



University of Groningen

## Developments in Structuring of Reformed Theology

van den Belt, Hendrik

*Published in:*  
Reformation und Rationalität

**IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.**

*Document Version*  
Final author's version (accepted by publisher, after peer review)

*Publication date:*  
2015

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*

van den Belt, H. (2015). Developments in Structuring of Reformed Theology: The Synopsis Purioris Theologiae (1625) as Example. In H. J. Selderhuis, & E-J. Waschke (Eds.), *Reformation und Rationalität* (pp. 289-311). (Refo500 Academic Studies; Vol. 17). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

**Copyright**

Other than for strictly personal use, it is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

**Take-down policy**

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Downloaded from the University of Groningen/UMCG research database (Pure): <http://www.rug.nl/research/portal>. For technical reasons the number of authors shown on this cover page is limited to 10 maximum.

## Developments in Structuring of Reformed Theology: The *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae* (1625) as Example.

### Abstract

The *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae* (1625), an influential handbook of Reformed dogmatics, began as a cycle of disputations. A comparison of it with the cycles that were held previously in Leiden reveals some shifts in the structure of Reformed dogmatics. After introducing the *Synopsis*, this paper highlights the function of prolegomena, the place of predestination, and the relationship between the magistrate and eschatology. It concludes that the choices made in the *Synopsis* illustrate the tensions in Reformed theology. After the conflict with the Remonstrants it became urgent to carefully define the character of theology in the prolegomena, to relate predestination to the person and work of Christ, and to connect the task of the magistrate to the doctrine of the church.

Ever since the publication of the several editions of John Calvin's *Institutes*, the truly edifying manner of presentation (*recte ordo docendi*) became important to the Reformed tradition (Muller: 2000, 118–139; Holder: 2009, 387). Other early structures which influenced Protestant dogmatics were the *Loci Communes* compiled by Phillip Melancthon and Peter Martyr Vermigli. The structure of these three works, however, does not immediately flow from the practice of teaching. During the process of confessionalization, however, there were dogmatic textbooks that began as series of disputations that were held at the universities in Protestant countries. One of these textbooks, the *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae*, was published in the Netherlands, shortly after the Synod of Dort, and the structure of this book reveals some of the tensions in Reformed theology, for instance, the debate on predestination and the church-state relationship.

## Synopsis

Before turning to the structure of the *Synopsis*, we shall first provide a short introduction of the work and four authors.<sup>1</sup> In 1625, six years after the Synod of Dort (1618–19) the theological faculty of Leiden University published an important summary of reformed theology, titled *Synopsis of Purer Theology*. The *Synopsis* had its origins in a series of public disputations that were held at Leiden from 1620–1624, and the arrangement of its chapters reflects the order of these disputations. Thus the structure of the *Synopsis* shows how the topics were arranged, not only systematically but also didactically.

The preface of the *Synopsis*, from 28 December 1624, dedicates the work to the States-general of Holland and West-Friesland. The four authors hope that the book will be like the North Star for the students and claim that it shows the “total single-mindedness in what we believe and think, and that we share a consensus in all the headings of theology” (Te Velde: 2013, ■). After the controversy between Jacobus Arminius and Franciscus Gomarus in Leiden, the faculty wanted to display theological unity.

Johannes Polyander à Kerckhoven (1568–1646) was the only one of the four authors who had served as professor before the Synod of Dort. Previously he had studied at Heidelberg and Geneva. In 1591 he was called to minister to the Walloon church in Dordrecht, and in 1611 he was appointed as professor of theology in Leiden, and he occupied the chair Gomarus had vacated. He was known as a peaceable man and irenic theologian. He had to accept the Remonstrant Simon Episcopius as a colleague, but both were free to teach according to their own insights.

In 1619 the States of Holland and West-Friesland reformed the university by removing Episcopius and appointing three new professors of theology. Antonius Walaeus (1573–1639) of Middelburg was asked to teach dogmatics. Walaeus was born in Ghent and had studied in Leiden. He had been a delegate to the Synod of Dort on behalf of Zeeland. He taught in Leiden for twenty years and founded a special seminary to train pastors for the West-Indies, the *Collegium Indicum*.

The second new professor, Antonius Thysius from Harderwijk, was appointed to teach Old Testament. He was born in Antwerp and had also studied Arts and Theology in Leiden. In 1601 he started as professor of Grammar and Logic in Harderwijk and he too had been a delegate to the Synod of Dort.

In the fall of 1620 Andreas Rivetus (1572–1651) was added to the faculty. Rivet had served as a pastor in France and was expected to attract French

---

1 For an extensive introduction, see Sinnema/van den Belt (2012). I thank Donald Sinnema for his permission to use this joint article as a basis for this short introduction. I thank Riemer Faber for some helpful comments and for proofreading my text.

students to the university. He remained there for twelve years, after which he worked for the *stadholder* Frederik Hendrik as a secretary and as the private teacher of his son.

## The Cycle

The first nine disputations of the *Synopsis* were presided by Polyander, Walaeus, and Thysius in turn; when Rivetus joined the faculty he took the second place as presider after Polyander, and thus the colleagues presided in the order of Polyander, Rivetus, Walaeus, and Thysius.

A publication of ~~the inaugural~~ orations of the first three professors contains a catalogue of the titles of 52 topics, or *loci*; a comparison of this list with the 52 disputations given in the table of contents of the 1625 *Synopsis* shows the topics are identical, though in some cases the titles of the disputations and of the chapters in the *Synopsis* differ slightly from those in the *Catalogus* (Sinnema/van den Belt: 2012, 516).

