde Teologie* 4 (4), besigtig 26 Julie 2017, by <http://www.nhka.org/images/stories/THT/THT%20Jaargang%204,%20nommer%204.pdf>
- Van Selms, A., 1958, 'Kiest u heden wie gij dienen zult', *Kerk en Teologie* 9(4), 210–218.
- Van Selms, A., 1959–1960, 'Theologie van de filoloog', *Kerk en Teologie* 10(11), 65–76.
- Van Selms, A., 1967a, *Genesis, deel I, De Prediking van het Oude Testament*, Callenbach, Nijkerk.
- Van Selms, A., 1967b, *Genesis, deel II, De Prediking van het Oude Testament*, Callenbach, Nijkerk.
- Van Selms, A., 1969, *Jerusalem door de eeuwen heen: Van voor koning David tot generaal Dayan*, 2e druk, Hollandia, Baarn.
- Van Selms, A., 1970, 'De sleutelmacht: Een exegese van Matth. 16:19', *Kerk en Teologie* 21, 247–270.
- Van Selms, A., 1972, *Jeremia, deel I, De Prediking van het Oude Testament*, Callenbach, Nijkerk.
- Van Selms, A., 1974, *Jeremia, deel II, De Prediking van het Oude Testament*, Callenbach, Nijkerk.
- Van Selms, A., 1978, *Die God van die Ou Testament*, Unisa, Pretoria.
- Van Selms, A., 1982, *Job, deel I, De Prediking van het Oude Testament*, Callenbach, Nijkerk.
- Van Selms, A., 1983, *Job, deel II, De Prediking van het Oude Testament*, Callenbach, Nijkerk.
- Van Wyk Louw, N.P., 1986, 'Filosofeer', in *Versamelde prosa*, 2, pp. 37–40, Human & Rousseau, Kaapstad.

■ Hoofstuk 6

- Alston, W.M. & Welker, M., 2003, 'Introduction', in W.M. Alston & M. Welker (eds.), *Reformed theology. Identity and ecumenicity*, pp. ix–xiii, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.
- Atherstone, A., 2009, 'The implications of Semper reformanda', *Anvil Journal of Theology and Mission* 26(1), 31–41.
- Augustinus 1969, *De Trinitate*, W.J. Mountain & F. Glorie (eds.), Turnhout, Brepols (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 50).
- Bauckham, R., 1995, *The theology of Jürgen Moltmann*, T & T Clark, Edinburgh.
- Borg, M., 2011, *Reading the Bible again for the first time*, HarperCollings, San Francisco, CA.
- Buitendag, J., 2008, 'Ecclesia reformata semper reformanda – die ongemaklike eis', *HTS Teologiese/Theological Studies* 64(1), 123–138.

- Busch, E., 2003, 'Reformed strength in its denominationl weakness', in W.M. Alston & M. Welker (eds.), *Reformed Theology. Identity and ecumenicity*, pp. 20–33, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.
- Case-Winters, A., 2006, 'Ecclesia reformata semper reformanda: Reformed and always to be reformed', in R.H. Bullock, Jr. (ed.), *Presbyterians being reformed: Reflections on what the church needs to be today*, pp. xxix–xxxiii, Geneva Press, Louisville, KY.
- Cunningham, D.S., 1998, *These three are one: The practice of Trinitarian theology*, Blackwell, Cambridge.
- Davis, S.T., Kendall, D. & O'Collins, S.J., 1999, *The Trinity: An interdisciplinary symposium on the Trinity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- De Gruchy, J., 1999, 'Toward a Reformed theology of liberation: A retrieval of Reformed symbols in the struggle for justice', in D. Willis & M. Welker (eds.), *Toward the future of Reformed theology. Tasks, topics, traditions*, pp.103–119, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.
- Disandro, C.A., 1984, *Historia semantica de perikhoresis*, *Studia Patristica* 15, 442–447.
- Dreyer, W.A., 2014, 'Wanneer een twee word: 'n Perspektief op resente gebeure in die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 70(1), Art. #2054, 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v70i1.2054>
- Dulles, A., 1989, 'A half century of ecclesiology', *Theological Studies* 50, 419–442. <https://doi.org/10.1177/004056398905000301>
- Gunton, C., 1991, *The promise of Trinitarian theology*, T&T Clark, Edinburgh.
- Haffner, P., 2007, *Mystery of the Church*, Gracewing Publishing, Leominster.
- Huber, W., 1983, *Folgen christlicher Freiheit*, Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen.
- Kehl, M., 1992, *Die Kirche: Eine katolische Ekklesiologie*, Echter Verlag, Würzburg.
- Kehl, M., 2001, 'Die eine Kirche und die vielen Kirchen', *Stimmen der Zeit* 219, 3–16.
- Kehl, M., 2002, 'The one church and the many churches', *Theology Digest* 49, 29–37.
- Kilby, K., 2000, 'Perichoresis and projection: Problems with social doctrines of the Trinity', *New Blackfriars* 81(956), 432–445. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-2005.2000.tb06456.x>
- Koekemoer, J.H. & Otto, J., 1994, 'Die filioque: Ekumeniese speelbal of reformatories teologiese noodsaaklikheid', *HTS Theological Studies/Theological Studies* 50(3), 633–654.
- Koffeman, L., 2015, "'Ecclesia reformata semper reformanda" Church renewal from a Reformed perspective', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 71(3), Art. #2875, 1–5. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i3.2875>
- Letham, R., 2009, 'The Trinity between East and West', *Journal of Reformed Theology* 3, 42–56. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156973109X403714>
- Lossky, V., 1957, *The mystical theology of the Eastern Church*, James Clark Publishing, Cambridge, MA.
- McDougall, J.A., 2003, 'The return of Trinitarian praxis? Moltmann on the Trinity and the Christian life', *The Journal of Religion* 83(2), 177–203. <https://doi.org/10.1086/491276>
- McGrath, A.E., 2001, *Christian Theology: An introduction*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
- Metz, J.B., 1997, *Zum Begriff der neuen politischen Theologie, 1967–1997*, Grünewald, Main.

