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CHAPTER 14

Pietism and Gender

Self-modelling and Agency

Ulrike Gleixner

Pietism and Gender

The Pietist reform movement had considerable influence on the construction of gender. Gender boundaries became more permeable, new forms of self-definition were practiced, and the agency of both sexes was enlarged. Due to the postulated equality of the sexes before God and the focus on personal piety, new possibilities emerged for the activities of both men and women. For example, men's educational opportunities became more egalitarian and independent of social background, while Pietism allowed women more participation in communication. For both sexes, Pietist self-monitoring and Pietist socialization had powerful implications and allowed new practices of self-definition. The Pietist culture of introspection, resulting in oral and written expression of religious feelings, led to new processes of self-construction and agency in society. Correspondence, as well as conventicles and the building of networks, developed new mixed-gender spaces outside of family and employment, which influenced the gender order and roles. The remarkable inclusion of women in the communicative culture of Pietism in the 17th and 18th centuries marks a tension in the historiography of Pietism, which has mostly excluded women until recently.

The program of reform that Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705) outlined in his *Pia Desideria* (1675) included, in addition to church reform,[1] three proposals relating to the community of believers: (1) the demand to teach the Bible through private reading groups; (2) the practice of the priesthood of all believers, which had been propagated already by Luther and relativized the differences between the clergy and laity; and (3) a stricter implementation of Christian practices in daily life. These impulses for reform, along with Spener's moderate millenarianism, led to a broad social and cultural

1 1. Restriction of theological controversies, 2. reform of theological studies, 3. simplification of the sermon.

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dynamic beginning in the last quarter of the 17th century.[2] Gender-based research has recently pointed out that it was especially women who were attracted to the Pietist movement und who frequently took an active role within the movement.[3] The new practices of communication allowed

2 Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus,* (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie) 42, 2nd ed. (Tübingen, 1986); Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen, 2005); W.R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge, 1992).

3 Richard Critchfield, "Prophetin, Führerin, Organisatorin: Zur Rolle der Frau im Pietismus," in *Die Frau von der Reformation zur Romantik*, ed. Barbara Becker-Cantarino (Bonn 1987), pp. 112–137; Jeannine Blackwell, "'Herzensgespräche mit Gott'. Bekenntnisse deutscher Pietistinnen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Deutsche Literatur von Frauen*, vol. 1, ed. Gisela Brinker-Gabler (Stuttgart, 1988), pp. 265–289; Rudolf Dellsperger, "Frauenemanzipation im Pietismus," in *Zwischen Macht und Dienst. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Gegenwart von Frauen im kirchlichen Leben der Schweiz*, eds. Sophia Bietenhard, Rudolf Dellsperger, Hermann Kocher, Bettina Stoll (Berne, 1991), pp. 131–152; Christel Köhle-Hezinger, "Frauen im Pietismus," *Blätter für Würtembergische Kirchengeschichte 94* (1994), 107–121; Ulrike Witt, *Bekehrung, Bildung und Biographie. Frauen im Umkreis des Halleschen Pietismus* (Tübingen, 1996); Jutta Taege-Bizer, "Weibsbilder im Pietismus. Das Beispiel von Frankfurt am Main 1670–1700," in *Frauen Gestalten Geschichte. Im Spannungsfeld zwischen Religion und Gesellschaft,* eds. Leonore Siegele-Wenschkewitz, Gury Schneider-Ludorff, Beate-Irene Hämel (Hannover, 1998), pp. 109–136; Andreas Gestrich, "Ehe, Familie, Kinder im Pietismus. Der 'gezähmte Teufel'," in *Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. 4: *Glaubenswelt und Lebenswelten*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 498–521; Ruth Albrecht, "Frauen," in *Geschichte des Pietismus,* vol. 4: *Glaubenswelt und Lebenswelten*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 522–555; Cornelia Niekus Moore, "'Obschon das Schwächste Werkzeug'. Die Darstellung der Frau im deutschen Pietismus," in *Interdisziplinäre Pietismusforschungen. Beiträge zum Ersten Internationalen Kongress für Pietismusforschung,* ed. Udo Sträter (Tübingen, 2005), pp. 37–53; Erika Hebeisen, *Leidenschaftlich fromm. Die pietistische Bewegung in Basel 1750–1830* (Cologne, 2005); Isabelle Noth, *Ekstatischer Pietismus. Die Inspirationsgemeinden und ihre Prophetin Ursula Meyer (1682–1743)* (Göttingen, 2005); Ulrike Gleixner, *Pietismus und Bürgertum. Eine historische Anthropologie der Frömmigkeit; Württemberg 17. – 19. Jahrhundert* (Neue Reihe Bürgertum) 2 (Göttingen, 2005); Ulrike Gleixner, "Spiritual Empowerment and the Demand of Marital Obedience. A Millenarian Woman and Her Journal," in *Gender in Transition. Discourse and Practise in German-Speaking Europe, 1750–1830,* eds. Ulrike Gleixner, Marion Gray (Ann Arbor, 2006), pp. 157–172; Ulrike Gleixner, "Lutherischer Pietismus, Geschlechterordnung und Subjektivität," in *"Der Herr wird seine Herrlichkeit an uns offenbaren." Liebe, Ehe und Sexualität im Pietismus*, eds. Wolfgang Breul, Christian Soboth (Halle, 2011), pp. 133–143; Gisela Mettele, *Weltbürgertum oder Gottesreich. Die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine als globale Gemeinschaft 1727–1857* (Göttingen, 2009); Jutta Taege-Bizer, "Freundschaft zwischen adeligen und bürgerlichen Frauen im frühen Pietismus: die Briefe der Anna Elisabeth Kißner an die Gräfin Benigna von Solms-Laubach," in *Alter Adam und Neue Kreatur. Pietismus und Anthropologie, Beiträge zum II. Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2005*, vol. 1 (Hallesche Forschungen) 28/1, ed. Udo Sträter (Halle, 2009), pp. 445–458; Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (Baltimore, 2013), especially chapter 7, "Pietism and Gender."

women of all social ranks to transgress positions marked by gender. Pietist conventicles attracted married women since they provided an opportunity to participate in communication outside the family household. The Pietist movement appealed to unmarried women from peasant and craftsmen households for the same reason. Middle class women often hosted Pietist meetings in the cities, in accordance with their position in society. Noble Pietist women offered protection to persecuted radical Pietists and often engaged in religious writing.[4] The number of female Pietists included some highly educated women.[5]

The contemporary polemics of anti-Pietists used the active participation of women in the mixed gender-spaces as an opportunity to create images of sexual excess, in order to discredit the Pietist movement as a whole. This well-rehearsed rhetoric of defamation had already been used against the Quakers in the 17th century. This effective rhetoric was one reason why male Pietists tried

4 Irina Modrow, "Adelige Frauen im Pietismus. Das Beispiel der Benigna von Solms-Laubach, Hedwig-Sophie von Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg und Erdmuthe Beningna von Reuß-Ebersdorf als Vertreterinnen des frommen hohen Adels im frühen 18. Jahrhundert," in *Individualisierung, Rationalisierung, Säkularisierung. Neue Wege der Religionsgeschichte,* ed. Michael Weinzierl (Munich, 1997), pp. 186–199; Gisela Schlientz, "Die Visionärin Amalia Hedwig von Leiningen (1684–1756)," in *Weib und Seele. Frömmigkeit und Spiritualität evangelischer Frauen in Württemberg, Ausstellungskatalog,* ed. Eberhard Gutekunst (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 81–87; Judith Aiken, "Songs by and for Women in a devotional songbook of 1703. Women's voices for women's voices," *Daphnis 31* (2002), 593–642; Jutta Taege-Bizer, "Adeliges Selbstverständnis und pietistische Reform – Reichsgräfin Benigna von Solms-Laubach (1648–1702)," in *Adel in Hessen. Herrschaft, Selbstverständnis und Lebensführung vom 15. Bis ins 20. Jahrhundert,* eds. Eckart Conze, Alexander Jendorff, Heide Wunder (Marburg, 2010), pp. 293–315.

5 Mirjam de Baar, ed., *Choosing the better part: Anna Maria van Schurmann (1607–1678)* (Dordrecht, 1996); Mirjam de Baar, "Gender, genre and authority in seventeenth century religious writing: Anna Maria van Schurmann and Antoinette Bourignon as contrasting examples," in *Ein Platz für sich selbst: Schreibende Frauen und ihre Lebenswelten (1450–1700)*, ed. Anne Bollmann (Groningen, 2011), pp. 135–163; Ruth Albrecht, *Johanna Eleonora Petersen: theologische Schriftstellerin des frühen Pietismus* (Göttingen, 2005); Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "'Die mütterliche Kraft unsrer neuen Gebuhrt'. Theologische Ideen und religiöse Wirksamkeit von Jane Lead (1623/24–1704) und Johanna Eleonora Petersen (1644–1724)," in *Glaube und Geschlecht. Fromme Frauen – Spirituelle Erfahrungen – Religiöse Traditionen* (Literatur – Kultur – Geschlecht: Große Reihe) 43, eds. Ruth Albrecht, Annette Bühler-Dietrich, Florentine Strzelczyk (Cologne, 2008), pp. 235–252.

to limit the involvement of female members. In the course of the 18th century it became increasingly difficult for women to occupy leading positions in Pietism, as male Pietists sought to evade further criticism by rolling back leadership positions for women. Only in the 19th century, however, did historians begin to exclude the contributions of women in their histories of Pietism in favor of a genealogy of pious men.[6] The historical study of Pietism lay primarily in the hands of male theologians. Social and literary historians began to complain that questions such as the structure of communication, the role of religion in the daily life, and the meaning of gender for the reform movement represented a much-needed research desideratum.[7] In recent years, it has been precisely in these neglected areas of research that significant progress has been made. New approaches to the study of Pietism have focused on the cultural dimension of this Protestant reform movement. But there is still a need for further research to examine the gender coding of Pietist practices.

For research into women's agency in Pietism, a strict polarization of Lutheran Pietism versus Radical Pietism is not very helpful. The terms radical or separatist focus not so much on dogmatic deviations as on practical

6 Ulrike Gleixner, "Wie fromme Helden entstehen. Biographie, Traditionsbildung und Geschichtsschreibung," in *Werkstatt Geschichte* 30 (2001), 38–49; Ulrike Gleixner, "Memory, religion and family in the writings of Pietist women," in *Gender in Early Modern German History*, ed. Ulinka Rublack (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 247–274; Ulrike Gleixner, Erika Hebeisen, eds., *Gendering Tradition. Erinnerungskultur und Geschlecht im Pietismus* (Korb, 2007); Ulrike Gleixner, "Gendering Tradition and Rewriting Church History," in *Gendering Historiography. Beyond National Canons*, eds. Angelika Epple, Angelika Schaser (Frankfurt, 2009), pp. 105–116.