The first disputation in the *Synopsis* cycle was defended by Johannes Swalmius (1596–1661) on 6 February 1620, with Johannes Polyander as presider. Swalmius was a senior student, a minister in Valkenburg, near Leiden, from 1621–1661. All the participating students about whom information could be traced left Leiden soon after defending disputations in the *Synopsis* series; this implies that the respondents in this series were senior students. The original disputation was titled “The First of the Theological Disputations: ~~On~~ the Truth of Theology.”<sup>2</sup> In the *Synopsis* the title changed into “~~On Sacred Theology~~” (Te Velde: 2013, ■) and that is the same title as in the original catalogue: “De SS. *Theologia*.” (Polyander: 1620, 3, cf. Sinnema/van den Belt: 2012, 532)

Each *disputatio* bears the name *The First [Second, Third, Fourth, etc.] of the Theological Disputations*, followed by designation of the topic, and each consists of 30 to 60 theses, often supplied with proofs from Scripture (~~supplemented on occasion~~ with a corollary or an antithesis). One of the professors is the presider, and the theses are defended by a student, called the ‘respondent’, against the attacks of one or more fellow students, the ‘opponents’.

Although in general little is known about the exact way in which theses were defended, in the case of the *Synopsis* we do have some information from the diary of Everhardus Bronchorst, professor in the law faculty from 1587. He served as an opponent in more than one of the *Synopsis* disputations, for instance, in the

---

2 No copy of this disputation has been traced to date. The title, however, does occur in a nineteenth-century catalogue: “Polyander, J., *De veritate theologiae* (def. J. Swalmius). L.B. 1620. 12 pp. 4<sup>o</sup>” (Muller/van Slee: 1868, 372).

one on the authority Scripture presided by Walaeus. He argued that the authority of Scripture in some way depends on the church from 1 Timothy 3 where the church is called a pillar and support of the truth. “I insisted so vigorously on my opinion that the presider could not give me a sufficiently proper answer, as most of the students can testify, for he stupidly explained ~~the pillar as a kind of table resting on a pillar~~” (Bronchorst: 1898, 147 f.). We do not know how this critical attitude relates to his own opinion; Bronchorst was a respected elder in the Reformed church of Leiden, but, of course, his personal diary was not written for publication and perhaps he merely brought these questions up for the sake of the discussion.

## Structure

The general structure of the *Synopsis* is not very surprising for those who are acquainted with Reformed theology. Starting with the prolegomena, the series then turns to the *principia* of Reformed theology: the doctrine of Scripture and theology proper, including the doctrine of the Trinity. After creation, the Law and the Gospel are discussed, while Christology, soteriology and ecclesiology follow; the series ends with eschatology. In greater detail, the structure consists of the following ten parts:

- 1) The nature of theology (1) and the doctrine of Scripture (2 – 5).
- 2) The essence of God and His attributes (6), and the Trinity (7 – 9).
- 3) Creation (10) and providence (11), including angelology (12) and anthropology (13).
- 4) The fall (14) and its consequences regarding sin (15 – 16), and the human will (17).
- 5) Law (18) – with a detailed discussion of its first table (19 – 21) – and Gospel (22), with a discussion of the two testaments (23).
- 6) Soteriology, from predestination (24) via the person and work of Christ (25 – 29) to the personal application in the call (30), faith (31), penance (32) justification (33), sanctification (34) and Christian liberty (35).
- 7) Some anti-Roman Catholic topics (36 – 39).
- 8) Ecclesiology (40), including Christ as the head of the church (41), the office of the ministers (42), the sacraments (43 – 46), and the five false sacraments (47), church discipline (48).
- 9) The relation between church and state as treated by the councils (49) and the magistrate (50).
- 10) Eschatology (51 – 52).

It might be interesting to compare the structure of the *Synopsis* with the structures of other series of disputations. One of the first cases in which the disputations in a publication were first held as a series and in which the *recte ordo docendi* relates to the practice of teaching are the *Theses theologicae in Schola Genevensi*, originally a cycle of 81 disputations presided over by Theodore Beza and Antoine de La Faye from July 1581 to June 1586 (Heyer: 1898, xxii, 9–20). The series opens with a discussion of theology proper (1–11), first offering some *principia*, then turning to the trinity and the attributes of God and ending with providence and predestination. The next section discusses anthropology (12–18), creation (12), free-will (16) and sin (17). Soteriology (18–40) starts with justification and ends with the Law and repentance. Then the series follows the Apostles Creed (41–51) from the conception of Christ to the communion of saints. Next come the Word of God (52), together with councils (53) and traditions (54), the sacraments (55–62) and prayer (63–71), including explanation of the Lord's prayer. The series ends with the ministry and discipline (72–76), the magistrate (77), the remission of sins (78), the resurrection of the flesh (79) and eternal life (80).

At present however we will focus on the relationship of the *Synopsis*'s structure of previous series of disputations held in Leiden. To understand the evolution of the *ordo docendi* it is important to realize that the *Synopsis* cycle continues a tradition of cycles of theological disputations that began in 1596. A comparison with the six cycles of disputations held prior to the Synod of Dort reveals some remarkable choices of the *Synopsis*.

The first cycle, presided in 1596 and 1597 by Franciscus Junius (1545–1602), Lucas Trelcatius Sr. (1542–1602), and Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641), opens with a disputation on *The Authority of Holy Scripture* and ends with the 36<sup>th</sup> disputation *On the Magistrate*.<sup>3</sup> The general structure of this cycle is the doctrine of Scripture (1–5), the doctrine of God, including Christology, providence and predestination (6–10), the church (11–14), the nature of faith and justification (15–23), the sacraments (24–26), Roman Catholic errors (27–35), and finally the magistrate (36). Some of the titles expressly refer to positions held in the Roman Catholic church; for example, *On the True Marks of the True and Visible Church of Christ on Earth* (12), *That the Roman Pope is not the Head of the Church* (14), and *Regarding the Adoration of the Eucharist* (28). It is not clear if the professors planned the topics of the whole cycle beforehand.

