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Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture

Volume IV

CONTINENTAL MILLENARIANS: PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS, HERETICS

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9. PIETISM, MILLENARIANISM, AND THE FAMILY FUTURE: THE JOURNAL OF BEATE HAHN-PAULUS (1778–1842)

The millenarian perspective in Württemberg Pietism was grounded in the social base of this movement. Current research on German Pietism has almost entirely neglected questions of communication, group culture, world view, and the role of religion in the organization of life.[1] The contextualization of Württemberg millenarianism can contribute to filling in this gap. In recent years, the connection between intellectual and social history has laid the groundwork for a new cultural history.[2] The research I present here has grown out of this cultural historical perspective.

Working in the field of tensions among the individual and his or her gender, group membership, and religious ideas, I ask the following questions: To what intellectual audience was the work of a particular author directed? How were those in the direct personal circle of learned men influenced by their millenarian ideas? Did they put their chiliasm into practice in their teaching, pastoral work, and sermons? Were their families – their sons, daughters and wives – also included in the society of the learned? Is there a connection between the formation of elite groups and a millenarian perspective?

These questions will be put to the test in a case study. Beate Hahn-Paulus (1778–1842), the daughter of the minister, watchmaker, and inventor Philipp Matthäus Hahn (1739–1790), was very familiar with the millenarian ideas of her father and those of his teacher, Friedrich Christoph Oetinger. In 1817 – many years after her father's death – at age 39 and after 17 years of marriage, Beate Paulus began to keep a diary. Her apparent primary concern was with the academic education of her sons, which was permanently imperilled by a disagreement with her husband on this matter. Beate's beseeching prayers to God are imbued with her millenarian hope that her sons would be permitted to play a special role in preparing for the coming of the kingdom of God. First, I provide an introduction to the development of Pietism in Germany and a sketch of the most important millenarians in Württemberg. Then a connection will be made to Beate Hahn's close personal circle and to her own reception of the millenarian perspective.

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My primary interest here lies with inner-churchly Pietism, and thus I shall trace only those millenarian authors who remained within the state church of Württemberg. This inner-churchly Pietist reform movement was led by a middle-class, educated elite, the so-called *Ehrbarkeit* (honorables). Since the nobility in post-Reformation Württemberg no longer had any political importance in the territorial Diet, the middle class took its place. This university-educated and pious middle-class group was composed of the families of professors, ministers, jurists, doctors, pharmacists, teachers at academic schools, and a few merchants. Class membership and piety formed the basis of their endogamous marital behavior.[3] It was not until the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century that Pietism became popularized in Württemberg and began to attract lay groups with little education – above all among winegrowers and craftsmen – who gave the movement a strong separatist thrust.

The Pietist Reform Movement in Germany

The Protestant reform movement of Pietism took on a different character in different regions of Germany. In a mixture of territorial politics, leading personalities, impulses from Pietist movements outside of Germany, and various social bases, this reform movement was particularly influential in a few Protestant territories. The influences of English Puritanism, the Dutch Pietist movement, and the roots of the movement in Germany (Schwenkfeld, Paracelsus, Valentin Weigel, Johann Valentin Andreae, Johann Arndt, and Jakob Spener) may be considered preconditions for the different territorial expressions of the movement. Territorial developments in the seventeenth century include the Silesian spiritualists in the circle around Jakob Böhme; Dutch-influenced reformed Pietism on the lower Rhine, in Nassau, Hessen-Kassel, the Palatinate, and northern Germany; and the most frequently mentioned model of Prussian Pietism, which is inextricably linked to August Hermann Francke and his educational institutions in Halle. Separatist tendencies also sprang up everywhere. Radical Pietist groups were criminalized and wandered from exile to exile. These were followed in the eighteenth century by the community founded by the Herrnhuter in Saxony (associated with Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf) and by Württemberg Pietism.

Württemberg Pietism was characterized by its social base in a corporately organized educated middle class, by its inner-churchly development, and its heavy emphasis on the doctrine of God's saving grace (*Heilsgeschichte*).[4]

Johann Jakob Spener and the Impact of Millenarian Aspirations upon the Protestant State Church

The incorporation of Pietist reform tendencies into the Lutheran state church is usually dated to Philipp Jakob Spener's (1635–1705) publication of *Pia Desideria* in 1675, although Spener's reform program was neither autonomous nor original. Rather, it was deeply anchored in seventeenth-century Protestant piety movements and in mysticism and spiritualism, and its suggestions for improvement belonged to a set of reform ideas discussed throughout the seventeenth century. Spener closely followed precursors and renewers such as Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654) and devotional author Johann Arndt (1555–1621). Thus it comes as no surprise that he published his reform program as a preface to a new edition of Arndt's sermons.