7 Martin Scharfe, *Die Religion des Volkes. Kleine Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte des Pietismus* (Gütersloh, 1980); Martin Scharfe, "Pietismus und Kultur. Bedenken und Denkmöglichkeiten," in *Das Echo Halles. Kulturelle Wirkungen des Pietismus*, ed. Rainer Lächele (Tübingen, 2001), pp. 11–30; Dieter Breuer, ed., *Religion und Religiosität im Zeitalter des Barock*, (Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung) 25 (Wiesbaden, 1995); Hartmut Lehmann, "Vorüberlegungen zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Pietismus im 17./18. Jahrhundert," *Pietismus und Neuzeit 21* (1995), 69–83; Hartmut Lehmann, ed., *Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. 4: *Glaubenswelt und Lebenswelten* (Göttingen, 2004); Erika Hebeisen, "'Vom Rand zur Mitte – eine weibliche Genealogie aus dem pietistischen Milieu Basels 1750–1820'," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte 52* (2002), 463–476; Kaspar von Greyerz, *Religion and culture in Early modern Europe, 1500–1800*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Oxford, 2008); Udo Sträter, ed., *Alter Adam und Neue Kreatur. Pietismus und Anthropologie, Beiträge zum II. Internationalen Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2005*, 2 vols. (Hallesche Forschungen) 28 (Halle, 2009); Ulrike Gleixner, "How to Incorporate Gender in Lutheran Pietism Research: Narratives and Counternarratives," in *Pietism in Germany and North America 1680–1820*, eds. Jonathan Strom, Hartmut Lehmann, James van Horn Melton (Ashgate, 2009), pp. 271–278.

deviations from common social behavior.[8] The suggestion that prominent positions were possible for women in separatist Pietism, and only accommodating positions in church Pietism, misses the fact that agency for women was defined primarily by their social and marital status. Noble women in general had more influence than women of other social ranks, and widows enjoyed greater freedom of action than married women. Nevertheless, the evidence for women occupying positions of leadership is more explicit in non-churchly Pietism. For example, women in the Moravian communities had at certain times almost equal access to pastoral and organizational offices in the community. They were only excluded from leading worship services and preaching.[9] The Moravian communities, which were formed in a separatist manner, were organized according to marital status and gender. Only children and married couples lived and worked in mixed gender groups, while adolescents, the unmarried, and the widowed lived in groups (choirs) separated by gender. The fact that female Moravian Pietists held positions of leadership was due to the segregation by gender and the symmetrical organization of gender groups. Nevertheless, male dominance of the community's leadership remained intact. Following the death of the founder and charismatic leader Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf (1700–1760), women were removed from leadership positions in the Moravian community.[10] Apart from the Moravians, small groups of Pietist separatists persisted in which political and religious conventions were rejected. Their violation of the gender order was often an expression of their rejection of the political order.[11]

8 Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. 2: *Der Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Martin Brecht, Klaus Deppermann (Göttingen, 1995) pp. 107–197; Wolfgang Breul, Marcus Meier, Lothar Vogel, eds., *Der Radikale Pietismus. Perspektiven der Forschung* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus) 55 (Göttingen, 2010).

9 Pia Schmid, "'In Christo ist weder Mann noch Weib'. Zur Aufwertung des Weiblichen in der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Bildungsgeschichten. Geschlecht, Religion und Pädagogik in der Moderne*, eds. Meike Sophia Baader, Helga Kelle, Elke Kleinau (Cologne, 2006), pp. 103–117; Gisela Mettele, *Weltbürgertum oder Gottesreich.*

10 Paul Peucker, "'Gegen ein Regiment der Schwestern' – Die Änderungen nach Zinzendorfs Tod," *Unitas Fratrum* 45/46 (1999), 61–72; Beverly Prior Smaby, "'No one should Lust for power...Women Least of All': Dismanteling Female Leadership Among Eighteenth-Century Moravians," in *Pious Pursuits. German Moravians in the Atlantic World* (European expansion & global interaction) 7, ed. Michele Gillespie, Robert Beachy (New York, 2007). pp. 159–176.

11 Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. 1: *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Brecht (Göttingen, 1993), pp. 391–437; Barbara Hoffmann, *Radikalpietismus um 1700. Der Streit um das Recht auf eine neue Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt, 1996).

Self-modeling and Agency

Pietist devotional practice sought to spiritualize the believer's entire life. Everyday life was filled with religious meaning, and included the intense nurturing of religious emotions.[12] The constant effort to improve one's behavior and to be an example for the community laid claim to the entire person. Pietist religious practice demanded close introspection as a means of methodological self-monitoring. The result was the identification and naming of religious feelings, which were continuously logged in diaries, biographies, and letters or expressed verbally. For the first time a significant number of women outside of the nobility were able to write about themselves. Quite a few also wrote religious poetry and devotional treatises. Pietist women claimed the right to read the Bible and devotional literature for themselves in private. The diligent listening to and reading of religious texts led to the practice of independently reformulating what they had learned, and expressing it orally and in writing. The Pietist practice of reading religious texts, daily introspection, autobiographical writing, and living solely in obedience to the divine commands, modified the sphere of action for both sexes in all social strata. In the 16th century individuals were still strongly defined by family and social origin.[13] It was the religious movements of the 17th century that first created independent forms of self-modeling.

Pietist conversion was based on transformation of the individual, and therefore made the individual the center of attention. The practices of individuation, which are defined in psychology as the development of personality in opposition to the environment, allowed individual believers to defy non-Pietist

12 Jan Olaf Rüttgardt, *Heiliges Leben in der Welt. Grundzüge christlicher Sittlichkeit nach Philipp Jakob Spener* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus) 16 (Bielefeld, 1978); Manfred Seitz, "Frömmigkeit," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie,* vol. 11 (Berlin, 1983) pp. 674–683.

13 Natalie Zemon Davis, "Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France," in *Reconstructing Individualism. Autonomy, Individuality, and Self in Western Thought,* eds. Thomas C. Heller, Morton Sosna, David E. Wellbery (Stanford, 1986), pp. 53–63; Klaus Arnold, Sabine Schmolinsky, Urs Martin Zahnd, eds., *Das dargestellte Ich. Studien zu Selbstzeugnissen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Selbstzeugnisse des Mittelalters und der beginnenden Neuzeit) 1 (Bochum, 1999); Rudolf Dekker, ed., *Egodocumente and History. Autobiographical Writing in its Social Context since the Middle Ages* (Hilversum, 2002); Gabriele Jancke, Claudia Ulbrich, eds., *Vom Individuum zur Person. Neue Konzepte im Spannungsfeld von Autobiographie und Selbstzeugnisforschung* (Göttingen, 2005).

norms and to shape their own positions.[14] The differentiation from the non-Pietist environment and the cultivation of a Pietist group culture enabled women, who were subordinated to men by the gender hierarchy, to take up the position of subject. The same applied to groups of people in situations of dependency. When Moravian Pietists evangelized among the slaves on sugar plantations in the Caribbean, the resulting increase in the slaves' self-confidence led to rebellions against plantation owners.[15]

The Pietist subject was able to legitimize actions in dissenting with family, authority, and environment by means of religious self-authorization. This internal agency led to conflicts with the still-existent norms of social subordination. Pietist techniques of the self[16] made new options available for both sexes, and opened possibilities for action in two directions. The separation of self from the social setting by turning to God simultaneously opened up the space for new connection with the world based upon a new relationship with God. Pietist biographies repeatedly show how the protagonists consciously broke with their non-Pietist surroundings and sought out Pietist contacts. In biographical texts, this reorientation is not necessarily portrayed as a radical break, but as a lengthy process. The new techniques of the self with a stronger internal control of behavior on the path to modernity, were, however, not only connected with Pietism. Methods of self-modeling were developed in most religious cultures of early modern Europe. In both Catholic and Protestant contexts, new practices of subject-formation arose.[17]

14 Alois Hahn, "Zur Soziologie der Beichte und anderer Formen institutionalisierter Bekenntnisse: Selbstthematisierung und Zivilisationsprozess," *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 34* (1982), 407–434; Alois Hahn, "Identität und Selbstthematisierung," in *Selbstthematisierung und Selbstzeugnis: Bekenntnis und Geständnis,* eds. Alois Hahn, Volker Knapp (Frankfurt, 1987), pp. 9–24; Charles Taylor, *Quellen des Selbst. Die Entstehung der neuzeitlichen Identität* (Frankfurt, 1994); Andreas Reckwitz, *Das hybride Subjekt. Eine Theorie der Subjektkulturen von der bürgerlichen Moderne zur Postmoderne* (2006, repr. Weilerswist, 2010).

15 Jon Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, 2006).

16 Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, Patrick H. Hutton (Hg.), *Technologies of the Self: A seminar with Michel Foucault* (Amherst, 1988).

17 Louis Châtellier, *L'Europe des dévots* (Paris, 1987); Peter Burke, "Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes," in *Rewriting the Self. Histories from the Renaissance the Present,* ed. Roy Porter (London, 1997), pp. 17–28; Richard van Dülmen, *Die Entdeckung des Individuums 1500–1800* (Frankfurt, 1997); Richard van Dülmen, ed., *Entdeckung des Ich. Geschichte der Individualisierung vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Cologne, 2001).

Pietist groups developed a specific *habitus*,[18] which varied according to time period, region, and social and group-specific characteristics, but always in opposition to the non-converted environment. Components were the state of grace, being awakened to the consciousness of belonging to the elect, as well as an attitude of penance, with the constant effort to improve oneself. This inner attitude found its outward expression in more simple clothes but still befitting one's rank, and a language full of religious images and metaphors. The rejection of popular culture and the emergence of forms of communication in conventicles and communities were a prerequisite for forming a Pietist culture.[19] The close relationship between God and the individual, and the sense of being one of the elect, led to a strengthening of the individual. Especially in moments of crisis, this special position led to new possibilities of agency.

Pietist diaries often show how religious self-reinforcement was used in crisis situations. For the theologian Samuel Urlsperger (1685–1772), his removal from office as court preacher provided the occasion for him to begin keeping a diary. He began writing in August 1718 after an official investigation against him had been initiated for violations against the dignity of the Duke of Württemberg. The sermons of the young Pietist court preacher, calling for repentance, had exceeded the permitted level of court criticism, so that Duke Eberhard Ludwig had him removed from office. The diary is characterized by a humble and penitent prose.[20] Urlsperger seeks to overcome his impatience with the conclusion of the ongoing investigation against him, and to justify himself in face of the accusations brought against him. He wants to endure the test laid upon him by God and will not leave the country without a sign from God. In his journal, Urlsperger presents his own viewpoint regarding the charges against him, namely, that he had been acting as an instrument of God. He consoles himself in a Pietist manner, interpreting his situation biblically, and comparing himself to Jesus who entered Jerusalem to the cheers of the throng and just a short time later was threatened with crucifixion. Urlsperger reflects that one year earlier, on the Saturday before Easter, the Duke had applauded after his sermon. But a year later, he regarded Urlsperger as guilty of grossly misusing his office. The journal ends as Urlsperger's situation becomes stable once again.

18 For the concept of *habitus* see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste* (1979; repr. Cambridge, 1984).

19 Hartmut Lehmann, "'Absonderung' und 'Gemeinschaft' im frühen Pietismus. Allgemeinhistorische und sozialpsychologische Überlegungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung des Pietismus," *Pietismus und Neuzeit 4* (1977/78), 54–82.

20 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek (WLB), Cod. hist. oct. 173 Tagebuch Samuel Urlsperger 1718–1723.

After two years without employment, he received a pastorate in Herrenberg, northwest of Tubingen.