After this original cycle was completed, five repetitions (*repetitiones*) were held; the number of disputations and the topics in the later *repetitiones* vary from the original cycle and from each other. The first repetition ran from De-

---

3 For a complete list of the disputations see 'Appendix A: List of the First Leiden Cycle of Theological Disputations' in Sinnema/van den Belt (2012), 529 ff.

ember 1597 to March 1601 and it consisted of 63 disputations, again presided by Junius, Trelcatius, and Gomarus. This series was published ten years later in Hanover, under the title *Compendium theologiae* (Junius/Trelcatius/Gomarus: 1611) When one compares its structure to that in the original series, one observes some differences. Whereas the original cycle begins with a disputation on the authority of Scripture, this series starts with the prolegomena. The disputation *On True Theology* is defended under Junius by the student Antonius Walaeus, the later co-author of the *Synopsis* (Junius: 1597).

The second disputation “Concerning the Natural and Revealed Knowledge of God” (Trelcatius: 1598) is remarkable because, according to Reformed orthodoxy, also the natural knowledge of God is revealed knowledge. It might be interesting to analyze how this disputation pertains to a discussion about the function of natural theology in the development of Reformed theology. Heinrich Heppé opens his survey of Reformed theology with an independent *locus*, titled “*De theologia naturali et revelata*” (Heppé: 1861, 1). According to some this is a fatal misunderstanding, because Heppé does not take into account that natural and revealed theology were treated within the broader epistemological framework of archetypal and ectypal theology (Van Asselt: 2004, 95). Karl Barth followed Heppé’s analysis and consequently misunderstood the Reformed orthodox view of natural theology as an independent forecourt of and preparatory step to real theology; he therefore rejected natural theology altogether. Barth might have been misguided by Heppé, but at least the title of Trelcatius’ disputation shows that some Reformed ‘manners of presentation’ did contain a separate *locus* “*De cognitione Dei naturali et revelata*.”

Although there are still some anti-Roman Catholic titles, the repetition covers the whole range of theology better than the first cycle. It discusses prolegomena and Scripture (1–7), theology proper (8–12), creation and providence (13–17), sin, the law and the gospel (18–23), Christology (24–30), soteriology, including justification, good works, predestination and eternal life (31–42), ecclesiology, including some of the anti-Roman Catholic topics (43–55), the sacraments (56–62), and finally the magistrate (63).

A second repetition was much shorter, consisting only of 24 disputations, the first on the authority and perfection of the written Word, the last on the Lord’s Supper.<sup>4</sup> Once again, these were presided by Junius, Trelcatius, and Gomarus. After Trelcatius sr. died in August 1602, the third repetition (46 disputations) was started by Junius and Gomarus in September 1602 and continued by Gomarus alone when Junius also died after presiding over the third disputation

---

4 The Leiden University library has these separately printed disputations bound in one volume, under the title, “*Disputationes theologicae XXIV, sub praesidio F. Junii, L. Trelcatii et F. Gomari in Academia Lugd. Batava defensae*.”

(Arminius: 2010, 592). When Lucas Trelcatius Jr. (1573–1607) and Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609) were appointed in May and July 1603, they joined the cycle, which ended with a disputation presided by Trelcatius jr. on the magistrate (Trelcatius jr.: 1604).

By this time the controversy between Gomarus and Arminius had come to the surface. Gomarus even organized a random disputation on predestination as a reaction to the views of Arminius, whose turn it was to preside over the public disputation on this topic (Stanglin: 2007, 26). The fourth and fifth repetitions follow the structure of the third one, with only small changes; the fifth repetition, for example, has two extra disputations on Scripture and two extra ones on good works, one regarding the first and one regarding the second table of the law. After the death of Arminius in October 1609 the fifth repetition ends abruptly with disputations *On Predestination* under Gomarus and *On the Call of Human Beings to Salvation* under Arminius.

### Three Differences

A comparison of the structure of the *Synopsis* with that of its predecessors reveals at least three remarkable choices. In the first place, only once before had the doctrine of Scripture been preceded by a more general introduction into theology, and that was by Franciscus Junius, the architect of the Post-Reformation distinction between *theologia ectypa* and *archetypa*. The fact that Polyander does not discuss archetypal theology in this first disputation has been interpreted as a sign that he was less ‘scholastic’ than some of his peers and emphasized the revealed character of our knowledge of God and the practical character of theology (van Isterzon: 1931, 70); but the fact that he started the series with a disputation concerning the nature of theology, on the contrary, indicates a strong emphasis on the prolegomena of theology. Polyander defines theology as

the knowledge or wisdom of the divine matters that God has revealed to people in this world through ministers of his word inspired by the prophetic Spirit, and that He has adapted to their capability, to lead them to knowledge of the truth which accords with godliness and renders them wise unto their own salvation and God’s eternal glory (Te Velde: 2013, ■).

In this introduction theology is discussed according to the Aristotelian categories of cause. God is the efficient cause of theology. The instrumental cause is the Word of God, the form – or formal cause – is the truth and the goal or the final cause can be distinguished in a) that it offers knowledge of the truth b) that it renders people wise unto salvation and c) that it promotes the glory of God.



A second remarkable change is the place of predestination in the series. In the original cycle the disputation on predestination follows immediately after the Trinity, Christology, and providence. Then, in the first repetition of the original series both Christology and predestination are moved backwards and predestination ends up in the last part of soteriology only followed by the call and eschatology. In the second repetition however it moves forward again and is joined with providence, although Christology does not move along with it. The third to the fifth repetitions move it backwards again to the end of soteriology. ~~Moreover, not~~ every published series of disputations was held in the order suggested by the index of the book in which they were published. The collected disputations of Junius in his *Opera*, for instance, do not resemble the order in which they were held in Leiden. The disputations on predestination are placed between those on the divine attributes and those on the Trinity, while that was not its place in the cycles in which he was a presider (Junius: 1607).