- Moltmann [1964] 1967, *Theology of hope/ Theologie der Hoffnung*, transl. M. Kohl, SCM Press, London.
- Moltmann, J., [1972] 1974, *The crucified God/ Der gekreuzigte Gott*, transl. R.A. Wilson & J. Bowden, SCM Press, London.
- Moltmann, J., 1978, *The open church: invitation to a Messianic life-style/ Neuer Lebensstil. Schritte zur Gemeinde*, transl. M.D. Meeks, Fortress Press, London.
- Moltmann, J., [1980] 1981, *The Trinity and the kingdom: The doctrine of God/ Trinität und Reich Gottes*, transl. M. Kohl, SCM Press, London.
- Moltmann, J., 1992a, *History and the Triune God. Contributions to Trinitarian Theology/ In der Geschichte des dreieinigen Gottes. Beiträge zur trinitarischen Theologie*, transl. M. Kohl, Crossroad, New York.
- Moltmann, J., [1991] 1992b, *The Spirit of life – A universal affirmation/ Der Geist des Lebens*, transl. M. Kohl, SCM Press, London.
- Moltmann, J., [1975] 1993a, *The church in the power of the Spirit/ Die Kirche in der Kraft des Geistes*, transl. M. Kohl, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, MN.
- Moltmann, J., 1993b, *The Trinity and human freedom*, T & T Clark, Edinburgh.
- Moltmann, J. [1995] 1996, *The coming of God: Christian Eschatology/ Das Kommen Gottes: Christliche Eschatologie*, transl. M. Kohl, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, MN.
- Moltmann, J., 1997, *The source of life. The Holy Spirit and the Theology of life/ Die Quelle des Lebens. Der heilige Geist und die Theologie des Lebens*, transl. M. Kohl, SCM Press, London.
- Moltmann, J., 1999a, *God for a secular society: The public relevance of theology/ Gott im Projekt der modern Welt*, transl. M. Kohl, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, MN.
- Moltmann, J., 1999b, 'Theologica Reformata et Semper Reformanda', in D. Willis & M. Welker (eds.), *Toward the future of Reformed Theology. Tasks, topics, traditions*, pp. 120–135, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.
- Moltmann, J., 2000, *Experiences in theology. Ways and forums of Christian theology/ Erfahrungen theologischen Denkens*, transl. M. Kohl, SCM Press, London.
- Moltmann, J., [2002] 2003, *Science and wisdom/ Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, transl. M. Kohl, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, MN.
- Moltmann, J., [2006] 2008, *A broad place: An autobiography/ Weiter Raum: Eine Lebensgeschichte*, transl. M. Kohl, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, MN.
- Moltmann, J., 2010, *Sun of righteousness, Arise! God's future for humanity and the earth*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, MN.
- Moltmann, J., 2012, *Ethics of hope/ Ethik der Hoffnung*, transl. M. Kohl, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, MN.
- Moltmann, J., 2013, 'Political theology in ecumenical contexts', in F. Schüssler Fiorenza, K. Tanner & M. Welker (eds.), *Political theology: Contemporary challenges and future directions*, pp. 1–12, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, KY.
- Moltmann, J., 2015a, 'European political theology', in C. Hovey & E. Phillips (eds.), *The Cambridge companion to Christian political theology*, pp. 3–22, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- Moltmann, J., 2015b, *The Living God and the fullness of life/ Der lebendige Gott und die Fülle des Lebens*, transl. M. Kohl, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, KN.
- Moreschini, C. & Norelli, E., 2005, *Early Christian Greek and Latin literature: A literary history*, vol. 2, *From the Council of Nicea to the beginning of the Medieval period*, transl. M.J. O'Connell, Hendrickson, Peabody, MA.
- Müller-Fahrenholz, G., 2000, *The kingdom and the power: The theology of Jürgen Moltmann*, Fortress, Minneapolis, MN.
- Oberholzer, J.P. (ed.), 2010, Honderd jaar Kerk en teologiese opleiding: 'n Kroniek van die Hervormde Kerk', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 66 (3 suppl. 9), Art. #942, bl. 1. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v66i3.942>
- Papanikolaou, A., 2006, *Being with God. Trinity, Apophaticism, and divine human communion*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, IN.
- Peterson, E., 1951, *Theologische Traktate*, Kösel, München.
- Robinson, P.M.B., 2006, 'The Trinity: The significance of appropriate distinctions for dynamic relationality', in P.L. Metzger (ed.), *Trinitarian soundings in systematic theology*, pp. 49–62, T&T Clark, London.
- Rohls, J., 2003, 'Reformed theology – Past and future', in W.M. Alston & M. Welker (eds.), *Reformed theology. Identity and ecumenicity*, pp. 34–45, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.
- Schindler, A., 1978, *Monotheismus als politisches Problem? Erik Peterson und die Kritik der politischen Theologie*, Gütersloh Verlagshaus, Gütersloh.
- Sorč, C., 1998, 'Die perichoretischen Beziehungen im Leben der Trinität und der Gemeinschaft der Menschen', *Evangelische Theologie* 58, 100–118.
- Sorč, C., 2004, *Entwürfe einer perichoretischen Theologie*, Lit Verlag, Münster.
- Stockley, M., 2011, 'By comparing and contrasting two twentieth century theologians, critically assess how a Trinitarian doctrine of creation might contribute to theological engagement with modern science', besigtig 28 Februarie 2017, by Becoming whole, Worldpress.com, becomingwhole.files.wordpress.com/2011/07/creation.pdf
- Torrance, A.J., 1996, *Persons in communion: Trinitarian description and human participation*, T&T Clark, Edinburgh.
- Van Aarde, A.G., 2013, 'n Postliberale perspektief op 'n ekklesiologiese modaliteit as 'n ecclesia in ecclesia – heroriëntasie in die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 69(1), Art. #2012, 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v69i1.2012>
- Van Aarde, A.G. & Geyser, P., 2004, 'Om nie te dink bo wat in die Skrif geskrywe staan nie – konsistensie en ontwikkeling in die teologie van Piet Geyser', *HTS Theological Studies/Theologiese Studies* 60(1&2), 7–28. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v60i1/2.501>
- Van den Borgh, E.A.J., 2015, 'What is Reformed theology? Editorial', *Journal of Reformed Theology* 9, 323–324. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15697312-00904014>
- Van den Brink, G. & Smits, J., 2015, 'The Reformed stance. Distinctive commitments and concerns', *Journal of Reformed Theology* 9, 325–347.