A life crisis was also the impulse for Beate Paulus, née Hahn (1778–1842), to begin keeping a journal.[21] This strict Pietist woman began her journal at the age of 39 during a marital crisis. She kept the journal for eleven years, only stopping when her husband died. She and her husband, a non-Pietist pastor, could not come to an agreement concerning how to conduct their life together, how to distribute the family resources, and how to educate their sons. Her husband claimed for himself the right of a family patriarch, making economic decisions against his wife's will and occasionally making use of his right to punish her. Just as Samuel Urlsperger had done, Beate Paulus used her journal to justify herself on biblical grounds and to relate her conflict to the biblical narrative. She compared herself repeatedly with biblical figures, mostly from the Old Testament, who willingly bore times of painful testing by God. Compared to Urlsperger's text, the tenor of Beate Hahn's journal is more desperate and less confident. As a subordinated woman, she required more effort to gain self-assurance.[22]

A Pietist's journal could also serve to elevate their position. The pastor Philip Matthew Hahn (1739–1790), father of the above quoted Beate Hahn, conveys in his diary the impression of a thoroughly self-confident Pietist, who was quite certain of his election.[23] He does not reflect on his behavior in humble repentance, nor does he directly address God. A good deal of his journal, spanning some fifteen years, is devoted to his physical ailments. The journal also records his daily work as a Pietist pastor in the community, including his pastoral visits. He records at length his sermon topics, lists the status of his theological works, and specifies his visitors and conversation partners. He also notes the progress of his watchmaker's shop, in which his half-brothers, and later his sons, worked. In family life, all must submit to him. He reflects upon the birth and death of

21 Beate Hahn Paulus, *Die Talheimer Wochenbücher 1817–1829*, ed. Ulrike Gleixner (Göttingen, 2007).

22 Ulrike Gleixner, "Pietism, Millenarianism, and the Family Future: The Journal of Beate Hahn-Paulus (1778–1842) of Württemberg," in *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture*, vol. 4: *Continental Millenarians: Protestants, Catholics, Heretics*, eds. John Christian Laursen, Richard H. Popkin (Dordrecht, 2001), pp. 107–121; Ulrike Gleixner, "Pietismus, Geschlecht und Selbstentwurf. Das 'Wochenbuch' der Beate Hahn, verh. Paulus (1778–1842)," *Historische Anthropologie 10* (2002), 76–100; Gleixner, "Spiritual Empowerment and the Demand of Marital Obedience."

23 Philipp Matthäus Hahn, *Die Kornwestheimer Tagebücher 1772–1777*, eds. Martin Brecht, Rudolf F. Paulus (Berlin, 1979); Philipp Matthäus Hahn, *Die Echterdinger Tagebücher 1780–1790*, eds. Martin Brecht, Rudolf F. Paulus (Berlin, 1983).

his children, as well as his efforts in educating them. Much space is taken up with the crises in his two marriages. As a Pietist patriarch, he had the power to define the behavior of his wives, whom he describes in conflict situations as being disobedient to him and lacking in piety. It is from this religious evaluation of their behavior that he derives his relentlessly self-righteous attitude.[24]

Communication: Reading, Speaking, and Writing

In the practice of Pietism, the individual appropriation of religious texts and insights constituted the most important socialization. The knowledge of religious texts was acquired through one's own reading and listening. The language of Pietism is characterized by strong inter-textual references to the Bible, to Pietist devotional literature, and to the texts of hymns. Text fragments from the Bible, devotional songs and writings formed the basis for one's oral and written expression.[25] Male and female Pietists spoke about their religious experiences and hopes, and if they were literate they wrote about them as well. This included several autobiographical forms of writing, such as biography, religious reflections, and religious poetry. In practice, many hybrid forms were created. Diaries sometimes included long religious reflections, and biographies created Pietist places of memory, which documented the success of the group and moved the memory of the deceased into the realm of the sacred.[26] Below are some examples of Pietist forms of writing. Because Pietism opened a wide realm for women's writing, it is possible to identify many female Pietist authors. Women of every estate and every educational level wrote within a Pietist context. The 17th century did not yet devalue educated women. In the realm of private scholarship, women could acquire and exercise knowledge to an amazing degree. These possibilities were expanded by Pietism, as shown by the examples of Anna Maria van Schurmann (1607–1678), Jane Lead[e] (1623/24–1704), and Johanna Eleonora Petersen (1644–1724). These educated noble and patrician women were central to the cultural transfer of religious

24 Ulrike Gleixner, "Religion, Männlichkeit und Selbstvergewisserung. Der württembergische pietistische Patriarch Philipp Matthäus Hahn (1739–1790) und sein Tagebuch," *L'Homme 14/2* (2003), 262–279.

25 Gleixner, *Pietismus, Geschlecht und Selbstentwurf*; Hans-Jürgen Schrader, "Die Literatur des Pietismus – Pietistische Impulse zur Literaturgeschichte. Ein Überblick," in *Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. 4: *Glaubenswelt und Lebenswelt* ed. Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 404–442.

26 Gleixner, Memory, religion and family.

ideas across national, linguistic, and confessional boundaries.[27] Many highly educated Pietist noblewomen supported Pietism, not only through their writing, but as patrons as well. This group of highly educated Lutheran women from the upper nobility included the Countess Benigna von Solms-Laubach (1648–1702),[28] Aemilie Juliane von Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (1637–1706),[29] the Duchess Eleonore Juliane von Württemberg-Winnetal (1663–1724), the Duchess Antoinette Amalia von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1696–1762), and many others. Songs written by female Pietists of the high nobility circulated in their family circles and estate and were often printed in hymnals.[30]

The baroness Henriette Catharina von Gersdorff (1648–1726), née von Friesen, received a thorough education befitting her estate and emerged as a religious writer.

The baroness (Fig. 14.1) spoke a number of languages (French, Italian, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew) and was educated in literature, drawing, and music.[31] As was typical for the period, she had received her education together with her brothers through private tutoring. Her father, Carl Baron of Friesen (1619–1686), president of the supreme consistory in electoral Saxon, had the oversight of the entire educational system, including universities, and was a committed patron of the arts and sciences. Already as a child, Henriette Catharina had

27 Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "Die 'gelehrte Frau' und die Institutionen und Organisationsformen der Gelehrsamkeit am Beispiel der Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678)," in *Res Publica Litteraria. Die Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit,* eds. Sebastian Neumeister, Conrad Wiedemann (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 559–576; Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "Theologische Ideen und religiöse Wirksamkeit von Jane Lead (1623/24–1704) und Johanna Eleonora Petersen (1644–1724)," in *Glaube und Geschlecht. Fromme Frauen – Spirituelle Erfahrungen – Religiöse Traditionen,* eds. Ruth Albrecht, Annette Bühler-Dietrich, Florentine Strzelczyk (Cologne, 2008), pp. 235–252; Xenia Tippelskirch, "Antoinette Bourignon: légitimation et condamnation de la vie mystique dans l'ecriture (auto)biographique; enjeux historiographiques," in *Les femmes et l'écriture de l'histoire 1400–1800,* ed. Sylvie Steinberg (Rouen, 2008), pp. 231–248.

28 Taege-Bizer, Adeliges Selbstverständnis und pietistische Reform.

29 Judith Aiken, "The welfare of pregnant and birthing women as a concern for male and female rulers," *The Sixteenth Century Journal 35* (2004), 9–41; Judith Aiken, "'Ich sterbe'. The construction of the dying self in the advance preparations for death in Lutheran women in Early Modern Germany," in *Women's representation of death in German culture since 1500,* eds. Clare Bielby, Anna Richards (Rochester, USA, 2010), pp. 31–50.

30 Aiken, *Songs by and for Women* (see above n. 4).

31 Ulrike Witt, *Bekehrung, Bildung und Biographie. Frauen im Umkreis des Halleschen Pietismus* (Tübingen, 1996) pp. 152–167; Robert Langer, *Pallas und ihre Waffen. Wirkungskreise der Henriette Catharina von Gersdorff* (Dresden, 2008); and Robert Langer, *Eine sächsische Gelehrte* (Dresden, 2013).



FIGURE 14.1 *Henriette Catharina von Gersdorff (1648–1726), copperplate Johann Friedrich Rosbach. Bibliothek Franckesche Stiftungen, Halle, Böttichersche Porträtsammlung D 124.*

contact with scholars in her parents' home. Friedrich Rappolt, a professor of poetry in Leipzig, wrote a paean of praise for the sixteen year-old, in order to point out her poetic talent. Saxon professors often dedicated their works to the girl. In 1672, at the age of 24, she married the considerably older Nicol von Gersdorff (1629–1702), the privy councilor of Saxony, director of the council, and provincial governor of Upper Lusatia. She was his third wife.

Henriette Catharina von Gersdorff wrote hymns for use in the home and in private devotions, and a number of Latin occasional poems. Her *Meditations on the Passion of Jesus* appeared in print in 1665, when she was just 17 years old. In 1729, three years after her death, Paul Anton (1661–1730) published her later poems in the printing shop of the Halle orphanage with the title, *Spiritual Songs and Poetic Observations.* In the almost nine hundred-page work one finds religious poetry and songs from the final third of her life.[32] Like her father, she had a large library. Her oldest daughter, Charlotte Justine, also made a name for herself as a poet; in contemporary lexica on women, mother and daughter are both mentioned.[33] Henriette Catharina also became famous as the guardian of her nephew, Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf, the founder of the Moravians. The baroness was also active as a supporter of Protestant religious refugees from Silesia following its recatholization. She assumed the expenses for the room and board of Silesian children in the schools of the orphanage in Halle. She paid part of the costs of translating and printing the New Testament in the Sorbian language for the religious instruction of the Sorbian population living near her estate. She distributed the New Testaments free of charge. In 1704 she founded the Magdalenenstift in Altenburg, a home for impoverished girls of nobility who had fled Silesia, escaping recatholization, providing them with an existence befitting their estate. The baroness Henriette Catharina von Gersdorff can be considered a typical representative of Pietism in the upper nobility. She was a highly educated woman and religious author and active in funding Bible translation and assisting refugees.

Autobiographical forms of writing were even more popular than the writing of poetry among the Pietists, both male and female. Keeping a spiritual diary was common in aristocratic and middle class circles and was often used as a means of therapeutic self-empowerment. Spiritual diaries of male Pietists were often professional journals as well. The young theologian, Philipp David Burk (1714–1770), used journal writing to meet the demands of being a young professional. Burk began his diary as a twenty-year-old after completing his studies in 1734, shortly before assuming his first office as vicar; he continued writing it each evening for eleven years. The journal ends eighteen months after his marriage to Maria Barbara Bengel. His daily reflections begin with a description of his state of mind upon awakening as well as the quality of his morning prayers. He then turned his attention to the condition of his heart, with the question of whether his heart was calm and serene with Jesus. He then listed his sins, his excessive appetite, restless heart, and too lukewarm

32 Langer, *Pallas und ihre Waffen*, p. 50.

33 Witt, *Bekehrung, Bildung und Biographie*, pp. 151–154.

attitude toward Jesus. The daily entries conclude with a remark concerning the evening prayer and a plea for divine assistance. His fears have a prominent place in the journal. As the Pietist pastor of a congregation, he was tormented by the fear of not fulfilling his duties adequately. If he was not able to convert a dying man on his deathbed, he doubted himself. He accuses himself of having closed his heart toward the members of the congregation, and is almost in despair over the impending discontinuation of his devotional meetings due to lack of interest. He criticizes his own obstinacy towards other members of his household, and writes of his difficulties surrendering his own will to the divine will.[34]

Albrecht Reichard Reuß (1712–1780), like Philipp David Burk, was a son-in-law of the most influential Pietist theologian in Württemberg, Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687–1752). Over a period of 23 years, Reuß changed the style and content of his sporadic diary entries.[35] As the court physician for the Württemberg Duke Carl Eugen (1728–1793), he began his journal by reporting on his travels with the Duke in the 1750's. From 1764 he continued his journal as a spiritual diary, in order to help him retain his middle class-Pietist identity at the court. As physician to the Duke Carl Eugen, he was surrounded by Catholic courtiers, whose practice of faith he completely rejected as a Pietist. In his diary, he thanks Jesus for elevating him to his calling and estate, and asks for protection from the people at the court and for the opportunity to work more earnestly on his own heart, especially given the court surroundings. The death of his wife Sophia Elisabeth, née Bengel, caused him great pain and sense of loss.[36]

A daughter of Reuß, the widowed Regine Süskind (1748–1811), was pregnant at the time of her husband's death. And so, together with her four children, she moved back to her parents' house. Five years following the death of her father, she began keeping a diary, which she wrote on the blank pages of her father's diary. This practice of writing oneself into the life of one's ancestors was not uncommon. In particular, it was a way for daughters to include themselves in the genealogy of their family of origin. For six years the young widow Süskind recorded the visits of Pietist relatives and friends, as well as the illnesses, deaths, births, and offices of people in these circles. Religious reflections do not appear.