~~In the *Synopsis* the choice~~ is interesting for two reasons. The authors do not connect predestination immediately with the doctrine of God or with Providence. The survey of Heppé suggests that this was its normal place in Reformed orthodoxy (Heppé: 1861, 110). This was the case in some instances, as the lists of Leiden disputations show, but the shifts in the structure reveal the tensions in Reformed theology.

The *Synopsis* connects predestination with Christology. Before turning to Christ's incarnation, offices, humiliation and exaltation, the *Synopsis* first explains for whom Christ did all his work. Or, as the opening thesis of the disputation on the incarnation says, having treated predestination, "it follows that we should next give separate treatments of what is the object of the Gospel and the basis for the new covenant, namely, the person of Christ, or the incarnation of the Son of God, and the personal union of the two natures of Christ" (Polyander/Rivet/Walaeus/Thysius: 1881, 238, translation Riemer Faber).

This choice is also interesting because the *Synopsis* dissolves the unity of the two disputations on predestination and the call (Van den Belt: 2012, 547 f). Prior to the synod, the disputations on the *vocatio* were placed between the disputations on divine predestination and on the resurrection of the flesh and everlasting life. The *Synopsis*, however, places five disputations on the work of Christ between predestination (disputation 24) and the call (disputation 30). The disputations on the *vocatio* before the Synod of Dort mostly open with a reference to the previous disputation on predestination, defining the call as the execution of predestination. The disputations after the Synod of Dort – not only in the *Synopsis*-cycle, but also other disputations – however, prefer to speak of the call as the execution of election rather than as the execution of predestination (Van den Belt: 2012, 548). On the other hand, in the *Synopsis* for the first time soteriology starts with the call and no longer with faith, which also indicates an

important switch in emphasis: salvation starts with the effectual call through Word and Spirit.

The third interesting difference is the end of the series. Whereas all its predecessors close with politics – except for the short second repetition that ends with the Lord’s Supper – the *Synopsis* closes with eschatology. The relationship between politics and the kingdom of God has always been full of tension in the Reformed tradition. Even in the subsequent editions of the *Institutes* this tension is an issue. Calvin ended the first edition with Christian liberty and the magistrate. In later editions he added paragraph on the meditation of the future life, but in the final edition he moves the paragraphs on Christian liberty and the future life to other parts of the *Institutes* and closes his *magnum opus* with politics, leaving next generations with the impression that the magistrate is one of the external means of grace.

Maybe the structure of the final edition of the *Institutes* influenced the series prior to Dort. Possibly the *Synopsis* simply follows the order of the closing articles of the *Belgic Confession*, but the Synod of Dort might also play a certain role here. The fact that the disputation on the Magistrate is immediately preceded by one on the Church Councils – a *novum* in the series – implies that the authors of the *Synopsis* wanted to define the church-state relationship carefully. A closer study of the content of both disputations might make this connection clearer, but at least Polyander emphasizes the duty of the magistrate to take the lead in organizing a synod for a disrupted church (Polyander/Rivetus/Walaeus/Thysius: 1881, 621). If the discussion of the magistrate is tied closely to ecclesiology, then eschatology naturally becomes the final theme of the series.

## The Repetitions of the *Synopsis*

Like the series before the Synod of Dort, the *Synopsis* series was repeated several times. The first repetition (1625 – 1628) is titled *Disputationum theologiarum repetitarum prima*, [*secunda*, etc.], with the subject as subtitle. Compared to the original *Synopsis* series, the disputations of the first repetition are much shorter, probably because the curators decided in 1625 that the theses published at the expense of the university had to fit on one printed sheet. Some of them consist almost exclusively of literal quotes and statements from the original, as if the professor or the student just summarized the argument. In other cases, however, the text is remarkably different (Sinnema/van den Belt: 2012, 525).

In total there were four repetitions up to 1639. The greatest difference between these repetitions and the cycles prior to the Synod of Dort is that the list of subjects remained fixed. This fact alone testifies to the influence of the *Synopsis* ~~as a textbook~~ on later theological instruction at Leiden. The influence of the

*Synopsis* continued even after the repetitions were replaced by later cycles presided by other professors. According to Johannes Henricus Coccejus his father Johannes Coccejus divided the theological topics with his colleagues and kept the order that was observed in the *Synopsis* – though with slight changes. (Coccejus: 1673, cf. Sinnema/van den Belt: 2012, 526).

## Conclusion

The development of the *ordo docendi* in Leiden implies that there always is a relationship between the order in which things are taught and their content and even their context. No doubt the discussions at the Synod of Dort influenced the content and structure of the cycle of disputations that were held after the synod.

The Leiden professors to some extent felt the need to think in didactic terms about the alignment of the themes before starting with the course of pure or rather purer theology. The arrangement of teaching is essential for the right way of teaching.

The choices of the Leiden professors illustrate the tensions in Reformed theology. Apparently, after the conflict with the Remonstrants, the Leiden theologians felt the need of a) carefully defining the character of theology in the prolegomena, b) relating predestination to the person and work of Christ, and c) connecting the task of the magistrate to the doctrine of the church. These tensions are still not solved today. But exactly these tensions make theology such a breath-taking endeavor.