In his *Pia Desideria* Spener sketched not only rebirth, personal piety, and the observance and spiritual priesthood of the laity (which explicitly included women as well as men) and called for private congregational gatherings, but also formulated an eschatological hope for better times for the church. Before the end of the world, the faithful could expect the fall of papal Rome and thus should convert Jews and heathen with holy zeal so that the divine promise according to the *Revelations* of John could be fulfilled. The improved condition of the church promised by God could be fulfilled when individuals and congregations strive for perfection.[6] The questions of how to classify Spener and of whether his restrained, optimistic vision was a millenarian one have been the subject of bitter controversy in the theological research on Pietism,[7] and appear to have been decided in favor of the millenarian quality of his aspirations.[8] The most important arguments in favor of his link to a chiliastic rather than an orthodox tradition seem to me to be his combining of the conversion of Jews with eschatological aspirations and his close ties to the millenarians Jean de Labadie (1610–1674), Anna Maria von Schurmann (1607–1678), and Johann Jakob Schütz (1640–1690), within whose separatist context he developed his own ideas.[9]

Nonetheless, Spener rejected a more radical millenarian framework along the lines of a physical, bodily resurrection of all the just, as in the works of Johann Wilhelm Petersen (1649–1726) and Johanna Eleonora Petersen (*née* von Merlau) (1644–1724).[10] That Spener's references in the *Pia Desideria* are to Luther, orthodox theologians, and the devotional writers accepted by them should probably be understood strategically and indicates his strict adherence to an inner-churchy discursive framework.

Spener's state-churchly reform perspective seems to be decisive with respect to the categorization of his activities. It permitted him to clearly distance himself from former close allies who went on to develop separatist ideas such as the Petersens or Johann Jakob Schütz. Politically, his path to reform, which was oriented toward the state church, remained loyal to the authorities, antirevolutionary, and proceeded from the duty of subjects to obey. As a minister at Straßburg Minster, at the Barfüßerkirche in Frankfurt-am-Main, and later as court preacher in Dresden and Berlin, Spener held high ecclesiastical offices throughout his career. In Frankfurt and Berlin he had considerable influence over the enforcement of a new, stricter church discipline. He may be considered an activist in the disciplinary campaign against popular culture in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Learned Millenarians in Württemberg: Johann Albrecht Bengel, Friedrich Christoph Oetinger, and Philipp Matthäus Hahn

Württemberg Pietism has been regarded in recent theological and historical research as an autonomous type of Pietist thought with strong millenarian influences.[11] The early Pietism of 1680–1715 was a politically active force for reform at both the inner-churchly and separatist levels.[12] In the seventeenth century, some Württembergian ministers lost their offices because of their millenarian writings and holding of conventicles.[13] While it is true that the University of Tübingen rejected the new piety, the Stuttgart Consistory was open to Spenerist Pietism.[14]

The harshest measures against separatist millenarians were taken not by the church leadership but by the Duke, since the immorality of Baroque court life was a target of the separatist critique of society. His Pietist edict of 1694 rejected revolutionary chiliasm but made room for Spener's formulation of a "hope for better times" and did not categorize it as heresy.[15] Until 1715 many edicts followed which were decidedly directed against separatist groups. A period of greater tolerance began in 1715 with the toleration of private gatherings, which ultimately led to the legalization of conventicles in 1743.[16] With this, millenarian aspirations in Württemberg became a component of the church constitution, laying the groundwork for an inner-churchly development. Middle-class Pietism in a sense infiltrated the state church, while separatist tendencies were repressed. Not until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century did new, lay-based separatist groups arise, and these no longer drew their recruits among the old Pietist elite.[17]

The notion of the unity of all knowledge was a fundamental consensus in the thinking of the learned Swabian Pietists in the eighteenth century. The wholeness of the Bible was the basis for recognition of the unity of nature and history. This linking of theological, scientific, and historical knowledge found its equivalent in the impulse for scientific research among millenarian ministers. A connection between the humanistic and natural sciences continues to this day to be very formative for the self-image of educated Württembergers, who think of themselves as a nation of inventors and constructors.

Inner-churchly Württemberg Pietism was marked by a millenarian eschatology in which the idea of the kingdom of God was central. Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687–1752), Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702–1782), and Philipp Matthäus Hahn are the most important representatives of this tendency. They represent successive generations and are connected through a teacher-student relationship.