34 WLB Cod. hist. oct. 102 Diarium Philipp David Burk 1734–1745, 31 booklets.

35 WLB Cod. hist. fol. 1002 Nachlass J.A. Bengel, No 42/II 160 pp.

36 Ulrike Gleixner, "Enduring Death in Pietism: Regulating Mourning and the new Intimacy," in *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Lynne Tatlock (Leiden, 2010), pp. 215–229.

It is clear that Pietist journals could include different types of reports. During the 18th century, this form of writing was also used by Pietists as a means of education. Children and young people were encouraged to keep a spiritual diary, which was then be read by parents as a way to monitor the child's spiritual development.[37] In addition to the diary, the personal autobiography was a widespread form of Pietist writing.[38] The self-expression of men and women was guided by the Pietist duty of introspection and the necessity of living one's life as a pious example. Committing one's life to writing was central for Pietist subjectification. The most influential model was not the extensive autobiography, but the shorter personal story. In the process of

37 Sara Heller Mendelson "Stuart women's diaries and occasional memoirs," in *Women in English society, 1500–1800,* ed. Mary Prior (London, 1985), pp. 181–210; Philippe Lejeune, *Le Moi Des Demoiselles. Enquête sur le journal de jeune fille* (Paris, 1993); Ulrike Gleixner, "Gelenkte Selbsterziehung. Das Tagebuch eines zehnjährigen Mädchens im pietistischen Bürgertum," in *Das Geschlecht des Glaubens. Religiöse Kulturen Europas zwischen Mittelalter und Moderne,* eds. Claudia Opitz, Monika Mommertz (Frankfurt, 2008), pp. 283–302.

38 Ingo Bertolini, *Studien zur Autobiographie des deutschen Pietismus* (Vienna, 1968); Bernd Neumann, *Identität und Rollenzwang. Zur Theorie der Autobiographie* (Frankfurt, 1970); Hans-Jürgen Schrader, "Nachwort," in Johann Henrich Reitz, *Historie der Wiedergebohrnen [vollständige Ausgabe der Erstdrucke aller sieben Teile der pietistischen Sammelbiographie (1698–1745) mit einem werkgeschichtlichen Anhang der Varianten und Ergänzungen aus den späteren Auflagen]*, 4, ed. Hans-Jürgen Schrader (Tübingen, 1982), pp. 127–203; Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, Hannjost Lixfeld, Dietz -Rüdiger Moser, Lutz Röhrich, eds., *Lebenslauf und Lebenszusammenhang. Autobiographische Materialien in der volkskundlichen Forschung* (Freiburg, 1982); Martin Scharfe, "'Lebensläufe'. Intentionalität als Realität. Einige Anmerkungen zu pietistischen Biographien," in Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, Hannjost Lixfeld, Dietz -Rüdiger Moser, Lutz Röhrich, eds. *Lebenslauf und Lebenszusammenhang. Autobiographische Materialien in der volkskundlichen Forschung* (Freiburg, 1982), pp. 116–130; Magdalene Maier-Petersen, *"Der Fingerzeig Gottes" und "die Zeichen der Zeit." Pietistische Religiosität auf dem Weg zu bürgerlicher Identitätsfindung, untersucht an Selbstzeugnissen von Spener, Francke und Oettinger* (Stuttgart, 1984); Alois Hahn, Volker Kapp, eds., *Selbstthematisierung und Selbstzeugnis: Bekenntnis und Geständnis* (Frankfurt, 1987); Günter Niggl, ed., *Die Autobiographie, zu Formen und Geschichte einer literarischen Gattung* (Darmstadt, 1989); Ted A. Campbell, *The Religion of the Heart. A Study of European Religious Life in the Seventeenth an Eighteenth Centuries* (Columbia, 1991); Laura Marcus, *Auto/biographical discourses. Theory, criticism, practice* (Manchester, USA, 1994); Martin Jung, *"Mein Herz brannte richtig in der Liebe Jesu." Autobiographien frommer Frauen aus Pietismus und Erweckungsbewegung* (Aachen, 1999); Peter Vogt, "In Search of the Invisible Church: The Role of Autobiographical Discourse in Eighteenth Century German Pietism," in *Confessionalism and Pietism: Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Fred van Lieburg (Mainz, 2006), pp. 293–311.

writing, the life was given meaning and interpreted in a Pietist manner.[39] The religious autobiography drew on the genre of scholarly and professional autobiographies, a form relevant only for men, and on the biographies in printed funeral sermons.[40] The Pietist autobiography was also heavily influenced by 17th century Puritan autobiographies, due to the availability of English devotional literature in Germany.[41] A high proportion of Pietist autobiographies were authored by women.[42]

39 Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow, *Europäische Autobiographie und Selbstdarstellung im 18. Jahrhundert* (München, 1974); Ulrike Gleixner, "Warum sie soviel schrieben. Sinn und Zweck des (auto-) biographischen Schreibens im württembergischen Pietismus (1700–1830)," in *Interdisziplinäre Pietismusforschungen*, vol. 1: *Beiträge zum Ersten Internationalen Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2001*, eds. Udo Sträter, Hartmut Lehmann, Thomas Müller-Bahlke, Johannes Wallmann (Tübingen, 2005), pp. 521–526; Magnus Schlette, *Die Selbst(er)findung des Neuen Menschen. Zur Entstehung narrativer Identitätsmuster im Pietismus* (Göttingen, 2005).

40 Günter Niggl, ed., *Geschichte der deutschen Autobiographie im 18. Jahrhundert: theoretische Grundlegung und literarische Entfaltung* (Stuttgart, 1977); Cornelia Niekus Moore, *Patterned lives The Lutheran Funeral Biography in Early Modern Germany* (Wiesbaden, 2006).

41 Patricia Caldwell, *The Puritan conversion narrative. The beginnings of American expression* (Cambridge, 1983); Udo Sträter, *Sontholm, Bayly, Dyke und Hall. Studien zur Rezeption der englischen Erbauungsliteratur in Deutschland im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1987); David D. Hall, "Narrating Puritanism," in *New Directions in American Religious history*, eds. Harry s. Stout, D.G. Hart (New York, 1997), pp. 51–84; Peter Damrau, *The Reception of English Puritan literature in Germany* (London, 2006).

42 Katherine Goodman, *Dis/Closures. Women's Autobiography in Germany Between 1790 and 1914* (New York, 1986); Katherine Goodman "Elizabeth to Meta: Epistolary Autobiography and the Postulation of the Self," in *Life/Lines. Theorizing Women's Autobiography*, eds. Bella Brodzki, Celestine Schenck (London, 1988), pp. 306–319; Sidonie Smith, *A Poetic of Women's Autobiography. Marginality and the Fictions of Self-Representation* (Bloomington, 1987); Sidonie Smith, Julia Watson, ed., *Women, Autobiography, Theory. A Reader* (Madison, 1998); Blackwell, *Herzensgespräche mit Gott*; Jeannine Blackwell, "Gedoppelter Lebenslauf der Pietistinnen. Autobiographische Schriften der Wiedergeburt," in *Geschriebenes Leben. Autobiographik von Frauen*, ed. Michaela Holdenried (Berlin, 1995), pp. 49–60; Felicity Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject. Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-century England* (Baltimore, 1989); Phyllis Mack, *Visionary women. Ecstatic prophecy in seventeenth-century England* (Berkeley, 1992); Leigh Gilmore, *Autobiographics. A Feminist Theory of Women's Self-Representation* (London, 1994); Leigh Gilmore, "The Mark of Autobiography: Postmodernism, Autobiography, and Genre," in *Autobiography & Postmodernism*, eds. Kathleen Ashley, Leigh Gilmore, Gerald Peters (Amherst, 1994), pp. 3–18; Gisela Schlientz, "Bevormundet, enteignet, verfälscht, vernichtet. Selbstzeugnisse württembergischer Pietistinnen," in *Geschriebenes Leben. Autobiographik von Frauen*, ed. Michaela Holdenried (Berlin, 1995), pp. 61–79; Magdalena Heuser, ed., *Autobiographien von Frauen. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte* (Tübingen, 1996); Rüdiger Schnell, ed., *Geschlechterbeziehungen und Textfunktionen* (Tübingen, 1998); Effie Botonaki, "Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries: Self-Examination, Covenanting, and Account Keeping," *Sixteenth Century Journal 30* (1999), 3–21; Danielle Clarke, Clarke Elizabeth, eds., *This Double Voice. Gendered Writing in Early Modern England* (London, 2000); Fred van Lieburg, *Living for God. Eighteenth Century Dutch Pietist Autobiography*, (Pietist and Wesleyan Studies) 18 (Maryland, 2004); Eva Kormann, *Ich, Welt, und Gott. Autobiographik im 17. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 2004); Gleixner, *Pietimsus und Bürgertum*; Mettele, *Weltbürgertum oder Gottesreich.*

Different forms of Pietist biographical writing emerged. The first type had the conversion experience as the goal of the narrative; the second type presented a protracted conversion experience; and the third type contained the penitential struggle and crisis of the writer, but no conversion experience, since the subject was already certain of her election. All variations included success stories, which illustrated the inner spiritual growth process and the professional career path in the case of men and the domestic career path in the case of women. A frequent element was extreme mood swings between confidence and depression. For both sexes the goal was to highlight the working of God in one's life. The perception of the world was strongly polarized: Christians must choose to follow either the love of the world or the love of God. This dichotomous worldview appears in the devotional literature of the 17th century as well as in the theologian, Johann Arndt, one of the most popular religious writers of pre-Pietist times. The sharp distinction between the inner and outer world was represented in the rigorous morality of Pietism in its attitude toward middle-things (adiaphora), such as dancing, card-playing, and other amusements.