- Van Fraassen, B.C., 2002, *The empirical stance*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.
- Van Ruler, A.A., 1965, *Reformatoriese opmerkings in de ontmoeting met Rome*, Paul Brand, Hilversum.
- Van Wyk, I.W.C., 2011, 'Wat is reformatoriese teologie?: Nadenke na aanleiding van 'n kerklike beswaarskrif', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 67(3), Art. #1156, 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67i3.1156>
- Van Wyk, T., 2013a, 'Die heuristiese potensiaal van narratiwiteit vir sosiaal relevante Sisteatiesee Teologie: Jürgen Moltmann se oorlogservarings as voorbeeldstudie', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 69(1), Art. #2043, 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v69i1.2043>
- Van Wyk, T., 2013b, 'Transformasie, partisipasie en pluraliteit – die Kappadosiese erfenis vir die Sisteatiesee Teologie in die derde millennium', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 69(1), Art. #2040, 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v69i1.2040>
- Van Wyk, T., 2015, 'Political theology as critical theology', *HTS Theological Studies/Teologiese Studies* 71(3), Art. #3026, 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i3.3026>

■ Hoofstuk 7

- Althaus, P., 1965, *Die Ethik Martin Luthers*, Gütersloher Verlag Gerd Mohn, Gütersloh.
- Barth, K., 1932–1969, *Die Kirchliche Dogmatik*, 4 vol., Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Barth, K., 2004, *Church dogmatics*, vol. 3, part 2, T&T Clark, New York.
- Batey, R., 1961, *The church, the bride of Christ*, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Botha, A. & Dreyer, Y., 2007a, 'Demistifikasie van die metafoer "die kerk as bruid"', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 63(3), 1239–1274. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v63i3.251>
- Botha, A. & Dreyer, Y., 2007b, 'n Feministiese narratief-pastorale perspektief op die huweliksbevestigingsformuliere', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 63(3), 1275–1298. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v63i3.250>
- Botha, A. & Dreyer, Y., 2013, 'Veranderende perspektiewe op seksualiteit en die huwelik in 'n postmoderne kerk', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 69(2), Art. #1917, 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v69i2.1917>
- Browning, D.S., 2007, *Equality and the family*, Kindle edn., W.B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.
- Bouwman, H., 1934, *Gereformeerd kerkrecht: Het recht der kerken in de praktijk*, Kok, Kampen.
- Brunner, D.E., [1939] 1978, *Das Gebot und die Ordnungen: Entwurf einer protestantisch-theologischen Ethik*, EVZ Verlag, Zürich.
- Brunner, E., 1952, *The Christian doctrine of creation and redemption*, Westminster, Philadelphia, PA.
- Buitendag, J., 2007, 'Marriage in the theology of Martin Luther – worldly yet sacred: An option between secularism and clericalism', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 63(2), 445–460. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v63i2.228>
- Cooper-White, P., 1995, *The cry of Tamar: Violence against women and the church's response*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, MN.

- De Vries, D., 1989, 'Schleiermacher's "Christmas Eve Dialogue": Bourgeois ideology or feminist theology', *The Journal of Religion* 69(2), 169–183. <https://doi.org/10.1086/488052>
- Dreyer, A.E. & Van Aarde, A.G., 2007, 'Bybelse modelle van die huwelik: 'n Kritiese perspektief', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 63(2), 625–651. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v63i2.226>
- Dreyer, T.F.J., 2008, 'Die kerk, die huwelik en seks – 'n morele krisis', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 63(1), 483–496. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v64i1.9>
- Dreyer, Y., 2000, 'Vrou as beeld van God: Vanaf die Reformasie tot die twintigste eeu', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 56(4), 949–972. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v56i4.1800>
- Dreyer, Y., 2007, 'Karl Barth's male-female order as asymmetrical theoethics', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 63(4), 1493–1521. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v63i4.265>
- Dreyer, Y., 2008, 'The "sanctity" of marriage – An archaeology of a socio-religious construct', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 64(1), 499–527. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v64i1.10>
- Ford, J.C., 1984, 'Towards an anthropology of mutuality: A critique of Karl Barth's doctrine of the male-female order as A and B with a comparison of the panentheistic theology of Jürgen Moltmann', PhD thesis, Northwest University, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Freedan, M., 2006, 'Ideology and political theory', *Journal of Political Ideology* 11(1), 3–22.
- Juergensmeyer, M., 2008, *Global rebellion: Religious challenges to the secular state, from Christian militias to al Qaeda*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Karant-Nunn, S.C. & Wiesner-Hanks, M.E., 2003, *Luther on Woman: A sourcebook*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Lazareth, W.H., 1994, 'ELCA Lutherans and Luther on heterosexual marriage', *Lutheran Quarterly* 8(3), 235–268.
- Luther, M., 1999a, *Luther's works (LW)*, vol. 1, J.J. Pelikan, H.C. Oswald & H.T. Lehmann (eds.), Concordia, Saint Louis, MO.
- Luther, M., 1999b, *Luther's works (LW)*, vol. 32, J.J. Pelikan, H.C. Oswald & H.T. Lehmann, (eds.), Concordia, Saint Louis, MO.
- Luther, M., 1999c, *Luther's works (LW)*, vol. 36, J.J. Pelikan, H.C. Oswald & H.T. Lehmann (eds.), Concordia, Saint Louis, MO.
- Luther, M., 1999d, *Luther's works (LW)*, vol. 44, J.J. Pelikan, H.C. Oswald & H.T. Lehmann (eds.), Concordia, Saint Louis, MO.
- Luther, M., 1999e, *Luther's works (LW)*, vol. 45, J.J. Pelikan, H.C. Oswald & H.T. Lehmann (eds.), Concordia, Saint Louis, MO.
- Luther, M., 1999f, 'The Babylonian Captivity of the Church' in *Luther's works (LW)*, vol 36, J.J. Pelikan, H.C. Oswald & H.T. Lehmann (eds.), Concordia, Saint Louis, MO.
- Luther, M., 1999g, 'The estate of marriage', in *Luther's works (LW)*, vol 45, J.J. Pelikan, H.C. Oswald & H.T. Lehmann (eds.), Concordia, Saint Louis, MO.
- Luther, M., 1999h, 'On marriage matters', in *Luther's works (LW)*, vol 46, J.J. Pelikan, H.C. Oswald & H.T. Lehmann (eds.), Concordia, Saint Louis, MO.