Bengel, the most important theologian of Württemberg Pietism in the eighteenth century, concentrated his textual-critical, exegetic, and millenarian work exclusively on the Bible.[18] Bengel spent the greater part of his career as a preceptor – a combination of minister and teacher – in the convent school at Denkendorf, in which the fledgling Württemberg minister first underwent a two-year training. This seclusion and routine enabled him to write his theological works.[19] Toward the end of his life he attained higher ecclesiastical

office. He became a prelate and finally a member of the state parliament and of the Consistory, the highest ecclesiastical authority in Württemberg.

Bengel's eschatology was built upon the foundation of Württemberg separatist chiliasm of the seventeenth century, in which calculations of the beginning of the millennium and of the Last Judgment were not unusual.[20] His millenarian character was no doubt fostered by his upbringing as a half-orphan in the house of Stuttgart separatist leader David Wendelin Spindler, who was relieved of his teaching duties in 1710 because of his millenarian and separatist activities. In *Erklärte Offenbarung* Bengel presents his key to the Apocalypse. Based on the number 666 from *Revelations* 13, 18, he calculates all the numbers and times in *Revelations* and finally dates the beginning of the first millennium to the year 1836. In this, every prophesy in *Revelations* corresponds to an event that has already occurred in history or has yet to occur.

Like Spinoza and Leibniz before him, Bengel attempted to prove the existence of a chronological world order based on the doctrine of God's saving grace by means of a set of mathematical rules.[21] The publication of his devotional hours given in Herbrechtingen, "Sixty devotional talks on John's Revelations," shows that Bengel also presented his *Heilsgeschichte* in popular form. His millenarian perspective had a great influence in Württemberg. He succeeded in integrating separatist millenarianism into the state church.

With respect to society, Hartmut Lehmann sees the millenarianism of Bengel and his friends as combined with social conservatism and political quietism. For them, millenarianism was "a sweet secret."[22] The emphasis on his dating of the beginning of the millennium apparently developed only after his death. Philipp Matthäus Hahn prepared an excerpt from Bengel's "Explained Revelations" directed at the uneducated reader and composed in a catechism-like question-and-answer form. The library of the University of Tübingen houses a copy that once belonged to his daughter, Maria Barbara Bengel (1727–1782). On the first page, there is a rather long commentary in her handwriting criticizing the reduction of Bengel's millenarian message to the date of its onset:

> Maria Barbara Burkin receives this as a gift from her oldest son ... 1772. The author of this work has also done me a pleasant service with this short and thorough extract; only the determination of the time is really much too precisely presented. Anyone who knows what my dear departed father meant – how, although he was certain of his business, he would never have determined the actual time – cannot approve of this all-too-frank open-heartedness.[23]

Friedrich Christoph Oetinger, who belonged to the generation of Bengel's students and even accepted a post as a minister in his vicinity in order to be able to remain in intensive communication with him, was a polymath. After many study trips and longer sojourns with Zinzendorf at Herrnhut, he accepted a position as minister in Hirsau in 1738. In 1766 the Duke appointed him prelate of Murrhardt and a member of the territorial Diet. At once a

theologian, philosopher, and scientist, he was also active in the fields of chemistry, alchemy, and medicine.[24] For example, he produced drops to cure melancholy. He was familiar with the writings of Leibniz and Newton and corresponded with Swedenborg. In his search for certain knowledge through the connection between *Heilsgeschichte* and natural philosophy he was influenced by Valentin Weigel, Jacob Böhme, and the Kabbalah.[25]

Oetinger's millenarian text *Die Güldene Zeit* is dedicated to preparations for the kingdom of God.[26] He assumed the accuracy of Bengel's calculations and was also certain that the kingdom was nigh. In preparation for the millennium, the present is merely a transitional stage, which demands a readiness for worldly and political action in which governments and their laws as well as scholars and teachers bear a special responsibility. Changes in nature and natural catastrophes are to be read as "signs of the times" and herald the kingdom. The thousand-year kingdom of God on Earth will, however, remain hidden and the worldly order will continue to exist.