The pattern of male autobiography began with one's ancestry, parents, grandparents, upbringing, and education, including school and university. This was followed by one's scholarly or professional career, public service, and details concerning marriage and offspring. In older scholarship, August Herman Francke's (1663–1727) autobiography of 1691 was regarded as having set the style for all Pietist autobiographies.[43] Recent study of the transmission history of the text has clearly refuted this assumption. As Markus Matthias has shown, Francke's autobiography was printed in Latin years after Francke's death, and the first German edition did not appear until the mid-19th century,

43 Maier-Petersen, *Der "Fingerzeig Gottes"*; August Herman Francke, *Lebensläufe*, (Kleine Texte des Pietismus) 2, ed. Markus Matthias (Leipzig, 1999), an English edition of the short version is in Peter C. Erb, ed., *Pietists: Selected Writings.* Edited with an Introduction by Peter C. Erb (The Classics of Western Spirituality) (New York, 1983), pp. 99–107; Schlette, *Selbst(er)findung*, pp. 181–259.

when Francke's biographer Gustav Kramer published it. Only an excerpt from the autobiography, the narrower conversion experience, was in circulation following Francke's death in 1727, and was included in his printed funeral sermon in 1728. It was not until 1733 that it was made available to a larger public through its reprinting in Johann Jacob Moser's Pietist journal „Neues und Altes aus dem Reich Gottes" (New and Old Concerning God's Kingdom). Francke had sent a handwritten autobiography to Philipp Jakob Spener in 1692, and it came back to Halle in 1705 as part of Spener's literary estate. Clearly, then, Francke's autobiography and conversion report could only have had a literary impact on the Pietist movement subsequent to Francke's death.[44] Considering the expanding network of Pietist circles and the decentralized nature of the movement, it is unlikely that this single text would have had a top-down effect, with all other autobiographical texts imitating it.

The 27 year-old Francke began his autobiography by listing his parents and grandparents, his baptism, and the early decision to prepare himself for the pastorate. The autobiography covers the years from 1663 to 1687, the year of his conversion in Lüneburg. As is the case in his funeral sermon, this is followed by a description of his Christian and educational upbringing, which have two striking aspects. On the one hand, he stresses how central the Christian example of his sister was for him; on the other hand, he stresses how his own development helped him to design guidelines for the godly education of young people. In retrospect, these can be considered to be his first programmatic considerations for his later literary and practical activities as founder of the orphanage and schools in Halle. He writes that the bad example set by some children corrupts the good children. Youth from the age of 13 were especially at risk of temptation. Teachers should exercise strict control over the education of children and watch over this group especially closely. A detailed description of the course of Francke's seven years of university study in philosophy and theology then follows. The cities in which he studied include Erfurt, Kiel, Hamburg, Lüneburg, and Leipzig. It was at the latter city that Francke began teaching in 1685, and along with other theology docents founded the *collegium philobiblicum* for intensive study of the Bible. He admits in retrospect that his studies were not always done for the glory of God and the service of others, but for his own honor, vanity, and benefit. Consequently, he found little peace for his soul. His theology had entered his head, but not his heart, and was therefore a dead science and not a living knowledge. It is true that God had reignited

44 Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte vgl. Markus Matthias, "Editorische Notiz," in *Kleine Texte des Pietismus*, vol. 2: *Lebensläufe*, ed. Markus Matthias (Leipzig, 1999), pp. 71–80.

the good sparks in his heart every now and then, but he realized that he was sinking deeper and deeper into love of the world, both inwardly and outwardly. At the end of his twenty-fourth year, his conscience gave him no rest. He went into an intense period of repentance, and at the end of September 1687 fell into a deep crisis of faith while preparing a sermon. He tried to overcome the crisis by repeatedly falling on his knees and crying out to God. In this state, God heard his cries; all his doubts, anxiety, and sadness disappeared, and he was overwhelmed by a sudden stream of joy. After his conversion experience, Francke was a new person and he could now preach his sermon from true conviction. Francke's autobiography documents a performance-oriented practice of piety. Francke's self-observation and meticulous record-keeping together with his high expectations lead to a system of self-improvement in which self-tormenting dissatisfaction becomes the self-imposed standard. The restlessness of the heart becomes the dominant theme. This is followed by God hearing his prayer and a feeling of joy. The new human being, or pietistically speaking, the "new Adam," now gains self-confidence in contrast with the restlessness of his non-converted state. Markus Schlette describes this process as "self-charismatization."[45]

The autobiographical text of Johanna Eleonora Petersen (Fig. 14.2), née von Merlau (1644–1724), a generation older than Francke, has a completely different form and style. She published her autobiography in 1689, initially as an appendix to one of her books of meditation. In 1718 an extended version was printed along with the autobiography of her husband, Johann Wilhelm Petersen.[46] By that time she was 74 years old and had published a total of fifteen theological works.

At the beginning of the text, Johanna Eleonora Petersen outlines her intentions. She wants to document God's providential guidance in her life, and report on the tests she had to suffer as a result of her uncompromising devotion to Christ. Unlike Francke, she had sensed God's good spirit from her earliest youth. She therefore presents herself as having already been awakened since that time. The challenge for her lies in not allowing her piety to be hindered by worldly court life.

45 Schlette, *Selbst(er)findung*, p. 253.

46 Johanna Eleonora Petersen geb. von und zu Merlau, *Leben, von ihr selbst mit eigener Hand aufgesetzt*, (Kleine Texte des Pietismus) 8, ed. Prisca Guglielmetti (Leipzig, 2003); Johanna Eleonora Petersen, *The Life of Lady Eleonora Petersen, written by herself. Pietism and Women's Autobiography in Seventeenth-Century Germany*, trans. and ed. Barbara Becker-Cantarino (Chicago, 2005). Both text editions provide helpful introductions and commentary on the text.

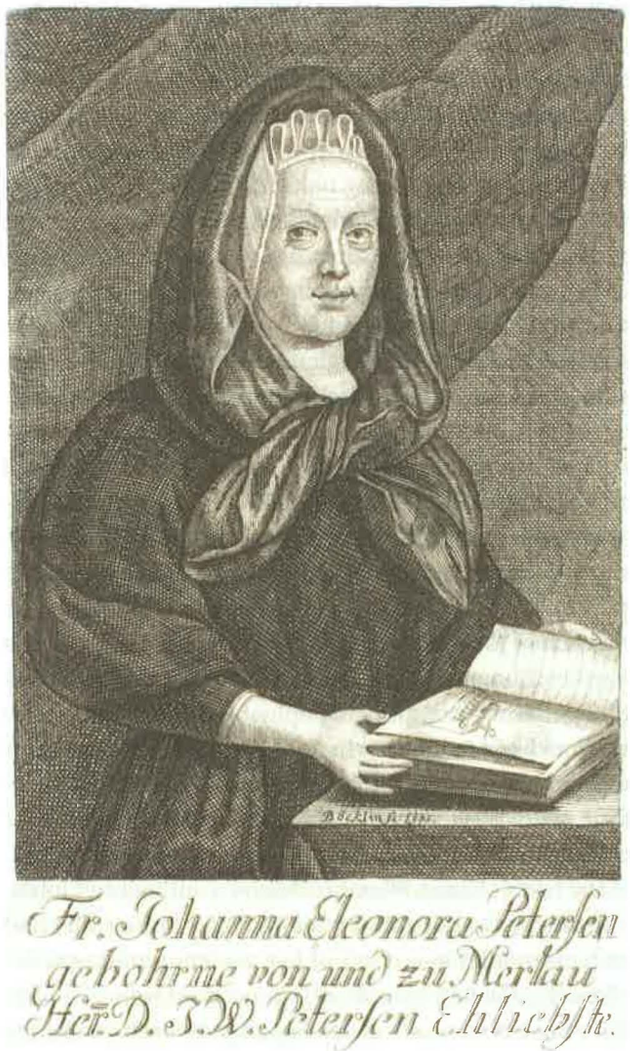


FIGURE 14.2 *Johanna Eleonora Petersen, né Merlau (1644–1724), copperplate Johann Christoph Böcklin; the book on the table shows the lamb of god with seven seals. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Porträtsammlung A 1618i.*

Johanna Eleonora von Merlau was descended from an impoverished Hessian noble family. She lost her mother at the age of nine. Together with her siblings, she was poorly cared for by irresponsible housekeepers on the family estate, while her hard-hearted and fearsome father served at the royal court. At the age of twelve she began to serve at various courts. God held his protective hand over her in many a perilous situation until she ended up in Saxony in the service of the Duchess Anna Margaretha von Hollstein, née Duchess von

Hessen-Homburg (1629–1689). There she was able to lead the pious life she desired. A noble officer asked for her hand in marriage, but proved to be dishonorable. Her plea to God not to have to marry a nobleman, who would be obligated to a worldly life, was heard and the engagement was called off. During a trip to Bad Ems, in the company of the older princess, she met two famous middle-class Pietists,[47] who strengthened her in her desire to follow God's example and not man's. Plagued by a growing abhorrence of court life, she asked for her dismissal from court, but it was not granted. Because of her uncompromising religious life, she was often mocked by the courtiers, and was reprimanded for too frequently reading the Bible, an activity to which she, as a woman, was not entitled. Her exemplary piety, however, resulted in young people behaving quietly and respectably in her presence at the court. Finally, however, when her step-mother died in childbirth, she had to care for the new-born child and take charge of her father's household. When the child subsequently died, she went to Frankfurt, where she lived for the next six years with the devout widow, Maria Juliana Baur von Eyseneck (1641–1684), a friend of Spener's. There she taught young girls and was a co-founder of the Pietist circle known as the Saalhof-Pietists.

In her text, she describes a boat-trip on the Main River during a dangerous storm. Immediately before, she had received a message from God in a dream that God watches over his people. In the midst of the storm, she encouraged the passengers to call upon God, whereupon the storm calmed. Afterward, when some of the passengers voiced doubts concerning God's intervention, a leak was discovered which threatened to sink the ship. Fearing their imminent death, the people again turned to God and were saved from drowning. Her special position in mediating between God and the passengers becomes apparent to the reader from this example. Divine inspiration through dreams, and intensive reading of the Bible, become the central narrative structure of Petersen's autobiography, especially during the period of her marriage. While in Frankfurt, she met her husband, the theologian Johann Wilhelm Petersen. Her father agreed to the marriage, even though it was not befitting her status, because he recognized God's will in it. In September of 1680, Spener married the couple. The Petersens had two sons.

For the period of her marriage, the autobiography deals mainly with her religious views and her theological writing. God reveals his secrets to her through visionary dreams and a deeper understanding of the biblical text. These secrets include her understanding of the future conversion of the Jews, the imminent thousand-year kingdom of Christ on earth, the doctrine of

47 Johann Jakob Schütz and Philipp Jakob Spener, whose names do not appear in the text.

justification in the writings of Paul, and universal salvation. Her positions on these key theological issues provoked scathing condemnations, in two respects: as a woman she arrogated to herself the right to take a position on theological matters, and her millenarian views violated orthodox Lutheran theology. Female Pietists usually replaced the professional biography with a recounting of internal and external experiences from their childhood and youth, or by describing their positions in the family household.

Although Johanna Eleonora von Merlau was highly educated, she does not devote even one word to her education. She wishes to present herself as an appropriately modest woman and not as a scholar. As a theological writer, Petersen frequently tied her thoughts and phrasings to biblical passages, and in so doing she followed a path which was permitted to laymen and women. In addition, she also made a connection between her own life and the Bible, which was typical for Pietism as a whole.[48]

In her writings, Johanna Eleonora Petersen granted a central place to the divine revelations she received in her dreams and to her visionary experiences as the central legitimation for her theological concepts. She used her divinely inspired study of the Bible and her visionary religious experiences to justify her activity as a theological writer. In this way she responded to public criticism of her, as a woman, presumptuously writing theological works. By presenting herself as the recipient of divine revelations, rather than as a scholar, she defused the accusation that, as a woman, she was misappropriating a position to which she was not entitled. Her husband defended her theological conclusions by way of biblical and scholarly analysis. The parallel theological insights of the Petersens, at which they arrived independently of each other, allowed her to place their insights on the same level.[49] Similar to a number of other Pietist women, Johanna Eleonora Petersen succeeded in formulating her own religious insights from her perspective as a woman, while managing to stay within the socially accepted gender role of her time, yet at the same time transcending it. This paradoxical position is significant for enlarging the agency of women in Pietism.