- Luther, M., 1999i, *Luther's works*, vol 55, J.J. Pelikan, H.C. Oswald & H.T. Lehmann (eds.), Concordia, Saint Louis, MO.
- Micks, M.H., 1982, *Our search for identity: Humanity in the image of God*, Fortress, Philadelphia, PA.
- Mouton, E., 1997, 'Die verhaal van Afrikaanse Christenvroue: Uitnodiging tot morele vorming', *Scriptura* 63, 475–409.
- Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika (NHKA), 2007, *Diensboek van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika*, pp. 77–92, Sentik, Pretoria.
- Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika (NHKA), 2016, *Notule van die een-en-sewentigste Algemene Kerkvergadering van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika te Pretoria, 2 Oktober tot 8 Oktober 2016*.
- Pont, A.D., 1981, *Die historiese agtergronde van ons kerklike reg*, HAUM, Pretoria.
- Potter, M., 1986, 'Gender equality and gender hierarchy in Calvin's theology', *Signs* 11(4), 725–739.
- Radford Ruether, R., 1975, *New woman/New earth: Sexist ideologies and human liberation*, Seabury, New York.
- Radford Ruether, R., 2001, *Christianity and the making of the modern family*, SCM Press, London.
- Richardson, R.D., 1991, *The role of women in the life and thought of the early Schleiermacher (1768–1806): An historical overview*, Lewiston, New York.
- Robberts, C.C., 2007, *Creation and covenant: The significance of sexual difference in the moral theology of marriage*, T&T Clark, New York.
- Selderhuis, H.J., Vriend, J. & Bierma, L.D., 1999, *Marriage and divorce in the thought of Martin Bucer*, Thomas Letterson University Press, Truman State University, Kirksville, MO.
- Schleiermacher, F.D.E., [1806] 1991, *Christmas Eve, A dialogue of the Incarnation*, transl. T.N. Tice, Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, New York.
- Schleiermacher, F.D.E., 2012, *Selected sermons of Schleiermacher*, transl. M.F. Wilson, Funk & Wagnalls, New York.
- Schüssler Fiorenza, F., 1991, 'Marriage', in F. Schüssler Fiorenza & J.P. Glavin (eds.), *Systematic Theology: Roman Catholic Perspectives* 21, 305–346, Fortress, Minneapolis, MN.
- Scott, P., 1994, *Theology, ideology and liberation: Towards a liberative theology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Thatcher, A., 1999, *Marriage after modernity: Christian marriage in postmodern times*, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield.
- Van Aarde, A.G., 2007, 'Inleiding tot die sosiaal-wetenskaplike kritiese eksegese van Nuwe-Testamentiese tekste: Die metodologiese aanloop in die navorsingsgeskiedenis', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 63(1), 49–79. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v63i1.206>
- Van Eck, E., 2007a, 'Die huwelik in die eerste-eeuse Mediterreense wêreld (I): Vroue in 'n man se wêreld', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 63(1), 81–101. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v63i1.204>
- Van Eck, E., 2007b, 'Die huwelik in die eerste-eeuse Mediterreense wêreld (II): Huwelik, egskeiding en hertrou', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 63(1), 103–128. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v63i1.205>

- Venter, P.M., 2007, 'Die huwelik as identiteitsmerker in die Ou Testament', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 63(3), 1213–1237. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v63i3.232>
- Weeks, J., 1995, *Invented moralities: Sexual values in an age of uncertainty*, Polity Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Witte, J., 2009, 'Marriage and family life', in H.J. Selderhuis (ed.), *The Calvin handbook*, pp. 455–465, W.B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.

■ Hoofstuk 8

- Bayer, O., 2007, *Martin Luthers Theologie*, 3. Aufl., J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Beutel, A., 2010, 'Theologie als Unterscheidungslehre', in A. Beutel (Hrsg.) *Luther Handbuch*, 2. Aufl., S. 450–454, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Beutel, A., 2012, *Gerhard Ebeling: Eine Biographie*, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1960, 'Luther II. Theologie', in K. Galling (Hrsg.) *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, 4. Bd., 3. Aufl., S. 495–520, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1963, 'Dein Reich komme', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Vom Gebet*, S. 37–50, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1967a, 'Erwägungen zur Lehre vom Gesetz', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Wort und Glaube*, 1. Bd., 3. Aufl., S. 255–293, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1967b, 'Die Notwendigkeit der Lehre von den zwei Reichen', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Wort und Glaube*, 1. Bd., 3. Aufl., S. 407–428, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1967c, 'Zur Lehre vom triplex usus legis in der reformatorischen Theologie', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Wort und Glaube*, 1. Bd., 3. Aufl., S. 50–68, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1968, 'Das Machtwort Gottes', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Psalmmeditationen*, S. 23–39, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1971, 'Frei aus Glauben: Das Vermächtnis der Reformation', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Lutherstudien*, 1. Bd., S. 308–329, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1975a, 'Kirche und Politik', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Wort und Glaube, Beiträge zur Fundamentaltheologie, Soteriologie und Ekklesiologie*, 3. Bd., S. 593–610, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1975b, 'Kriterien kirchlicher Stellungnahme zu politischen Problemen', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Wort und Glaube, Beiträge zur Fundamentaltheologie, Soteriologie und Ekklesiologie*, 3. Bd., S. 611–634, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1975c, 'Leitsätze zur Zweireichlehre', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Wort und Glaube, Beiträge zur Fundamentaltheologie, Soteriologie und Ekklesiologie*, 3. Bd., S. 574–592, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1979, *Dogmatik des christlichen Glaubens*, 3. Bd., J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1981, *Die Wahrheit des Evangeliums: Eine Lesehilfe zum Galaterbrief*, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.