## Literature

- ARMINIUS, JACOBUS (2010), *The Missing Public Disputations of Jacobus Arminius: Introduction, Text, and Notes*, Keith D. Stanglin (ed.), Leiden: Brill.
- BEZA, THEODORE/ANTOINE DE LA FAYE (1586), *Theses theologicae in Schola Genevensi ab aliquot sacrarum literarum studiosis sub D.D. Theod. Beza & Antonio Fayo S. S. theologiae professoribus propositae & disputatae*, Geneva: Vignon.
- BRONCHORST, EVERARDUS (1898), *Diarium: sive Adversaria omnium quae gesta sunt in Academia Leydensi, 1591 – 1627*, Jacob Cornelis van Slee (ed.), The Hague: M. Nijhoff.
- COCCEJUS, JOHANNES HENRICUS (1673), 'Praefatio' in Johannes Coccejus, *Opera omnia theologica, exegetica, didactica, polemica, philologica: divisa in octo volumina*, Amsterdam: Johannis à Someren.
- HEPPE, HEINRICH (1861), *Die Dogmatik der evangelisch-reformierten Kirche*, Elberfeld: Friderichs.
- HEYER, HENRI (1898), *Catalogue des thèses de théologie soutenues à l'Académie de Genève pendant les XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Geneva: Georg.

- HOLDER, R. WARD (2009), Calvin's Theology: Tradition and Renewal, in: Herman Selderhuis (ed.), *The Calvin Handbook*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 384 – 395.
- JUNIUS, FRANCISCUS (1597), *Theologicarum disputationum repetitarum prima, de vera theologia*, Antonius Walaeus respondent, Leiden: Joannes Patius.
- JUNIUS, FRANCISCUS/LUCAS TRELCAIUS/Franciscus GOMARUS (1611), *Compendium theologiae thesibus in Academia Lugduno-Bat. [...] publice propositis*, Hanover: Guilielmus Antonius.
- JUNIUS, FRANCISCUS (1607), *Opera theologica*, Paullus Merula ed., Geneva: Caldorianis.
- MULLER, F./J.C. VAN SLEE (1868), *Catalogus dissertationum et orationum theologicarum defensarum ab a. 1650 ad 1850 in academiis Neerlandiae, Germaniae, Sueciae collectarum* a Fred. Muller, Amsterdam: F. Muller.
- MULLER, RICHARD A. (2000), *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition*, New York: Oxford University.
- POLYANDER, JOHANNES (1620), *Orationes inaugurales a SS. theologiae professoribus*, Leiden: J. Marci.
- POLYANDER, JOHANNES/ANTONIUS RIVETUS/ANTONIUS WALAEUS/ANTONIUS THYSIUS (1881), *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae*, H. Bavinck (ed.), Leiden: Donner.
- SINNEMA, DONALD/HENK VAN DEN BELT (2012), *The Synopsis Purioris Theologiae (1625) as a Disputation Cycle*, CHRC 92, 505 – 537.
- STANGLIN, KEITH D. (2007), *Arminius on the Assurance of Salvation: The Context, Roots, and Shape of the Leiden Debate, 1603 – 1609*, Leiden: Brill.
- TRELCAIUS, LUCAS (1598), *Disputationum theologicarum repetitarum secunda, de cognitione Dei naturali et revelata*, Gulielmus Coddaeus respondent, Leiden: Patius.
- TRELCAIUS JR., LUCAS (1604), *Disputationum theologicarum quadragesima-sexta et ultima de magistratu*, Samuel Czaplinius respondent, Leiden: Patius.
- ~~TE VELDE, DOLF (ED.) (2013), *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae, vol. 1*, Leiden: Brill.~~
- VAN ASSELT, W.J. (2004), 'Wees maar goed orthodox, dan word je vanzelf vrijzinnig' Enkele opmerkingen en vragen bij Frans Breukelmans reconstructie van het Theologisch dualisme in de gereformeerde traditie, *Kerk en Theologie* 55, 93 – 108.
- VAN DEN BELT, HENK (2012), *The Vocatio in the Leiden Disputations (1597 – 1631): The Influence of the Arminian Controversy on the Concept of the Divine Call to Salvation*, CHRC 92, 539 – 559.
- VAN ITTERZON, G.P. (1931), *Het gereformeerd Leerboek der 17de Eeuw "Synopsis Purioris Theologiae"*, Den Haag: Nijhoff.

## Appendix A –

### The Structure of the Cycles of Disputations in Leiden (1596–1639)

First dogmatic cycle (1596 – 1597) <sup>a)</sup>	Franciscus Junius, Lucas Trelocatius Sr., and Franciscus Gomarus	Franciscus Junius, Lucas Trelocatius Sr., and Franciscus Gomarus	Second repetition (1601 – 1602)	Franciscus Junius, Lucas Trelocatius Sr., and Franciscus Gomarus	Third repetition (1602 – 1604)	Franciscus Gomarus, Lucas Trelocatius Jr., and Jacobus Arminius	Fourth repetition (1604 – 1607)	Franciscus Gomarus, Lucas Trelocatius Jr., and Jacobus Arminius	Fifth repetition (1607 – 1609)	Franciscus Gomarus, Lucas Trelocatius Jr., and Jacobus Arminius	<i>Synopsis Purioris Theologiae</i> and its repetitions (1620 – 1639) <sup>c)</sup>
		<i>Prolegomena</i> <sup>d)</sup>									Johannes Polyander, Andreas Rivetus, Antonius Walaëus, and Antonius Thysius
		<i>Prolegomena</i> <sup>d)</sup>									<i>Prolegomena</i>
		1 De vera theologia									1 De ss theologia
		2 De cognitione Dei naturali, et revelata									
		<i>Scripture</i>	<i>Scripture</i>	<i>Scripture</i>	<i>Scripture</i>	<i>Scripture</i>	<i>Scripture</i>	<i>Scripture</i>	<i>Scripture</i>	<i>Scripture</i>	<i>Scripture</i>
1 De sacrae scripturae auctoritate	3 De sacra scriptura, et partibus eius	4 De auctoritate sacrae scripturae	1 De auctoritate et perfectione verbi divini scripti	1 De scriptura (?) <sup>e)</sup>	1 De scriptura (?) <sup>e)</sup>	1 De sacra scriptura et partibus eius	1 De sacra scriptura	1 De sacra scriptura et partibus eius	1 De sacra scripturae necessitate atque auctoritate	2 De sacrae scripturae perfectione, & traditionibus	
2 De sacra scripturae perfectio	4 De auctoritate sacrae scripturae	4 De auctoritate sacrae scripturae		2 De scriptura (?)	2 De scriptura (?)	2 De sufficientia et perfectione sacrae scripturae, contra traditiones	2 De sufficientia et perfectione sacrae scripturae, contra traditiones	2 De auctoritate et certitudine sacrae scripturae	3 De libris canonicis & apocryphis		
3 De sacrae scripturae perspicuitate	5 De perfectione sacrae scripturae	5 De perfectione sacrae scripturae						3 De perfectione sacrae scripturae	4 De s scripturae perfectione, & traditionibus		