Oetinger outlined a set of changes which will be realized for the kingdom of God on Earth: A general peace will reign on Earth; with the help of divine law, justice will function quickly and easily; worldly rulers and priests will find themselves in complete harmony; the language of the peoples will be Hebrew and due to slight shifts of the poles, spring, summer, and autumn will lengthen while winter will become shorter. All branches of knowledge will be united in one fundamental wisdom. Like Bengel, he assumed that there would be two millennia, one earthly and the other divine. Although Oetinger, like Bengel, was critical of the political situation and of Baroque courtly life, he also believed that Christians were bound to respect the inviolability of the existing power relations.[27]

Philipp Matthäus Hahn, at once a minister, watchmaker, and inventor,[28] was a millenarian activist in several respects. As a curate he supported the ill Oetinger for six months, during which time he prepared excerpts from the latter's writings on chemistry and alchemy. Bengel's eschatological calculations were the foundation for his first astronomical clock, which he built in 1768/69 for Duke Karl Eugen of Württemberg, together with the schoolmaster Philipp Gottfried Schaudt (1739–1809). He composed a catechism-like summary of Bengel's interpretation of the Apocalypse, *Die Hauptsache der Offenbarung Johannis*, which he published anonymously in 1772.

Hahn followed Bengel's and Oetinger's tradition of interpreting *Revelations*. However, he placed the realization of the kingdom of God at the center of his literary and pastoral work.[29] Hahn popularized the expectation of the millennium in Württemberg. His devotional hours in Kornwestheim were so well attended that the audience was divided into groups according to gender and marital status. Because of denunciations, the Consistory increased its control over Hahn, forbidding him to hold any more lessons or to publish.[30]

On the basis of *Eph.* 1, Hahn saw the elect as particularly *predestined* to carry out God's *plan*. In his own consciousness of being chosen, he put his energy into the teaching of children, devotional hours, and sermons about the realization of the kingdom of God. He regarded the realization of the latter as

the most important task of all.[31] The kingdom of God, he preached, had already begun, but many had not yet seen or recognized it.[32] The second passage central for his millenarian activism is *Mat.* 20, 1–16, the *workers in the Lord's vineyard*. The first workers were the disciples of Jesus. The vineyard is the still-developing divine kingdom. The complete kingdom will only come into being when all humanity has submitted to Jesus. Everyone has his task in the vineyard and each inspires the others.[33]

Hahn's private journal clearly reveals his religiously motivated activism as a Pietist minister and millenarian. That his first marriage with a woman who saw the light only two years before her death was doomed to fail is plausible from his perspective. In the shock following her death, he wrote in self-justification in his journal that she had disapproved of his conventicle and his many visitors and had wrongly interpreted them as directed against herself. Because his work for the kingdom of God left him no time for her, it looked as though he did not love her. This led to much argument and discord between them and ultimately to an emotional coolness toward her on his part. He, however, had only been acting on behalf of the kingdom of God.

> But if she had shared my cast of mind and believed my path and will to be divine and deeply grounded, she would have been a help to me ... .

It is clear from his diaries that Hahn derived an exaggerated sense of his position as head of the household and as husband from his consciousness of being chosen. He took on the role of a patriarch, which was typical of Württemberg Pietists. Being among the elect in the divine order, he concluded that he was also entitled to hold a special position in the worldly order. He justified his demand for absolute obedience by claiming that his will was "divine" and that, by extension, any violation of it represented a violation of God's laws.

Beate Hahn's millenarian aspirations

Like her father, Beate Hahn lived under the religiously grounded conviction of being chosen and in possession of knowledge. The evidence of her engagement is her so-called *Wochenbuch* (weekly book). She was born in 1778 as the oldest daughter of Philipp Matthäus Hahn and his second wife, Beate Regina. In 1800, after the death of her father, she entered into an arranged marriage with the pastor Karl Friedrich Paulus, who came from a wealthy family of Stuttgart civil servants. Paulus, however, was not a Pietist and the spouses' differing conceptions of piety led them into considerable conflict. Beate began her journal in 1817 and ended it after the death of her husband in 1828. In these eleven years she filled eight books, which together contain about a thousand manuscript pages, now housed in the manuscript department of the Württemberg State Library.[35] Her writings document the couple's primary marital conflict over the financing of their sons' formal education. According to her husband's plan, one was to become a scrivener and the other a game-

keeper, a notion which repelled her as both occupations were for her associated with a sinful life. She was convinced that only with a university education would her sons be able to serve the kingdom of God in a proper fashion:

> ... that is also because of the extension of his kingdom, as workers in his vineyards are in such short supply. Thus let him put his spirit in their [the sons'] hearts, so that their life in the world may not be in vain.[36]