Moravian Pietism developed its own autobiographical tradition. All members, both men and women, were required to write autobiographies. Frequently, community members dictated their life-stories on their deathbeds. The person

48 Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "Pietismus und Autobiographie. Das *Leben* der Johanna Eleonora Petersen (1644–1724)," in *"Der Buchstab tödt – der Geist macht lebendig." Festschrift für Hans-Gert Roloff,* eds. James Hardin, Jörg Jungmayr (Berne, 1992), pp. 917–936; Albrecht, *Johanna Eleonora Petersen.*

49 Concerning her strategy of legitimization, compare Albrecht, *Johanna Eleonora Petersen.*

taking the dictation then completed the biography with details of the death experience.[50] Members of the Moravian settlements understood themselves to be part of a world-wide community of the growing "Kingdom of God." Community-building and communication practices therefore played a central role. The autobiographies were archived, some were printed, and many circulated in Moravian settlements in Europe and the New World.[51]

The Moravian autobiographies documented the experiences of the individual, and at the same time constituted the collective memory of the group. In this process the religious community guided the expression of personal faith. As in Pietism generally, the Moravian autobiography was intended to document God's work in the life of the individual, and to demonstrate the individual's spiritual growth. The life stories were to serve as examples and create a pious picture of the community. The narrative patterns also shaped the contents. The narrative pattern followed this formula: Christian parenting; phases of vanity and self-love in youth; change through rebirth; and finally, a detailed account of one's life in the community, including occupation and experiences on the mission field. The voice of God steered important life decisions. In the 18th century, the autobiographies of Moravian women did not follow the typical female family pattern. Husbands and children are scarcely mentioned. Gender-specific differences disappear in these autobiographies to an astonishing degree.[52]

Anna Nitschmann (1715–1760) had served as a General Elder among the Moravians since 1730. She was the leader of all women in the Moravian communities, thus assuming a prominent position (Fig. 14.3). She wrote her

50 Christine Lost, *Das Leben als Lehrtext: Lebensläufe aus der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine* (2007); Katherine M. Faull, ed., *Moravian Women's Memoirs. Their Related Lives, 1750–1820* (Syracuse, USA, 1997); Mettele, *Weltbürgertum oder Gottesreich*; Pia Schmid, "'wie glücklich man sey, wenn man sich dem Heiland ganz ergebe': Selbstzweifel und Selbstgewissheit in Herrnhuter Lebensläufen des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Alter Adam und Neue Kreatur. Pietismus und Anthropologie, Beiträge zum II. Internationalen Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2005* vol. 1 (Hallesche Forschungen) 28, ed. Udo Sträter (Halle 2009), pp. 305–324; Pia Schmid, "Bildungsgänge sub specie religionis. Herrnhuter Lebensläufe des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Vormoderne Bildungsgänge. Selbst- und Fremdbeschreibungen in der frühen Neuzeit,* eds. Juliane Jacobi, Jan-Luc Le Cam, Hans-Ulrich Musolff (Cologne, 2010), pp. 81–95.

51 Mettele, *Weltbürgertum oder Gottesreich.*

52 Irina Modrow, "Religiöse Erweckung und Selbstreflexion. Überlegungen zu den Lebensläufen Herrnhuter Schwestern als einem Beispiel pietistischer Selbstdarstellung," in *Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte,* ed. Winfried Schulze (Berlin, 1996), pp. 121–129; Faull, *Moravian Women's Memoirs,* Introduction, pp. XVII–XXXIX; Mettele, *Weltbürgertum oder Gottesreich,* pp. 191–255.

autobiography in 1737, at the age of 22. In 1757, at the age of 42, she became the second wife of the community's founder, following the death of Zinzendorf's first wife, Erdmuthe Dorothea, née Countess von Reuß-Ebersdorf (1700–1756).

Nitschmann's autobiography begins by describing the persecution of Protestants during the Counter-Reformation in Bohemia. It mentions her awakening at the age of eight, as well as her flight from Bohemia to Herrnhut with her family two years later.[53] Descriptions of inner restlessness and anxiety follow, but also of inner religious growth. Her supportive friends in the community also receive mention. Nitschmann's advancement in leadership of the community, and the joy she finds in the offices she holds, are also incorporated into the narrative. She makes note of the texts of songs and prayers that have especially strengthened her in new challenges. But her stubbornness often gets the upper hand. A serious illness tests her faith but results in the renewal of her unconditional love of Jesus. Several marriage opportunities, suggested by the church leadership, do not materialize, because Jesus does not confirm them with a sign. Again and again she struggles to attain a proper love for Jesus and correct administration of her office. She enjoys reading works by the Catholic mystics Jeanne Marie de Guyon (1648–1717) and Theresa von Avila (1515–1582), who make a strong impression on her. But as a "champion of Christ" (Streiterin Christi), a Moravian self-designation, she rejects the monastic life of those two protagonists.

Anna Nitschmann accompanies Benigna, the daughter of Zinzendorf and his first wife, as her teacher in various communities, such as Ebersdorf in Vogtland, Frankfurt am Main, and Marienborn in the Wetterau. She also travels with the countess to England. Finally, she recounts what has become of her parents and siblings. Anna Nitschmann's autobiographical account is a typical Moravian autobiography with its complete biographical report up to the time of formulation. It contains references to religious, work-related, and personal circumstances. The recounting of her awakening is included in the narrative.

Without a doubt, religious writing reached a zenith in Pietism, with its new subjectivism and individualism. However, religious autobiography in Pietism did not present an autonomous self, but the active and effective presence of God in one's life.[54] The Pietist techniques of the self did not lead to

53 Anna Nitschmann, "Lebenslauf der Schwester Anna Nitschmann, zweite Gemahlin des Grafen Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, heimgegangen den 21. Mai 1760 in Herrnhut: Von ihr 1737 in ihren 22sten Jahr eigenhändig verfaßt," *Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine* 26 (1844), 575–596; an English version is: "Anna Nitschmann," *The Messenger: A Magazine of the Church of the United Brethren* 15 (1878), 419–455.

54 Jean-Claude Dupas, "Dire 'je' en Angleterre au XVIIe siècle," in *Individualisme et Autobiographie en Occident*, eds., Claudette Delhez-Sarlet, Maurizio Catani (Brussels, 1983); Kaspar von Greyerz, *Vorsehungsglaube und Kosmologie. Studien zu englischen Selbstzeugnissen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London) 25 (Göttingen, 1990); Rudolf Dekker, ed., *Egodocumente and History*; Gleixner, *Pietismus und Bürgertum*.



FIGURE 14.3 *Anna Nitschmann (1715–1760), painting, oil on canvas, Johann Valentin Haidt around 1750. Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut, Shelfmark GS 067.*

individuality understood as personal uniqueness and autonomy, but rather reflected the subjective appropriation of Pietist language, thinking, and behavior patterns.

Letters were the most important means for facilitating the flow of Pietist information. Correspondence connected Pietist individuals and groups and made it possible to exchange information over long distances. Letters were also a central means of self-expression.[55] They were a medium for self-representation and social identification.[56] The process of writing letters helped to form the individual as a Pietist. The dialogical structure of correspondence led to a networking of individuals and ideas. Similar to the auto-/biographical writings, correspondence helped to form individuals and cultivate Pietist norms. Letter writing was a performative act, producing a common understanding of what it meant to be a Pietist.[57] In this way, rhetorical formulas were developed in the group and were subjectively adopted.

While noblewomen kept up an independent correspondence, middle-class women generally had little opportunity to build up relationships with correspondence partners. In the absence of a university degree, or years of education away from the family home, they lacked opportunities to build a circle of friends. Educated women were, of course, the exception. However, middle-class female Pietists did participate as fiancées, wives, and mothers in correspondence with family members.[58] In Pietism, middle-class women engaged in independent correspondence with charismatic Pietists, mostly pastors, and

55 Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "Leben als Text – Briefe als Ausdruck- und Verständigungsmittel in der Briefkultur und literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Frauen-Literatur-Geschichte. Schreibende Frauen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart,* eds. Hiltrud Gnüg, Renate Möhlmann, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 129–146.

56 Doris Aichholzer, Harald Tersch, "Germany, Austria, Switzerland: 17th- and 18th-Century Diaries and Letters," in *Encyclopedia of life Writing. Autobiographical and Biographical forms*, vol. 1, ed. Margaretta Jolly (London, 2001), pp. 367–368; Toon van Houdt, Jan Papy, "Einleitung," in *Self-Representation, and social Identification. The Rhetoric and Pragmatics of letter writing in early modern times,* eds. Toon van Houdt, Jan Papy (Leuven, 2002), pp. 2–13.

57 Katja Lißmann, "Der pietistische Brief als Bildungs- und Aneignungsprozess. Anna Magdalena von Wurm in ihren Briefen an August Hermann Francke (1692–94)," in *Vormoderne Bildungsgänge. Selbst- und Fremdbeschreibungen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Juliane Jacobi, Jean-Luc Le Cam, Hans-Ulrich Musolff (Cologne, 2010), pp. 63–79; pp. 67–68.

58 Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "Zur Theorie der literarischen Freundschaft im 18. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Sophie La Roche," in *Frauenfreundschaft – Männerfreundschaft,* eds. Wolfram Mauser, Barbara Becker Cantarino (Tübingen 1991), pp. 47–74; Magdalena Heuser, Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "'Das beständige Angedencken vertritt die Stelle der

also corresponded with spiritual "sisters." Correspondence among Pietists facilitated connections between like-minded Pietist souls.[59] Letters were read aloud in small circles and in the family. Recipients copied letters addressed to them and sent the copies with their own letters to other friends. Any given mailing could contain copies of a number of letters written by third parties. In this way, knowledge concerning the personal circumstances of Pietists living far away could be communicated, and information concerning Pietist concerns in other places could be disseminated. Through this form of communication, women were included in the Pietist information system. It is true that Pietist men wrote and received more letters than women, but the information in the letters was often also intended for the female Pietists who were acquainted with the male correspondents.[60]

The religious writer Magdalena Sibylla Rieger (Fig. 14.4), née Weissensee (1707–1786), married Immanuel Rieger (1699–1758), Reeve in Stuttgart in 1723. She published two collections of religious poetry, *Some Spiritual and Moral Poems* (1743) and *Spiritual and Moral, as well as Randomly Mixed Poems* (1746). After their first edition, she was named an imperial poet and appointed a member of the learned German Society in Göttingen.[61] With the unexpected death of her husband in 1759, she began corresponding with the Pietist pastor and theologian Philipp David Burk.[62]

In her grief, Magdalena Sibylla Rieger turned to Burk for help. His pastoral support strengthened the bond between the two of them and their families. In 1766 Magdalena Sibylla became the godmother of the Burks' thirteenth child. In deep mourning, the widow Rieger asks Burk in several letters how to obtain God's consolation, as she was still plagued by emotional pain, and her soul could find no rest.[63] Overcoming pain by willingly accepting God's will was a

Gegenwart'. Frauen und Freundschaften in Briefen der Frühaufklärung und Empfindsamkeit," in *Frauenfreundschaft – Männerfreundschaft*, eds. Wolfram Mauser, Barbara Becker-Cantarino (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 141–165.