(Continued)

First dogmatic cycle (1596 – 1597) <sup>a)</sup>	First repetition <sup>b)</sup> (1597 – 1601)	Second repetition (1601 – 1602)	Third repetition (1602 – 1604)	Fourth repetition (1604 – 1607)	Fifth repetition (1607 – 1609)	<i>Synopsis Purioris Theologiae</i> and its repetitions (1620 – 1639) <sup>c)</sup>
4 De sacrae scripturae lectione	6 De sacrae scripturae perspicuitate, et interpretatione				4 De perspicuitate et interpretatione sacrae scripturae	5 De perspicuitate scripturae & interpretatione
5 De numero librorum sacrae scripturae, & apocryphis	7 De traditionibus					
<i>Theology proper</i>	<i>Theology proper</i>	<i>Theology proper</i>	<i>Theology proper</i>	<i>Theology proper</i>	<i>Theology proper</i>	<i>Theology proper</i>
6 De Deo essentia uno et personis trino	8 De essentia Dei unica, et attributis illius	2 De Deo essentia uno, et personis trino	3 De essentia Dei et attributis illius	3 De essentia Dei et eius attributis	5 De essentia Dei et attributis primi generis	6 De essentia Dei eiusque attributis
	9 De idolis, et idololatria	3 De Filiis, et Spiritus Sancti deitate	4 De Trinitate personarum in una Dei essentia	4 De Trinitate personarum in una Dei essentia	6 De attributis divinis essentialibus secundi generis	7 De Trinitate divinarum personarum
	10 De Trinitate personarum in unica Dei essentia	4 De attributis Dei	5 De persona Patris et Filii (?)	5 De persona Patris et Filii	7 De persona Patris et Filii	8 De divinitate Filii Dei
	11 De Deo Patre, et Filio		6 De persona Spiritus Sancti	6 De Spiritu Sancto	8 De Spiritu Sancto	9 De divinitate Spiritus Sancti
	12 De Spiritu Sancto					
<i>Christ</i>	<i>Creation</i>	<i>Providence</i>	<i>Creation</i>	<i>Creation</i>	<i>Creation</i>	<i>Creation</i>

(Continued)

First dogmatic cycle (1596–1597) <sup>a)</sup>	First repetition <sup>b)</sup> (1597–1601)	Second repetition (1601–1602)	Third repetition (1602–1604)	Fourth repetition (1604–1607)	Fifth repetition (1607–1609)	<i>Synopsis Purioris Theologiae</i> and its repetitions (1620–1639) <sup>c)</sup>
7 De persona Christi mediatoris	13 De creatione mundi	5 De providentia Die	7 De creatione (?)	7 De creatione mundi	9 De creatione	10 De mundi cre- atione
8 De incarnatione Christi mediatoris	14 De angelis bonis, et malis	6 De divina prae- destinatione	8 De angelis bonis et malis (?)	8 De angelis bonis et malis	10 De angelis bonis et malis	11 De providentia Dei
	15 De creatione hominis ad imaginem Dei		9 De creatione hominis ad imag- inem Dei	9 De creatione hominis ad imaginem Dei	11 De creatione hominis ad imaginem Dei	12 De angelis bonis & malis
						13 De homine ad imaginem Dei creato
<i>Providence</i>	<i>Providence</i>	<i>Creation</i>	<i>Providence</i>	<i>Providence</i>	<i>Providence</i>	
9 De providentia Dei	16 De providentia Dei	7 De creatione mundi	10 De providentia (?)	10, De provi- dentia Dei	12 De provi- dentia Dei	
10 De divina prae- destinatione	17 De efficacia, et iustitia provi- dentiae Dei in malo	8 De creatione hominis ad imag- inem Dei	11 De iustitia et ef- ficacia providentiae Dei in malo (?)	11 De iustitia et efficacia provi- dentiae Dei in malo	13 De iustitia et efficacia provi- dentiae Dei in malo	
	<i>Sin</i>	<i>Sin</i>	<i>Sin</i>	<i>Sin</i>	<i>Sin</i>	<i>Sin</i>
	18 De primo Adami lapsu	9 De lapsu homi- nis, eiusque effec- to primarius pec- cato originali	12 De primo peccato Adami, et peccato originali	12 De peccato primo et peccato originali	14 De peccato originali (?)	14 De lapsu Adami