With the support of her family, Beate succeeded in negotiating a financial plan with Paulus, according to which her brother, his wife, and their mother would pay for the maintenance of two sons on the basis of the paternal inheritance, leaving her husband responsible only for paying for the maintenance for his oldest son.[37] However, this plan fell through, apparently because it had not been precisely worked out how books, school fees, and travel and clothing expenses were to be paid for. In addition, her husband continued to refuse to pay his share. Beate's attempt to finance these expenditures through agriculture, which was normally leased out, was thwarted by her husband, who claimed that all of the income belonged to him. All transactions involving money and food had to be carried out in secret behind his back. Despite all her calculations and economizing, however, money was always short and Beate was repeatedly obliged to borrow from the wealthy innkeepers of the village against the proceeds of the next harvest. In the constant marital struggle over finances, the academic education of her sons was in permanent danger.

The idea that her sons were being educated beneath their status – that, as members of a learned elite family, they "are being made into peasants" – threw her into a deep crisis. Her lending of a religious tone to the issue of worldly status must be understood against the background of the Pietist notion of the elite, in which the learned constitute an especially elect group in working towards the kingdom of God.

Beate's conviction that her sons could only appropriately serve God with a formal education accords completely with Oetinger's model of the special responsibility of the educated for the preparation of God's kingdom. In his text, *Die Güldene Zeit*, he prophesizes a better future and determines the preparations necessary for it on the basis of the words of the Prophet Isaiah. In the desert, the voice of a divine herald announces to the people of Israel the end of their slavery in Babylon and a new future (*Isaiah* 40.3–5). According to Oetinger, the Prophet Isaiah demands above all of kings, princes, and republics that they watch out for the signs of the times; for, according to Isaiah, the coming of the kingdom will be accompanied by geographic changes – all the valleys shall be exalted and all the mountains shall be made low – which must be read as signs of the times. Universities and academies should prepare themselves and the teachers trained there should inform the people of the "last things" that are in store for humanity.[38] A special mediating role falls to the learned in preparing for the kingdom of God. They bear the responsibility for saving the common people from darkness.

In especially desperate phrases, in which Beate was almost forced to accept that her plans for her sons' education and thus her hopes will be defeated, she appealed to God to realize his plan in her and her children:

> therefore I put to the Lord that he couldn't abandon me and had to listen to my prayer because of his proverb. Should God not save his chosen people who call to him loudly day and night, he could not do otherwise, he must help ... .[39]

Beate's astounding indifference as to what academic professions her sons should enter is explained by the Württembergian view of the kingdom of God. According to Oetinger, all the sciences, jurisprudence, medicine, theology, and history will be fused into one fundamental wisdom.[40] Beate's plan for her sons' academic, professional, but as yet unspecified course of study stands in close reciprocal relation to the group-specific Württembergian expression of her millenarian aspirations. Her efforts for the kingdom of God go even beyond those made on behalf of her children. Occasionally she makes a summary request on behalf of all students that God make them into workers for his vineyards. In the devotional hours that she held with a few other women, she spoke, borrowing from her father's texts, about the approaching kingdom of God.[41] Together with her oldest daughter, she read from the revelations of her father[42] and discussed differing perspectives on the shape of the kingdom of God with theologians in her family and within her circle of friends:

> ... then Uncle accompanied me as far as Enzingen, where we talked about the millennium and debated and ultimately were so much in agreement that the millennium will, like our kingdom, be perceptible more in the spiritual than in the physical sense, which also pleased me ... .[43]

With the assurance that the kingdom of God was eventually coming, Beate placed herself entirely within the millenarian tradition of her father. While it was true that Oetinger also envisioned that the earthly authorities would be preserved after the onset of the kingdom, he nevertheless still held to the Bengelian view of a precisely dated beginning of the kingdom.

In Beate's millenarian aspirations, two perspectives come together. The fundamental assumption of the Württemberg Pietists that everyone had to fit into a higher framework of salvation was connected with a family-related perspective on salvation. The superindividual plan for salvation must also be expressed in the history of the family:

> ... my whole life long I have trusted in him because even in my earliest youth I earnestly called to him [72:] for wisdom and always, even in my single years, asked God. I do not demand any worldly happiness but this I ask of him: that he make me useful for his kingdom and as I in my household could do so little or nothing for the kingdom of God, it was my only request that he give me the blessing to live for others. He also had the blessing to live for others, so he should give me this joy as well.[44]

The goal of establishing the thousand-year kingdom of God on Earth connects Beate to the future of her family. The plea for God to accept her sons and make them "useful workers in his vineyard" occupies a great deal of space in the journal. As theologians and university graduates they would be involved in a special way in the realization of the millennium. On this point her gendered position is made very clear: She, as a woman, cannot serve the kingdom of God, just as her daughters cannot, who therefore receive hardly any mention in the diary. Work in the service of the kingdom of God is the professional work of men with university degrees. Her only contribution can be to do everything in her power to assure that her sons achieve such a position.