59 Wolfdietrich Rasch, *Freundschaftskult und Freundschaftsdichtung im deutschen Schrifttum des 18. Jahrhunderts vom Ausgang des Barock bis zu Klopstock* (Halle, 1936), pp. 42–43.

60 Ulrike Gleixner, "Familie öffentlich und privat. Pietistische Kommunikation und die Korrespondenz der Familie Bengel," in *Alter Adam und Neue Kreatur. Pietismus und Anthropologie. Beiträge zum II. Internationalen Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2005*, vol. 1 (Hallesche Forschungen) 28, ed. Udo Sträter (Halle, 2009), pp. 469–478.

61 Cornelia Niekus Moore, Magdalena Sybilla Rieger, "die Poetische Eh-frau," *Pietismus und Neuzeit 21* (1995), 218–231.

62 Philipp David Burk, *Die Rechtfertigung und deren Versicherung im Herzen* (Stuttgart, 1763), § 421.

63 Ibid. Burk, *Rechtfertigung*, letter April 9th 1759, § 419; letter April 22nd 1759, §421.



FIGURE 14.4 *Magdalena Sibylla Rieger, né Weißensee (1707–1786), Mezzotint Johann Jacob Haid, 1744, Verses below the image Daniel Wilhelm Triller. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Porträtsammlung A 17659.*

central Pietist concern. Burk counseled her to regard her suffering as willed by God, which she should accept with patience.[64] Rieger's letters deal not only with the issue of grief; she addresses Burk generally as her spiritual guide. She complains that her sanctification is taking too long. She feels lazy in doing good, inept in prayer; she expresses her doubt, despondency, impatience, "insufficiency and nakedness."[65] Burk recommends that she keep drafts of her letters to him and read them again later in the year. Then she would see that God had indeed helped her. The fact that she was able to live in peace with God for one to three days, and was able to address him as Father, already shows progress.[66] In his next letter, he regards Magdalena Sibylla Rieger as already being so steadfast, that he tells her that God sometimes sends tribulation in order to chastise the flesh. Now she should understand the "mystery of the cross," and know the healing benefit of tears.[67] In this correspondence between two Pietists, a woman of high estate turns to a Pietist pastor for counseling. In accordance with Pietist patterns, Burk guides her soul through lamentation and despair to the conviction that she must accept God's plan and thereby overcome her pain.[68]

Practicing Community: Friendship, Conventicle, Family, and Network

In addition to the practices of individuation, the Pietist reform movement also developed new forms of sociability. The two concepts were inter-connected, as the Pietist individual sought opportunities for articulation and interaction with like-minded people. Group members searched for continuous exchange regarding the condition of their soul. Pietists formed a binding group culture that alternated between introverted reflection and extroverted communication.[69] Martin Brecht has called this an alternative sociability, one that developed at the end of the Baroque period.[70] A distinct culture of friendship strengthened the formation of groups. The various forms of communication

64 Ibid. letter Mai 4th 1759; Juni 25th; Juli 9th, §422.
65 Ibid. letter Aug. 12th 1759, § 432.
66 Ibid. letter Aug. 24th 1759, § 433.
67 Ibid. letter Okt. 1st 1759, § 441.
68 Gleixner, "Enduring Death in Pietism."
69 Gleixner, *Pietismus und Bürgertum*, pp. 63–118.
70 Martin Brecht, "Pietismus als alternative Geselligkeit," in *Geselligkeit und Gesellschaft im Barockzeitalter*, vol. 1, ed. Wolfgang Adam (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 261–273.

such as visits, letters, and devotional meetings shaped a common and binding *habitus* in thinking, feeling, and setting boundaries. The various forms of Pietist friendships, whether the relationship between two people within the immediate or larger family, or the institutionalized association of friends, were imbedded in 18th century social-ethical notions of friendship.[71] Philipp Jakob Spener described true friendship as based upon God's grace and on the unity of the Spirit.[72] Pietists only found true friends among the converted, and communicated with them at a different level than with the non-converted. Only the truly converted could be considered brothers and sisters. The practice of spiritual kinship helped Pietist culture to develop in two directions. First, the spiritual bond drew boundaries around the group, and secondly, Pietist fraternalism led to an intensive process of group building. Pietist soul-friendships and communication were dependent upon gender, education, and social estate. Family and relatives were often the basis upon which the sisterly and brotherly soul-friendships were built, resulting in a lively culture of visits and correspondence. Occasional poetry played an important role in Pietist circles for familial occasions such as birth, marriage, and death.[73] Visits between Pietists who were already friends, or with well-known Pietists, led to an intensive visitation culture, as did visits between Pietists of different generations who stood in a relationship of teacher-pupil or counselor-advisee. Illness and death led family members as well as Pietist friends to visit. Such visits served for the spiritual support of the sick and dying brother or sister.

A key innovation was the Pietist conventicle – small groups, which met in private homes in order to read and discuss the Bible and other books. The strengthening of the individual's self-esteem through the experience of conversion and rebirth had a profound effect on the individual's self-confidence. The new Pietist subjective position enabled women and men to speak about their religious interpretations and perceptions in home gatherings. In this new practice of communication, the line between the clergy and the laity became

71 Rasch, *Freundschaftskult und Freundschaftsdichtung*; Ladislao Mittner, "Freundschaft und Liebe in der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Stoffe, Formen, Strukturen. Studien zur deutschen Literatur. Hans Heinrich Borcherdt zum 75. Geburtstag*, eds. Albert Fuchts, Helmut Motekat (Munich, 1962), pp. 97–138; Friedrich H. Tenbruck, "Freundschaft. Ein Beitrag zu einer Soziologie der persönlichen Beziehungen," *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 16* (1964), 431–456; Eckhardt Meyer-Krentler, *Der Bürger als Freund. Ein sozialethisches Programm und seine Kritik in der neueren deutschen Erzählliteratur* (Munich, 1984).

72 Philipp Jakob Spener, *Schriften*, 3, ed. Paul Grünberg (1906, repr. Hildesheim, 1988), p. 392.

73 Wolfgang Martens, *Literatur und Frömmigkeit in der Zeit der frühen Aufklärung* (Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur) 25 (Tübingen, 1989), p. 139.

more permeable. In the conventicles, self-expression after Bible reading or catechism played the central role. A distinctly Pietist practice of visits and communication was also cultivated in the family and with relatives. Additionally, in many places Radical Pietist groups were formed, separated from the larger society and territorial churches.

The conventicle movement began in Leipzig in 1689, spreading out and eventually developing into a Pietist network.[74] The private meetings focused on reading the Bible together, and spread into Protestant cities in middle and northern Germany. Although pastors and theology students played an important role, women and men from the middle-class, artisans, nobility, servants, and the poor and socially-marginalized also joined the meetings. Women not only visited conventicles, but organized them as well.[75] A communication network comprised of visits and letters was responsible for the rapid growth of conventicles, along with enforced changes in job and place of residence. Intensive religious communication invariably led to establishment of new groups.

A hallmark of the conventicle movement at the end of the 17th century was conflict with the authorities. The appropriation of urban and private space for religious gatherings of the laity violated the church leadership's monopoly on religious gatherings, and frequently led to their being banned by the authorities. This did not slow down the movement, but it did brand individual women and men as criminals. Some conventicles proved enormously attractive, drawing a large number of people. For example, when the Pietist couple Johanna Eleonora and Johann Wilhelm Petersen visited a conventicle in Leipzig in 1690, they drew an enormous crowd.[76] A conventicle in Quedlinburg in the early 1690's, in the home of the court preacher Johann Heinrich Sprögel (1644–1722) and his wife, had as many women as men among its members. Their conventicle was comprised of people from various estates, and is a good example of how the conventicle helped build new forms of social interaction and community, breaking down traditional social barriers. Among those meeting in the Sprögel home were the wife of the new mayor of Quedlinburg, the mayor of the old city, the Stifthauptmann's advocate and his wife, a lawyer and his wife, two doctors, the school director, a trader and his single and married daughters,

74 Hans Leube, "Die Geschichte der piet. Bewegung in Leipzig," in *Orthodoxie und Pietismus: gesammelte Studien* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus) 13, ed. Dietrich Blaufuss (Bielefeld, 1975); Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener*.

75 Ryoko Mori, *Begeisterung und Ernüchterung in christlicher Vollkommenheit. Pietistische Selbst- und Weltwahrnehmungen im ausgehenden 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 2004).

76 Mori, *Begeisterung und Ernüchterung*, p. 19.

a goldsmith, the female provost of the Stift for noblewomen in Quedlinburg, a Duchess, the Stiftshauptmann's noble wife, the wife of a city councilor, the wife of a court councilor, two private tutors, the single maid working in Sprögel's home, the skinner's poor widow, the abbess' single chamber woman, and a married woman.[77] Of these twenty-six persons, fourteen were female (9 married, 4 single, 1 widowed) and twelve were male (10 married, 2 single). There were three married couples and other related persons in the group. They represented many estates, including city dignitaries, scholars, noblewomen, tradesmen, teachers, servants, and the poor.

There were some remarkable phenomena in these early conventicles, such as the religious visions experienced by some women. Visionary pronouncements given by single women of diverse estates could become the focal point of a group's experience. Their prophetic speech was regarded as divine revelation.[78] The visionary Rosamunde Juliane von Asseburg (1672–1712) transmitted divine messages from March 1691 until January 1692 in the Petersen's house. Her visions were a message of hope and consolation for those present, and a call for loving solidarity among the Pietists.[79] The experience of community in conventicles transcended boundaries of gender, social status, and education. The visions of Rosamunde Juliane von der Asseburg confirmed the Petersens' millenarian view of the future precisely at a time when Johann Wilhelm Petersen was threatened with loss of his pastorate on account of his chiliastic preaching. Von Asseburg's visions gave legitimacy to the Petersens' theology, and encouraged the couple to continue.[80]

Visionaries and "enthusiastic maids," as they were called, appeared simultaneously in the 1690s in conventicles in several cities in the heart of Germany: in Halberstadt, Quedlinburg, Erfurt, and Halle. Their trance-like visions were an expression of a newfound self-confidence. In some places there were group-visions. The visions were often recorded as they happened; copies were made and transmitted to other networks.[81] This led to the emergence of a supra-regional experience of togetherness, and the sense of being members of the community of Christ.

As Pietist groups moved away from orthodox practices, and the authorities increasingly prohibited lay conventicles, a distinction began to emerge

77 Mori, *Begeisterung und Ernüchterung*, p. 32.

78 Claudia Wustmann, *Die "begeisterten Mägde." Mitteldeutsche Prophetinnen im Radikalpietismus am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 2008).