- Ebeling, G., 1982, *Lutherstudien*, 2. Bd., *Disputatio de Homine*, 2. Teil, *Die philosophische Definition des Menschen: Kommentar zu These 1–19*, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1983a, 'Erneuerung aus der Bibel', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Umgang mit Luther*, S. 39–58, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1983b, 'Schrift und Erfahrung als Quelle theologischer Aussagen', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Umgang mit Luther*, S. 59–81, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1983c, 'Theologisches Antworten des Politischen: Luthers Unterrichtung der Gewissen heute bedacht', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Umgang mit Luther*, S. 164–201, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1983d, 'Die Toleranz Gottes und die Toleranz der Vernunft', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Umgang mit Luther*, S. 101–130, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1983e, 'Usus politicus legis – usus politicus evangelii', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Umgang mit Luther*, S. 131–163, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1983f, 'Von der Wahrheit des Glaubens', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Umgang mit Luther*, S. 82–94, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1983g, 'Was Luther mir bedeutet', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Umgang mit Luther*, S. 1–7, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1988, 'Das rechte Unterscheiden: Luthers Anleitung zu theologischer Urteilskraft', *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 85(2), 219–258.
- Ebeling, G., 1989, *Lutherstudien*, 2. Bd., *Disputatio de Homine*, 3. Teil, *Die theologische Definition des Menschen: Kommentar zu These 20–40*, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1991, *Evangelische Evangelienauslegung: Eine Untersuchung zu Luthers Hermeneutik*, 3. Aufl., J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1995, *Predigten eines 'Illegalen' aus den Jahren 1939–1945*, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1997, *Luthers Seelsorge: Theologie in der Vielfalt der Lebenssituationen an seinen Briefen dargestellt*, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 2006, *Luther: Einführung in sein Denken. Mit einem Nachwort von Albrecht Beutel*, 5. Aufl., J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 2012, *Studium der Theologie: Eine enzyklopädische Orientierung*, 2. Aufl., J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Gadamer, H.-G., 1975, *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik*, 4. Aufl., J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Habermas, J., 1978, 'Dogmatismus, Vernunft und Entscheidung – Zu Theorie und Praxis in der verwissenschaftlichen Zivilisation', in J. Habermas (Hrsg.), *Theorie und Praxis*, S. 307–335, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main.
- Habermas, J., 1979, *Erkenntnis und Interesse*, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main.

- Hermes, E., 2010, 'Leben in der Welt', in A. Beutel (Hrsg.) *Luther Handbuch*, 2. Aufl., S. 423–435, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Honecker, M., 1995, *Grundriß der Sozialethik*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Jüngel, E., 2000a, 'Kirche und Staat in der pluralistischen Gesellschaft', in E. Jüngel (Hrsg.), *Indikative der Gnade – Imperative der Freiheit. Theologische Erörterungen IV*, S. 296–311, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Jüngel, E., 2000b, 'Mit Frieden Staat zu machen. Politische Existenz nach Barmen V', in E. Jüngel (Hrsg.), *Indikative der Gnade – Imperative der Freiheit. Theologische Erörterungen IV*, S. 161–204, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Jüngel, E., 2003a, 'Zum Verhältnis von Kirche und Staat nach Karl Barth', in E. Jüngel (Hrsg.), *Ganz werden. Theologische Erörterungen V*, S. 174–230, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Jüngel, E., 2003b, 'Zwei Schwerter – Zwei Reiche. Die Trennung der Mächte in der Reformation', in E. Jüngel (Hrsg.), *Ganz werden. Theologische Erörterungen V*, S. 137–157, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Küng, H., 1980, *Christ sein*, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, München.
- Lochmann, J.M., 1971, *Perspektiven politischer Theologie*, Theologischer Verlag, Zürich.
- Marx, K., 1976, 'Thesen über Feuerbach', in I. Fetscher (Hrsg.) *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Studienausgabe*, 1. Bd., *Philosophie*, S. 139–141, Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, Frankfurt am Main.
- Moltmann, J., 1975, *Kirche in der Kraft des Geistes: Ein Beitrag zur messianischen Ekklesiologie*, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Moltmann, J., 1976, *Der gekreuzigte Gott: Das Kreuz Christi als Grund und Kritik christlicher Theologie*, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Moltmann, J., 1977, *Theologie der Hoffnung*, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Moltmann, J., 1979, *Mensch: Christliche Anthropologie in den Konflikten der Gegenwart*, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Moltmann, J., 1980, *Trinität und Reich Gottes: Zur Gotteslehre*, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Moltmann, J., 1984a, 'Das Gespenst einer neuen "Zivilreligion"', in J. Moltmann (Hrsg.) *Politische Theologie – Politische Ethik*, S. 70–78, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Moltmann, J., 1984b, 'Die lutherische Zwei-Reiche-Lehre', in J. Moltmann (Hrsg.) *Politische Theologie – Politische Ethik*, S. 124–136, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Moltmann, J., 1984c, 'Politische Ethik', in J. Moltmann (Hrsg.) *Politische Theologie – Politische Ethik*, S. 123–124, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Moltmann, J., 1984d, 'Politische Theologie', in J. Moltmann (Hrsg.) *Politische Theologie – Politische Ethik*, S. 152–165, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Moltmann, J., 1984e, 'Theologische Kritik der politischen Religion', in J. Moltmann (Hrsg.) *Politische Theologie – Politische Ethik*, S. 34–69, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Moltmann, J., 1988, *Was ist heute Theologie?*, Verlag Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau.