Beate Hahn's journal offers us insight into the way in which women participated in theological discourse. It shows that she put the learned millenarian vision into practice in her family and congregation. The desperation that continually resounds throughout her journal is perhaps an exception; her participation in theology and her responsibility for the education of her children can, however, be generalized to the group. Among the honorables of Württemberg, the commitment of mothers to the higher education of their sons was by no means unusual. Oetinger mentions in his autobiography that when it came to his studies, his mother was ambitious.[45] Philipp Matthäus Hahn writes that with the death of his mother when he was 13 his preparation for theological studies was imperilled, as his father had little inclination to make sacrifices for the education of his children.[46]

The importance of mothers and grandmothers in producing learned sons and grandsons was not limited to Württemberg but indeed applies to the educated middle class as a whole in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Spener's daughter Susanna Katharina (1665–1726) was described as an exceptionally learned woman who educated her son Karl Otto with care.[47] Susanna Wesley (1669–1742), the mother of the Methodist leader John Wesley, systematically oversaw and controlled her children's educational progress. Zinzendorf's grandmother, Henriette Catharina Gersdorf, had an important role in his religious education.[48]

The participation of daughters and wives in the theological discussions and plans of their educated fathers and husbands was likewise no exception.[49] Women in this group possessed a basic knowledge of Latin which they were taught in the parental home, together with their brothers, by their fathers, teachers, or curates. Their lessons ended when their brothers left home to begin their higher education.[50] In the autobiographies of learned Pietists, references are frequently made to the involvement of their wives and daughters in their work. Oetinger writes of the highly educated daughter of Johann Jakob Schütz, who drew his attention to Rosenroth's *Kabbala denudata*.[51] After their marriage, Bengel taught his wife, Johanna Regina Seeger, Greek. He wrote: "In my wife I had an excellent helpmeet."[52] Philipp Matthäus Hahn also taught Greek to his second wife, Beata Regina Flattich, who was herself a minister's daughter.

Such instruction of wives did not take place without a reason. It was the women who copied out the theological manuscripts of their husbands so that they could be sent to intimate colleagues for evaluation. Against this background, it becomes clear why Bengel describes his wife as a "helpmeet." Hahn's second wife Beate Regina wrote down from memory his devotional hours, which he then corrected for the printer.[53] These few references to the environment of the millenarians show firstly that women were involved in the work and thought processes of their fathers and husbands and secondly that millenarian plans were important for their work on the group, family, and couple level.

Summary

Bengel's millenarian ideas as well as those of Oetinger were circulated and handed down among the learned Pietist elite of Württemberg through a combination of reading and devotional hours. Their ideas also underwent shifts in the process. The precisely dated beginning was displaced in favor of a gradual, hidden beginning, and in the second half of the 18th century an intensified form of activist work for the kingdom of God arose, beginning with Philipp Matthäus Hahn.

The extension of the history of an intellectual idea to include the perspectives of gender and of the social base of a movement has proven worthwhile. It has been shown that intellectual models shaped the culture of the group as a whole and that women also played an active role here. They were familiar with the learned texts and worked on behalf of the kingdom of God in the congregation and in the education of children.

Hartmut Lehmann has argued that Württemberg millenarianism, understood as insight into special knowledge, led to the isolation of the group and to an insular group culture.[54] The example of Beate Hahn furthermore shows that the *heilsgeschichtliche* perspective was also realized in the genealogical future of the family as a learned and at the same time pious social elite. Religious aspirations thus ensured a continuity of class in Württemberg. The strong emphasis within millenarianism on linking the divine and worldly perspectives helped to achieve the permanent formation and renewal of the middle class into the nineteenth century.

The Pietist drive for education is well known. What seems new to me is the connection shown here between millenarianism and the role of the teacher. With an academic education one was a member of the elect because one bore particular responsibility for saving the ignorant from darkness. Here the focus was placed on the university educated man, who only through his professional work could be counted among God's chosen people.