*(Continued)*

First dogmatic cycle (1596–1597) <sup>a)</sup>	First repetition <sup>b)</sup> (1597–1601)	Second repetition (1601–1602)	Third repetition (1602–1604)	Fourth repetition (1604–1607)	Fifth repetition (1607–1609)	<i>Synopsis Purioris Theologiae</i> and its repetitions (1620–1639) <sup>c)</sup>
	24 De incarnatione Filii Dei	11 De unione duarum naturarum in Christo hypostatike	18 De incarnatione Filii Dei	18 De incarnatione Filii Dei	20 De incarnatione Filii Dei	24 De praedestinatione
	25 De officiis personae Christi	12 De officiis Filii Dei incarnati seu Christi theanthropos	19 De officio Christi	19 De officiis Filii Dei incarnati	21 De officiis Jesu Christi domini nostri	25 De Filii Dei incarnatione & unione personalium duarum naturarum in Christo
	26 De passione, et morte Christi	13 De statu duplici Christi theanthropou, humilitationis et exaltationis	20 De perpassionibus Christi	20 De perpassionibus Christi	22 De perpassionibus Christi	26 De Christo officio
	27 De descensu Christi ad inferos		21 De exaltatione Christi	21 De exaltatione Christi	23 De exaltatione Christi	27 De statu humilitationis Iesu Christi
	28 De resurrectione Christi		22 De merito Christi (?)	22 De merito Christi et efficacia eius	24 De morte Christi eiusque beneficiis erga nos	28 De statu exaltationis eiusdem
	29 De ascensu Christi in coelum, et sessione ad dextram Patris					29 De Christi satisfactione

(Continued)

First dogmatic cycle (1596 – 1597) <sup>a)</sup>	First repetition <sup>b)</sup> (1597 – 1601)	Second repetition (1601 – 1602)	Third repetition (1602 – 1604)	Fourth repetition (1604 – 1607)	Fifth repetition (1607 – 1609)	<i>Synopsis Purioris Theologiae</i> and its repetitions (1620 – 1639) <sup>c)</sup>
	30 De merito Christi, et beneficis illius erga nos					
<i>Ecclesiology</i>	<i>Soteriology</i>	<i>Soteriology</i>	<i>Soteriology</i>	<i>Soteriology</i>	<i>Soteriology</i>	<i>Soteriology</i>
11 De ecclesia	31 De fide iustificante	14 De fide iustificante	23 De fide iustificante	23 De fide	25 De fide	30 De vocatione
12 De veris & visibilibus Christi in terris ecclesiae notis	32 De poenitentia, et partibus eius	15 De bonis operibus	24 De iustificatione hominis coram Deo per solam fidem	24 De iustificatione hominis coram Deo per solam fidem	26 De iustificatione hominis coram Deo	31 De fide, & perseverantia sanctorum
13 De legitima vocatione ministrorum	33 De indulgentiis, et purgatorio	16 De oratione	25 De poenitentia et partibus eius	25 De resipiscentia	27 De resipiscentia	32 De poenitentia
14 Romanum pontificem non esse caput ecclesiae	34 De vita christiana		26 De indulgentiis et purgatorio	26 De indulgentiis et purgatorio	28 De indulgentiis pontificiis et purgatorio	33 De iustificatione hominis coram Deo
15 De pontifice romano an ullo modo sit norma fidei	35 De iustificatione hominis coram Deo		27 De bonis operibus, et meritis eorum	27 De bonis operibus et meritis eorum	29 De bonis operibus et meritis eorum	34 De sanctificatione & bonis operibus
	36 De bonis operibus, et meritis eorum				30 De primae tabulae operibus	35 De libertate christiana

*(Continued)*

First dogmatic cycle (1596 – 1597) <sup>a)</sup>	First repetition <sup>b)</sup> (1597 – 1601)	Second repetition (1601 – 1602)	Third repetition (1602 – 1604)	Fourth repetition (1604 – 1607)	Fifth repetition (1607 – 1609)	<i>Synopsis Purioris Theologiae</i> and its repetitions (1620 – 1639) <sup>c)</sup>
	37 De libertate christiana				31 De operibus secundae tabulae	36 De invocatione unius Dei per unicum mediatorem Iesum Christum
	38 De oratione		28 De oratione	28 De cultu adorationis	32 De oratione	37 De ieiunio & eleemosynis
	39 De invocatione sanctorum		29 De invocatione sanctorum	29 De invocatione sanctorum	33 De invocatione sanctorum	38 De votis
	40 De divina praedestinatione		30 De divina praedestinatione	30 De aeterna Dei praedestinatione	34 De praedestinatione	39 De purgatorio & indulgentiis
	41 De vocatione hominum ad salutem		31 De vocatione hominum ad salutem	31 De vocatione hominis ad salutem	35 De vocatione hominum ad salutem	
	42 De resurrectione carnis, et vita aeterna		32 De resurrectione carnis et vita aeterna	32 De resurrectione carnis et vita aeterna		
<i>Soteriology</i>	<i>Ecclesiology</i>	<i>Ecclesiology</i>	<i>Ecclesiology</i>	<i>Ecclesiology</i>		<i>Ecclesiology</i>
16 De natura fidei	43 De ecclesia catholica, et partibus eius	17 De ecclesia	33 De ecclesia catholica eiusque partibus	33 De ecclesia catholica		40 De ecclesia eiusque notis

(Continued)

First dogmatic cycle (1596 – 1597) <sup>a)</sup>	First repetition <sup>b)</sup> (1597 – 1601)	Second repetition (1601 – 1602)	Third repetition (1602 – 1604)	Fourth repetition (1604 – 1607)	Fifth repetition (1607 – 1609)	<i>Synopsis Purioris Theologiae</i> and its repetitions (1620 – 1639) <sup>c)</sup>
17 Utrum vera fides in non renatis esse possit	44 De ecclesia visibili	18 De vera peccatorum remissione, contra satisfactiones humanas et purgatorium 19 De resipiscentia	34 De ecclesia visibili	34 De ecclesia visibili		41 De Christo unico ecclesiae capite & de anti-christo
18 De sanctorum perseverantia	45 De discrimine verae, et falsae ecclesiae		35 De ecclesiae discrimine, hoc est, de vera et perpetuis Ecclesiae notis	35 De notis ecclesiae		42 De vocatione & officio ministrorum ecclesiae
19 De originali peccato	46 De communi- one sanctorum	20 De lege et evangelio	36 De ministeriis ecclesiasticis	36 De ministeriis ecclesiasticis et ministrorum vocatione		
20 De libero arbitrio	47 De vocatione, et ordine ministrorum in ecclesia	21 De ministerio ecclesiastico et legitima ministrorum vocatione	37 De capite ecclesiae	37 De capite ecclesiae		
21 De Christi mediatoris officio	48 Contra primum romani pontificis		38 De potestate ecclesiae in fidei dogmatis, legibus ferendis et iure dicundo	38 De potestate ecclesiae in fidei dogmatis, legibus ferendis, et iurisdictione		