- Moltmann, J., 1989, *Der Weg Jesu Christi: Christologie in messianischen Dimensionen*, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Moltmann, J., 1995, *Das Kommen Gottes: Christliche Eschatologie*, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Moltmann, J., 1997, *Gott im Projekt der modernen Welt: Beiträge zur öffentlichen Relevanz der Theologie*, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Moltmann, J., 2006, *Weiter Raum: Eine Lebensgeschichte*, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh.
- Wendland, H-D., 1969, 'Thesen zur Zwei-Reiche-Lehre und der Bedeutung für die Zukunft', in H-D. Wendland (Hrsg.) *Sozialethik im Umbruch der Gesellschaft*, S. 39–42, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.

■ Hoofstuk 9

- Bakhuizen van den Brink, J.N., 1976, *De Nederlandse belijdenisgeschriften in authentieke teksten met inleiding en tekstvergelijkingen*, Uitgeverij Ton Bolland, Amsterdam.
- Barger, A.J., 1972, *Kortbegrip van die Christelike Godsdiens met Verklaringe*, HAUM, Pretoria. (Uitgegee op las van die Algemene Kerkvergadering A.D. 1932).
- Beukes, M.J.P., 1994, 'Beskrywing en evaluering van verskillende kategetiese beskouings met die oog op die formulering van basisteorieë vir die kategeses', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 50(1 & 2), 211–235.
- Beukes, M.J.P., 1997, 'Die plek en funksie van belydenisskrifte in die kategeses van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 53(4), 1266–1289. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v53i4.1791>
- Beukes, M.J.P. (red.), 2007, *Geloof en Lewe 11, Katkisant Graad elf*, Sentik, Pretoria.
- Beukes, M.J.P. (red.), 2008, *Geloof en Lewe 11, Kategeet Graad elf*, Sentik, Pretoria.
- Bultmann, R., 1961, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Bultmann, R., 1980, 'Zur Frage der Christologie', in R. Bultmann (Hrsg.), *Glauben und Verstehen*, 1. Bd., S.85–113, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Bultmann, R., 1984, 'Die fides quae creditur als Gegenstand der Theologie', in E. Jüngel & K. Müller (Hrsg.), *Theologische Enzyklopädie*, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, S. 13–34.
- Calvyn, J., [1559] 1982, *Institutie of onderwijzing in de Christelijke Godsdienst*, vert. A. Sizoo, W.D. Meinema B.V., Delft.
- Doekes, L., 1979, *Credo, Handboek voor de Gereformeerde symboliek*, Uitgeverij Ton Bolland, Amsterdam.
- Dreyer, W. & Van Rensburg, A., 2016, 'Oorsprong van die drievoudige struktuur van die Heidelbergse Kategismus', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 72(3), a3349, 6 pages. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v72i3.3349>
- Ebeling, G., 1960, 'Die Bedeutung der historisch-kritischen Methode für die protestantische Theologie und Kirche', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Wort und Glaube*, Bd. 1, S. 1–49, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.

- Ebeling, G., 1969, 'Gewissheit und Zweifel. Die Situation des Glaubens in Zeitalter nach Luther und Descartes', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Wort und Glaube*, Bd. 2, S. 138–183, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1971, 'Luthers Glaubensverständnis – Vergangenheit oder Zukunft?', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Lutherstudien*, Bd. 1, S. 302–307, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1975a, 'Der Aussagezusammenhang des Glaubens an Jesus', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Wort und Glaube, Beiträge zur Fundamentaltheologie, Soteriologie und Ekklesiologie*, 3. Bd, S. 246–269, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1975b, 'Was heisst: Ich glaube an Jesus Christus?', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Wort und Glaube, Beiträge zur Fundamentaltheologie, Soteriologie und Ekklesiologie*, 3. Bd., S. 270–308, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1979, *Dogmatik des christlichen Glaubens*, 1. Bd., J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 1983, 'Usus politicus legis – usus politicus evangelii', in G. Ebeling (Hrsg.), *Umgang mit Luther*, S. 131–163, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Ebeling, G., 2012, *Studium der Theologie: Eine enzyklopädische Orientierung*, 2. Aufl., J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen.
- Gollwitzer, H., 1978, *Befreiung zur Solidarität*, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Habermas, J., 1979, *Erkenntnis und Interesse*, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main.
- Haitjema T.L., 1962, *De Heidelbergse Catechismus als klankbodem en inhoud van het actuele belijden onzer kerk*, H. Veenman & Zonen, Wageningen.
- Kant, I., [1784] 1983, 'Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?' ; in W. Weischedel (Hrsg.), *Kant, Werke*, Bd. 9, *Schriften zu Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik*, 1. Teil S. 53–61, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt.
- Lochman, J.M., 1982, *Das Glaubenbekenntnis: Grundriss der Dogmatik im Anschluss an das Credo*, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh.
- Louw, J.P. & Nida, E.A. (eds.), 1988, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament based on Semantic Domains*, vol. 1, *Introduction & Domains*, United Bible Societies, New York.
- Melanchthon, P., [1521] 1997, *Loci Communes*, Lateinisch – Deutsch, übersetzt mit kommentierenden Anm. H.G. Pöhlmann, Lutherisches Kirchenamt der Vereinigten Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche Deutschlands (Hrsg.), Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh.
- Melanchthon, P., [1553] 2010, *Heubartikel Christlicher Lere*, Melanchthons deutsche Fassung seiner Loci theologici, nach dem Autograph und dem Originaldruck von 1553, R. Jenett & J. Schilling (Hrsg.), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig.
- Mink, G.J., 1993, 'Zondag 23 en 24', in J.H. Van de Bank, G. Bos, F.G. Immink, A. Noordegraaf, M.J.G. Van der Velden & W. Verboom (red.), *Kennen en Vertrouwen: Handreiking bij de Prediking van de Heidelbergse Catechismus*, S. 216–222, Boekencentrum, Zoetermeer.
- Miskotte, K.H., 1947, *De Blijde Wetenschap: Toelichting op de Heidelbergse Catechismus Zondag I – XII*, Uitgeverij T. Wever, Franeker.