The example of Philipp Matthäus Hahn shows that his conviction of being elect strengthened his gendered position as head of the household. His spiritualization of the earthly order and the claim devolving from it led to a subjective exaltation which – as his journal shows – led to permanent tensions in both his marriages. The gendered position of his daughter was also influenced by her view of herself as being elect, if albeit in an very different way. She went against the worldly order and thereby took on the position of a

disobedient wife. While it is true that special knowledge legitimated her resistance to her husband, she continually sought reassurance in her journal. A certain degree of tension existed between the divine millenarian order and the earthly order of class, family, marriage, and household. This opposition affected the lives of Pietist men and women in Württemberg in very different ways. In inner-churchly Pietism, this latent polarity between the divine and the earthly order could not be reconciled as it could in radical Pietism, where it often led to the creation of new gender and social utopias.

A final question arises of how to assess the activist social elements of Württemberg millenarianism. The activist form of millenarian expectations on the part of Hahn and his daughter confirms Lehmann's thesis that in the late eighteenth century the old Pietist elites also developed a millenarian activism.[55] Helping to form the imminent kingdom of God and thereby belonging to the chosen people revealed itself in a concept of time which was characterized by urgency, restlessness, and permanent tension.

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NOTES

1. Hartmut Lehmann, "Vorüberlegungen zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Pietismus im 17./18. Jahrhundert," *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, vol. 21, 1995, 69–83.
2. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973); Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 1975); Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988); Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, 1989); Roger Chartier, *Die unvollendete Vergangenheit. Geschichte und die Macht der Weltauslegung* (Frankfurt a. Main, 1992); Wolfgang Hardtwig and Hans-Ulrich Wehler, eds., *Kulturgeschichte Heute* (Göttingen, 1996).
3. Joachim Trautwein, *Religiosität und Sozialstruktur* (Stuttgart, 1972).
4. Martin Schmidt, *Pietismus* (Stuttgart, 1972); F. Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 1973); Mary Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics. Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in England, Württemberg and Prussia* (Cambridge, 1983); Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte, vol. 4) (Göttingen, 1990); Martin Brecht, Klaus Deppermann, Ulrich Gäbler, and Hartmut Lehmann, eds., *Geschichte des Pietismus* 2 vols. (Göttingen 1993, 1995).
5. Martin Brecht, "Philipp Jakob Spener und das Wahre Christentum," *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, vol. 4, 1977/78, 119–154 and "Philipp Jakob Spener, sein Programm und dessen Auswirkungen," *Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. 1, 281–389; Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus* (Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie Bd. 42), (2nd. ed., Tübingen, 1986) and *Theologie und Frömmigkeit des Barock* (Tübingen, 1995).
6. Philipp Jakob Spener, *Pia desideria oder Herzliches Verlangen nach gottgefälliger Besserung der wahren Evangelischen Kirche* (1675), ed. Erich Beyreuther and Dietrich Blaufuß in Philipp Jakob Spener, *Schriften*, vol. 1, (Hildesheim and New York, 1979).
7. See the arguments in Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener* and *Theologie und Frömmigkeit*; Kurt Aland, "Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus," *Jahrbuch Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. 4, 1977/78, 155–189 and "Spener-Schütz-Labadie?," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 78, 1981, 206–234. For the complete literature in this dispute see Wallmann, *Theologie und Frömmigkeit*, 390 note 2. The argument of Aland seems to me influenced by the denominational point of view of a theologian. According to him, Spener has to stand strictly in the tradition of Orthodoxy and the Confessio Augustana and any influence of non-orthodox intellectuals on him is denied.