(Continued)

First dogmatic cycle (1596–1597) <sup>a)</sup>	First repetition <sup>b)</sup> (1597–1601)	Second repetition (1601–1602)	Third repetition (1602–1604)	Fourth repetition (1604–1607)	Fifth repetition (1607–1609)	<i>Synopsis Purioris Theologiae</i> and its repetitions (1620–1639) <sup>c)</sup>
22 De justificatione hominis coram Deo	49 De potestate ecclesiae in fidei dogmatis		39 De disciplina ec- clesiastica	39 De disciplina ecclesiastica		
23 De bonis operibus	50 De conciliis		40 De ieiunio et votis	40 De ieiunio et votis		
	51 De potestate ecclesiae ferendis legibus, et iure dicundo					
	52 De disciplina ecclesiastica					
	53 De ieiunio					
	54 De votis					
	55 De ministerio ecclesiastico					
<i>Sacraments</i>	<i>Sacraments</i>	<i>Sacraments</i>	<i>Sacraments</i>	<i>Sacraments</i>		<i>Sacraments</i>
24 De natura numero- que sacramento- rum	56 De sacra- mentis in genere	22 De sacramentis in genere	41 De sacramentis in genere	41 De sacra- mentis in genere		43 De sacramentis
25 De sacramento baptismi	57 De baptismo		42 De baptismo et paedobaptismo	42 De baptismo		44 De Bbaptismo

(Continued)

First dogmatic cycle (1596 – 1597) <sup>a)</sup>	First repetition <sup>b)</sup> (1597 – 1601)	Second repetition (1601 – 1602)	Third repetition (1602 – 1604)	Fourth repetition (1604 – 1607)	Fifth repetition (1607 – 1609)	<i>Synopsis Purioris Theologiae</i> and its repetitions (1620 – 1639) <sup>c)</sup>
26 De sacra coena Domini	58 De paedobaptismo	23 De baptismo	43 De coena Domini, et in ea corporis, et sanguinis Christi praesentia, et communicatione	43 De paedobaptismo		45 De coena Domini
27 De transsubstantiatione et consubstantiatione	59 De coena Domini	24 De coena Domini	44 De missa	44 De s coena Domini		46 De missa
28 De adoratione eucharistiae	60 De praesentia, et communicatione corporis, et sanguinis Christi in coena		45 De falsis quinque sacramentis	45 De missa papali		47 De quinque falsis sacramentis
29 De missa papali	61 De missa			46 De falsis quinque sacramentis		48 De disciplina ecclesiastica
30 De cultu imaginum, crucis et reliquiarum sanctorum	62 De quinque falsis sacramentis pontificiorum					49 De conciliis
31 De sanctorum invocatione						
32 De purgatorio papistico						

*(Continued)*

First dogmatic cycle (1596–1597) <sup>a)</sup>	First repetition <sup>b)</sup> (1597–1601)	Second repetition (1601–1602)	Third repetition (1602–1604)	Fourth repetition (1604–1607)	Fifth repetition (1607–1609)	<i>Synopsis Purioris Theologiae</i> and its repetitions (1620–1639) <sup>c)</sup>
33 De coelibatu ministrorum ad erroris pontificii						
34 De jejunio, delectu ciborum, et quadragesima						
35 De precibus non Latine recitandis in ecclesia						
<i>Magistrate</i>	<i>Magistrate</i>		<i>Magistrate</i>	<i>Magistrate</i>		<i>Magistrate</i>
36 De magistratu	63 De magistratu politico		46 De magistratu <sup>f)</sup>	47 De magistratu		50 De magistratu
						<i>Eschatology</i>
						51 De Resurrectione carnis & iudicio extreme

(Continued)

First dogmatic cycle (1596–1597) <sup>a)</sup>	First repetition <sup>b)</sup> (1597–1601)	Second repetition (1601–1602)	Third repetition (1602–1604)	Fourth repetition (1604–1607)	Fifth repetition (1607–1609)	<i>Synopsis Purioris Theologiae</i> and its repetitions (1620–1639) <sup>c)</sup>  52 De con-summatione seculi & vita aeterna
---	---	----------------------------------	---------------------------------	----------------------------------	---------------------------------	---

<sup>a)</sup>For a complete list of the titles, the respondents, and the dates cf. Sinnema/van den Belt (2012), 529 ff.

<sup>b)</sup>For the lists of the repetitions, see Arminius (2010), 589–596. For a more extensive list of the fourth repetition, see Stanglin (2007), 245 ff.

<sup>c)</sup>For a complete list of the titles, the respondents, and the dates cf. Sinnema/van den Belt (2012), 534 ff. The Titles mentioned here are those in the original *Catalogus* of 1620, Sinnema/van den Belt (2012), 532 f.

<sup>d)</sup>The headings in italics are mine.

<sup>e)</sup>The question marks indicate that the original disputations could not be located; the titles are conjectures of Stanglin, Arminius (2010), 589.

<sup>f)</sup>In the list of Stanglin this disputation – Trelcauius jr. (1604) – is missing (Arminius: 2010, 594).