- Oberholzer, J.P., 1986, *Die Heidelbergse Kategismus in vier teksuitgawes, met inleiding en teksvergeelyking*, Kital, Pretoria.
- Ott, H., 1981, *Die Antwort des Glaubens. Systematische Theologie in 50 Artikeln*, Kreuz Verlag, Stuttgart.
- Pannenberg, W., 1993, *Systematische Theologie*, Bd. 3, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.
- Pont, A.D., 1991, Kategese, kategismusse en die belydenis van geloof in Genève in die dae van Calvin, *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 71(3), 431–441.
- Sauter, G. & Stock, A., 1976, *Arbeitsweisen systematischer Theologie: Eine Anleitung*, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.
- Ursinus, Z., [1602] 1989, *Het schatboek der verklaringen van de Heidelbergse Catechismus*, uit de Latijnse lessen van Zaharias Ursinus, opgemaakt door David Pareus, vertaald door Festus Hommius, vervolgens overzien door Johannes Spiljardus en Joan van den Honert, nu in het hedendaags Nederlands hescheven en van een inleiding voorzien door ds. J. Van der Haar, Deel I, Den Hertog B.V., Houten.
- Van der Westhuizen, H.G., 1982, *Geloofsleer*, HAUM, Pretoria. (In opdrag van die Algemene Kerkvergadering van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika onder leiding van die Raad vir Kategese deur Dr. H.G. van der Westhuizen in medewerking met prof. Dr. B.J. Engelbrecht en ds. G.C. Velthuysen).
- Van Selms, A., 2016a, 'Die belydenis van die Hervormers: 'n Katkisasieboek oor die Christelike Geloofsleer', *Tydskrif vir Hervormde Teologie* 4(1), 10–46. (Opgestel en uitgegee in opdrag van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika).
- Van Selms, A., 2016b, 'Toeligting op die belydenis van die Hervormers: 'n Katkisasieboek oor die Christelike Geloofsleer', *Tydskrif vir Hervormde Teologie* 4(4), 1–259. (Opgestel en uitgegee in opdrag van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika).
- Van 't Spijker, W., 1993, 'Zondag 7', in J.H. Van de Bank, G. Bos, F.G. Immink, A. Noordegraaf, M.J.G. Van der Velden & W. Verboom (red.), *Kennen en Vertrouen: Handreiking bij de Prediking van de Heidelbergse Catechismus*, bl. 56–64, Boekencentrum, Zoetermeer.
- Van Wyk, G.M.J., 2015, 'Rudolf Bultmann – Evangelie en geloof', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 71(3), Art. #3039, 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i3.3039>
- Van Wyk, G.M.J., 2016a, 'Ek glo en amen', in *Agenda van die 71ste Algemene Kerkvergadering*, bylae W, Kernkomitee: Kerk en Teologie: Apostoliese Geloofsbelydenis, S. 678–687, Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika, Pretoria.
- Van Wyk, G.M.J., 2016b, 'Gerhard Ebeling oor geloof', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 72(3), a3279, 9 pages. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v72i3.3279>
- Van Wyk, I.W.C., 2013, 'The first commandment in the Heidelberg Catechism: Theological insights of Philipp Melancthon and Zacharias Ursinus', *In die Skriflig/In Luce Verbi* 47(2), Art. #710, 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ids.v47i2.710>
- Van Wyk, I.W.C., 2016a, 'Die funksie en doel van die Apostoliese Geloofsbelydenis', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 72(4), a3497, 7 pages. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v72i4.3497>

- Van Wyk, I.W.C., 2016b, 'Inleidende opmerkings: Die belydenis van die Hervormers: 'n Katkisasieboek oor die Christelike Geloofsleer', *Tydskrif vir Hervormde Teologie* 4(1), 1–9.
- Venter, C.J.H., 2011, 'Kategeet en geloofsvorming: Perspektiewe vanuit die Praktiese Teologie', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 67(3), Art. #1052, 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67i3.1052>
- Weber, O., 1977, *Grundlagen der Dogmatik*, 2. Bd., Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen-Vluyn.