79 Mori, *Begeisterung und Ernüchterung*, pp. 103–120.

80 Albrecht, *Johanna Eleonora Petersen.*

81 Mori, *Begeisterung und Ernüchterung*, p. 153.

between church and separatist wings of Pietism. Ecstatic and enthusiastic manifestations of prophetic speaking were increasingly limited to the separatist movements and excluded from church Pietism. There were a surprising number of women in Radical Pietist groups. They were not deterred by the threat of criminalization, which could result in the loss of all they owned. Their number included single women who were financially vulnerable. Boundaries drawn by gender and estate were crossed in many places, as people addressed one another with the familiar "du" as brother and sister.[82]

There were always noble authorities who exercised religious tolerance, often due to their own Pietist orientation. Tolerant nobility allowed separatist groups to settle in their territories. At the beginning of the 18th century, separatist communities could be found in the Wetterau region of Hessen, north of Frankfurt. Ursula Meyer (1682–1743), an unmarried stocking weaver from Thun, in Switzerland, became active in 1715 as a "prophetic instrument" in the Communities of True Inspiration.[83] Her prophecies were written down by the Community and first published sixty years later under the title, *A Heavenly Evening Glow* (1781), in the interest of documenting their tradition. Her prophecies consisted of verbal warnings and consolation, which she delivered while in a trance, and were characterized by an eschatological yearning for redemption. Central themes of her pronouncements were the imminent expectation of the Millennial Kingdom on earth, universal salvation, and the love of Jesus. Meyer was exceptionally well-read in the Bible. The policy of toleration came to an end in the Wetterau in the mid-18th century, when many members of the group emigrated to Pennsylvania, and eventually to Iowa.

Prophetic speech in conventicles and separatist groups was made possible by a new religious self-confidence. It was especially young unmarried women, often illiterate and from a low estate, who experienced divine revelations through visions and through hearing the voice of God. This form of divine communication to the laity had emerged in the 17th century among the Puritans in England, and among the Reformed in southeast France following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).[84] Visions encouraged an apocalyptic mood within enthusiastic groups, and led members to cross social boundaries of estate and intellectual boundaries of theological knowledge.

82 Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus* (Göttingen, 1989).

83 Compare the study by Isabelle Noth, *Ekstatischer Pietismus.*

84 Henri Desroche, *The American Shakers. From Neo-Christianity to Pre-socialism* (Amherst, 1971); Daniel Vidal, *Le malheur et son prophète. Inspirés et sectaires en Langedoc calviniste (1685–1725)* (Paris, 1983); Mack, *Visionary women.*

Unmarried women were given a voice in academic circles. Their lack of family ties, with no responsibility for household or children, allowed them this luxury. The genders were regarded differently in terms of bodily experience; since the middle ages, physical signs of spirituality had been regarded as feminine.[85] Since women's status as subject was inferior due to their legal subordination, their bodies appeared as especially suitable as receptacles of the divine word.[86] As a result, a dialectic thread was weaved into the cultural practice of visionary speech. Women subjects oscillated between a self-confident status because of their visionary speech, and a restricted status due to being merely the instrument of God's word.

The assumption that only women were able to have an elevated role in the early phase of Pietism must be verified by further research.[87] One can certainly find women in prominent positions within the separatist movement in the villages of the Duchy of Württemberg in the last quarter of the 18th century.[88] Barbara Grubenmann, originally from a family of doctors in the canton of Appenzell, Switzerland, proclaimed her divine revelations in the company of a group of like-minded people in the Appenzell region right up to her arrest and imprisonment. After her escape from the prison at Lindau in 1789, she turned for help to the well-known Pietist pastor Johann Caspar Lavater in Zürich. There she met three separatists from Württemberg, members of the Huber family from the village of Rottenacker in Blaubeuren, Upper Swabia. They took her in, and she remained active in separatist circles.

As far as the distribution and shape of Pietist conventicles are concerned, an analysis of diaries, autobiographies, biographies, correspondence, and court records reveals a picture of surprising variety. There were conventicles both with and without the participation of pastors. Sometimes the roles of pastor and pupil were clearly defined, characterized by differences in education and rank. Some conventicles were simply reading groups, while others cultivated spontaneous confessions. Numerically speaking, church Pietism certainly made the strongest contribution to the reform movement; the new forms of sociability came into being within this wing, as long as it was socially tolerable.

85 Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption. Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1992).

86 Sigrid Weigel, *Topographien der Geschlechter. Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zur Literatur* (Reinbek, 1990).

87 Critchfield, *Prophetin, Führerin, Organisatorin*; Köhle-Hezinger, *'Frauen im Pietismus'*.

88 Eberhard Fritz, "Separatisten und Separatistinnen in Rottenacker. Eine örtliche Gruppe als Zentrum eines Netzwerkes im frühen 19. Jahrhundert," *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte 98* (1998), 66–158.

In Stuttgart, for example, Pietist circles emerged, such as one which included the deacon Rieger, the garrison preacher Moser, privy councilor von Seckendorff, the wealthy businessman Lotter, Mrs. Gundert, the widow Storr, and the deacon Dann.[89] Devotional meetings attended by the Pietist middle-class could also be meeting places of the socially exclusive group of academics and state officials. In rural communities, conventicles were often led by the pastors and focused on teaching the Bible. The position of the country pastor Friedrich Süskind is revealing. He reported to his colleagues that upon assuming the pastorate in March 1768, he found that the congregation had already been having devotional meetings. Süskind decided to hold devotional meetings on Wednesday and Sunday afternoons. Approximately sixty persons were in attendance. He read Paul's letter to the Romans with them; his main goal was to bring the word of God closer to them, as the members of the congregation were "still very weak."[90] For pastor Süskind, the meetings were an opportunity for Pietist catechism; they were not a brotherly meeting of awakened souls.

As was the case in other territories, the government of Württemberg passed an edict in 1743 defining how conventicles were to be held. A maximum of fifteen people were allowed to attend, and the gathering was to be supervised by the pastor. Wives needed the consent of their husbands, and husbands should not participate without their wives' permission. Men and women should meet separately, insofar as it was possible. The meetings should preferably take place on Sunday, but not after sundown. Only the Bible and other devotional books should be read, and the interpretation of the texts was reserved exclusively for the pastor. It was strictly forbidden to share the condition of one's soul or to criticize one's neighbour or the authorities.[91] Considering the many restrictions, it is likely that the Pietist pastor wrote his reports to the church authorities so as to conform to the restrictions. In actual fact, the restrictions were seldom observed exactly.

Few Pietist pastors had as large a number of people attending conventicles from all estates and social classes as Philipp Matthäus Hahn in Württemberg. In his parish in Kornwestheim, he began holding a conventicle in 1770 in the

89 Martin Brecht, "Vom Pietismus zur Erweckungsbewegung. Aus dem Briefwechsel von Christian Adam Dann," *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte 68/69* (1968/69), 347–374, p. 352.

90 WLB Cod. hist. qt 357 b, Zirkularkorrespondenz, März 12th 1768, fol. 25.

91 August Ludwig Reyscher, *Vollständige, historisch und kritisch bearbeitete Sammlung der württembergischen Gesetze*, vol. 8: *Sammlung der württembergischen Kirchengesetze*, part 1 (Tübingen, 1834), pp. 641–652.

home of two elderly female Pietists. More women soon joined and Hahn moved the conventicle into the parsonage.[92] The number of attendees became so large over the years that the conventicle had to be divided into several groups, in order to meet the restriction of 15 members. The separate meetings of men and women were finally also subdivided according to criteria of property ownership and social status, and Hahn was only able to personally lead the groups on a rotating basis. Consequently, two persons from each group were appointed leaders of their group.

The Pietist Movement as a Network

Taken overall, the Pietist reform movement can be described as a network in which individuals and groups of various orientations exchanged information and mutually influenced one another over broad distances by means of correspondence and visits.[93] The early conventicles in central Germany attest to the shape of the Pietist movement as a network.[94] Educated Pietist women were active in correspondence networks. Anna Maria van Schurmann (1607–1678) and Antoinette Bourignon (1616–1680) exchanged religious correspondence with women and men, both inside and outside of the Netherlands, and were actively involved in various European religious networks. Both women's writings circulated among the Pietists in Frankfurt, and both women corresponded with the Pietists in Frankfurt, male and female. Anna Maria van Schurmann corresponded concerning theological questions with Johann Jakob Schütz and Johanna Eleonora von Merlau, before her marriage. The two women, van Schurmann and Bourignon, were religious leaders who were integrated into an inter-denominational European network through their conversations, correspondence, and writings. Both

92 Martin Brecht, "Philipp Matthäus Hahn und der Pietismus im mittleren Neckarraum," *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 77 (1977), 101–131, p. 107.

93 Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Communication Networks as One Aspect of Pietist Definition. The Example of Radical Pietist Connections between Colonial North America and Europe," in *Pietism in Germany and North America 1680–1820*, ed. Jonathan Strom, Hartmut Lehmann, James van Horn Melton (Farnham, 2009), pp. 33–49.

94 Mori, *Begeisterung und Ernüchterung*; Ruth Albrecht, "Literaturproduktion, Gender und Pietismus. Das Quedlinburger Netzwerk," in *Glaube und Geschlecht. Fromme Frauen – Spirituelle Erfahrungen – Religiöse Traditionen,* (Literatur – Kultur – Geschlecht: Große Reihe) 43, eds. Ruth Albrecht, Annette Bühler-Dietrich, Florentine Strzelczyk (Cologne, 2008), pp. 217–234.

had considerable influence on Lutheran Pietism by way of their involvement in this network.[95]

Henriette Catharina von Gersdorff was introduced to Pietist devotion and theology by Philipp Jakob Spener. She, her husband, and father were friends with Spener during his tenure as senior court preacher in Dresden, from 1686 to 1691. She later became connected with August Hermann Francke in Halle. Von Gersdorff played an active part in the development of Halle Pietism in her role as patron and correspondent with Francke. She campaigned among the nobility of Saxony for the Gynäceum in Halle, an educational institution for girls of higher estates. She was well known at the Court of Saxony through her father, husband, and brother Otto Heinrich von Friesen, who was the chancellor of August the Strong. She used her presence in Dresden at the court of the electoral prince to introduce the princesses to Pietism. Thanks to her, Princess Anna Sophia, née Princess of Denmark (1647–1717), became interested in Halle Pietism. Her successor, Princess Christine Eberhardine, née Duchess von Brandenburg-Bayreuth (1671–1727), financed six female pupils at the Halle Gynäceum due to von Gersdorff's influence.[96] Pietist foreign missions, which began at the beginning of the 18th century, reflected the organizational structure of Pietism as a network. A European network of supporters financed and promoted the missionary activity on a large scale.[97] Since the early 18th century, the Pietist network became more and more closely linked by means of newly emerging media such as periodicals, books, and other publications. Financial support for schools and missionary activities proved to be the means by which the kingdom of God was to be spread. The challenge is for Pietist historiography to see Pietism as a network and to present it as such.

95 Mirjam de Baar, "Internationale und interkonfessionelle Netzwerke. Zur frühen lutherisch pietistischen Rezeption von Anna Maria van Schurmann und Antoinette Bourignon," in *Gendering Tradition. Erinnerungskultur und Geschlecht im Pietismus*, eds. Ulrike Gleixner, Erika Hebeisen (Korb, 2007), pp. 85–105.

96 Witt, *Bekehrung*, p. 158.

97 Ulrike Gleixner, "Remapping the World: The Vision of a Protestant Empire in the Eighteenth Century," in *Migration and Religion*, ed. Barbara Becker-Cantarino. Series: Chloe, Beihefte zum Daphnis Bd. 46 (2012), pp. 77–90; Ulrike Gleixner, "Mäzeninnen im Reich Gottes. Frauen hohen Standes im Netzwerk der protestantischen Indienmission im [illegible] dert," *L'Homme. Geschlechtergeschichte global*, 23 (2012), 13–31.

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