■ Hoofstuk 10

- Alder, J.T., 2009, 'The Doctrine of original Sin: A comparison of Augustine, Pelagius and Aquinas', *Reformed Perspectives Magazine* 11(21), 9 pages, viewed 18 July 2017, from http://thirdmill.org/newsfiles/jer_alder/jer_alder.Original.Sin.html
- Balsarak, J., 2016a, 'Institutio Christianae religionis', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Christian-muslim relations*, viewed 24 February 2017, from <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations-ii/institutio-christianae-religionis>
- Balsarak, J., 2016b, 'Praemonitio ad lectorem, preface to Theodor Bibliander's Machumetis', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Christian-muslim relations*, viewed 24 February 2017, from <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations-ii/institutio-christianae-religionis>
- Barth, H.-M., 2009, *Die Theologie Martin Luthers: Eine kritische Würdigung*, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh.
- Berkouwer, G.C., 1965, *Vatikaans concilie en nieuwe theologie*, Kok, Kampen.
- Berkouwer, G.C., 1968, *Nabetrachting op het concilie*, Kok, Kampen.
- Bibliander, T., [1543] 1550, *Machumetis saracenorum principis successorum vitae, doctrina acipse alcoran*, 3 vols., Opirinus, Basel.
- Bultmann, C., 2012, 'Book review, De ratione communi omnium linguarum et liberarum commentaries by Theodore Bibliander, Hagit, A. and Kirn, H-M.', *Renaissance Quarterly* 65(2), 501–503, viewed 20 June 2017, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/667267>
- Calvyn, J., 1931, *Institutie of onderwijzing in de Christelijke godsdienst*, deel I, vert. A. Sizoo 1931, 8ste druk, W.D. Meinema, Delft.
- Chazen, R., 2000, 'Christian-Jewish interactions over the Ages', in T. Frymer-Kensky, D. Novak, P. Ochs, D.F. Sandmel & M.A. Signer (eds.), *Christianity in Jewish Terms*, pp. 7–24, Westview Press, Oxford.
- Crossan, J.D., 1999, *The birth of Christianity: Discovering what happened in the years immediately after the execution of Jesus*, Harper Collins, New York.
- Daggers, J., 2013, *Postcolonial theology of religions: Particularity and pluralism in world Christianity*, Routledge, London.
- Duker, A.C., 1897, *Gisbertus Voetius*, deel 1, E.J. Brill, Leiden.
- Dupuis, J., 1997, *Toward a Christian Theology of religious pluralism*, Orbis Books, Maryknoll, NY.

- Dupuis, J., 2001, *Christianity and the religions: From confrontation to dialogue*, Orbis Books, New York.
- Ehmann, J., 2008, *Luther, Türken und Islam. Eine Untersuchung zum Türken- und Islambild Martin Luthers (1515–1546)*, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh.
- Francisco, A.S., 2016a, 'Martini Lutheri Doctoris Theologiae et ecclesiastis ecclesiae Wittenbergensis in Alcoranum Praefatio', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Christian-Muslim relations*, viewed 24 February 2017, from <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations-ii/martini-lutheri>
- Francisco, A.S., 2016b, 'Vermahnung zum Gebet wider den Türcken', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Christian-Muslim Relations*, besigtig 24 February 2017, by <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries.christian-muslim-relations-ii/vermahnung-zum-Gebet-wider-den-Türcken>
- Frankemölle, H., 2006, *Frühjudentum und Urchristentum: Vorgeschichte – Verlauf – Auswirkungen (4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.)*, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart.
- Kärkkäinen, V.-M., 2003, *An introduction to the theology of religions: Biblical, historical and contemporary perspectives*, InterVarsity Press, Downers Grove, IL.
- Kaufmann, T., 2017, 'Luthers Christus und die anderen Religionen und Konfessionen', in U. Heckel, J. Kampmann, V. Leppin & C. Schwöbel (Hrsg.), *Luther heute: Ausstrahlungen der Wittenberger Reformation*, S. 371–392, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.
- Kessler, E., 2010, *An introduction to Jewish-Christian relations*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Knitter, P.F., 2005, *Introducing theologies of religions*, Orbis Books, New York.
- Kohnle, A., 2014, 'Religionsfrieden und Toleranz', *Luther: Zeitschrift der Luther-Gesellschaft* 85(2), 78–93.
- Luther, M., [1513–1515] 1885, *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 3. Bd., Herman Böhlau, Weimar, besigtig 27 July 2017, by http://www.maartenluther.com/3-Psalmenvorlesungen%201513_15%20Ps.%201-84.pdf
- Luther, M., 1523, 'Dass Jesus Christus ein geborener Jude sei', *Weimarer Ausgabe* 11, 314–336, besigtig 27 July 2017, by <http://www.maartenluther.com/weimarausgabe.html>
- Luther, M., 1529, 'Leerpredigt wider den Türken', *Weimarer Ausgabe* 30(II), 166–168, viewed 27 July 2017, from <http://www.maartenluther.com/weimarausgabe.html>
- Luther, M., 1530, 'Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum', *Weimarer Ausgabe* 30(II), 198–200, besigtig 27 July 2017, by <http://www.maartenluther.com/weimarausgabe.html>
- Luther, M., 1543a, 'Von den Juden und ihren Lügen', *Weimarer Ausgabe* 53, 417–552, besigtig 27 July 2017, by <http://www.maartenluther.com/weimarausgabe.html>
- Luther, M., 1543b, 'Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi', *Weimarer Ausgabe* 53, 610–648, besigtig 27 July 2017, by <http://www.maartenluther.com/weimarausgabe.html>
- Luther, M., 1543c, 'Von den letzten Worten Davids', *Weimarer Ausgabe* 54, 16–100, besigtig 27 July 2017, by <http://www.maartenluther.com/weimarausgabe>.
- Miller, G.J., 2013, 'Theodor Bibliander's Machumetis saracenorum principis eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina ac ipse alcoran (1543) as the Sixteenth-century "Encyclopedia" of Islam', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 24(2), 241–254. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596419.2013.772329>

- Miller, G.J., 2014, 'Luther's views of the Jews and Turks', in R. Kolb, I. Dingel & L. Batka (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*, pp. 427–434, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Moser, C., 2009, *Theodor Bibliander (1505–1564). Annotierte Bibliographie der gedruckten Werke*, Theologischer Verlag, Zürich.
- Neusner, J., 1984, 'Formen des Judentums im Zeitalter seiner Entstehung', in J. Neusner, *Das pharisäische und talmudische Judentum: neue Wege zum Verständnis*, S. 3–32, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.
- Plathow, M., 2011, 'Phillip Melanchthon und religiöse Toleranz', *Luther: Zeitschrift der Luther-Gesellschaft* 82(3), 181–191.
- Reed, A.Y. & Becker, A.H., 2003a, 'Introduction: Traditional models and new directions', in A.Y. Reed & A.H. Becker (eds.), *The ways that never parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 1–34, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.
- Slotemaker, J.T., 2011, 'The Trinitarian house of David: Martin Luther's Anti-Jewish Exegesis of 2 Sam 23:1–7', *Harvard Theological Review* 104(2), 233–254. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816011000174>