8. For Spener's Chiliasmus see Walter Nigg, *Das Ewige Reich. Geschichte einer Sehnsucht und einer Erwartung* (Zürich, 1944); Johannes Wallmann, "Zwischen Reformation und Pietismus. Reich Gottes und Chiliasmus in der lutherischen Orthodixie," in *Verifikationen* (Festschrift Gerhard Ebeling), eds. Eberhard Jüngel, Johannes Wallmann, and Wilfried Werbeck (Tübingen, 1982), 187–205 and *Spener und die Anfänge*; Friedhelm Groth, *Die "Wiederbringung aller Dinge" im württembergischen Pietismus. Theologiegeschichtliche Studien zum eschatologischen Heilsuniversalismus württembergischer Pietisten des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus Bd. 21) (Göttingen, 1984), see 37f.
9. Martin Brecht, "Chiliasmus in Württemberg im 17. Jahrhundert," *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, vol. 14, 1988, 25–49; Wallmann, "Zwischen Reformation und Pietismus" and *Spener und die Anfänge*, 323. Wallmann also emphasizes British influences on the development of Spener's eschatology; on Spener's references to the work of Joseph Mede (1586–1638), see 326f.
10. Groth, *Wiederbringung*, 40.
11. Hartmut Lehmann, *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung in Württemberg vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1969) and "Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft im Denken des Württembergischen Pietismus," *Geschichte und Zukunft. Fünf Vorträge*, ed. Heinz Löwe (Berlin, 1978), 51–73; Groth, *Wiederbringung*; Brecht, "Chiliasmus in Württemberg"; Wallmann, *Pietismus*.
12. Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics*.
13. Ludwig Brunnquell (died in 1680) lost his ministry in 1675 and Johann Jakob Zimmermann (1644–1694) lost his in 1685, both because of their millenarian work, and Eberhard Zeller (died in 1692) lost his ministry in 1685 for conventicles; see Brecht, "Chiliasmus im 17. Jahrhundert"; Wallmann, *Pietismus*, 123–126.
14. Wallmann, *Pietismus*, 127.
15. Martin Brecht, "Philipp Jakob Spener und die Württembergische Kirche," in *Geist und Geschichte der Reformation* (Festschrift Hans Rückert), 443–459 (Berlin, 1966); Groth, *Wiederbringung*, 52.
16. Christoph Kolb, "Die Anfänge des Pietismus und Separatismus in Württemberg," *Württembergische Vierteljahresschrift für Landesgeschichte*, vol. 9, 1900, 3–99, 368–412; vol. 10, 1901, 201–251, 364–388; vol. 11, 1902, 43–78; Friedrich Fritz, "Die evangelische Kirche Württembergs im Zeitalter des Pietismus," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 55, 1955, 68–116; vol. 56, 1956, 99–167; Groth, *Wiederbringung*, 55f.
17. Lehmann, *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung*, 117ff and "Pietistic Millenarianism in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany," in *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century*, ed. Eckhart Hellmuth (Oxford, 1983), 267–279; Hans-Volkmar Findeisen, *Pietismus in Fellbach 1750–1820* (Tübingen, 1985).
18. For the newer literature on Bengel see Friedrich Fritz, "Altwürttembergische Pietisten," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* (Sonderheft Bd. 10) (Stuttgart, 1950); Gerhard Sauter, "Die Zahl als Schlüssel zur Welt," *Evangelische Theologie*, vol. 26, 1966, 1–36; Gottfried Mälzer, *Johann Albrecht Bengel. Leben und Werk* (Stuttgart, 1970); Lehmann, "Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft"; Brecht, "Chiliasmus in Württemberg"; Groth, *Wiederbringung*.
19. To his main work belongs a critical edition of the Greek text of the New Testament (1734), an exegesis of the New Testament, *Gnomon Novi Testamenti* (1742). His millennarian works are *Erklärte Offenbarung Johannis* (1740); *Ordo temporum* (1741); *Cyclus* (1745); *Welt-Alter* (1746).
20. The jurist, doctor, and Rosicrucian Tobias Heß (1558–1614), for example, had calculated the beginning of the Judgement (*Revelations* 18) to 1620; see Kolb, "Anfänge des Pietismus und Separatismus"; Fritz, "Altwürttembergische Pietisten," 52f; Brecht, "Chiliasmus in Württemberg," 25ff.
21. Sauter, "Die Zahl"; Lehmann, *Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*, 58; Groth, *Wiederbringung*, 67ff.
22. Lehmann, "Pietistic Millenarianism."

23. (Anon) *Die Hauptsache der Offenbarung Johannis oder vielmehr Jesu Christi*, Schaffhausen 1772. Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen Ge 919.
24. For Oetinger see Karl Christian Eberhard Ehmann, ed., *Friedrich Christoph Oetingers Leben und Briefe als urkundlicher Commentar zu dessen Schriften* (Stuttgart, 1859); Friedrich Christoph Oetinger, *Selbstbiographie. Genealogie der reelen Gedanken eines Gottesgelehrten* (Zeugnisse der Schwabenväter vol. 1), ed. Julius Roessle (Metzingen, 1961); Groth *Wiederbringung*; Martin Weyer-Menkhoff, *Christus, das Heil der Natur. Entstehung und Systematik der Theologie Friedrich Christiph Oetingers* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus Bd. 27) (Göttingen, 1990).
25. He took lessons with Jewish scholars and studied the Kabbala Denudata: see Oetinger, *Selbstbiographie*, 50.
26. *Die Güldene Zeit* (1759), ed. K.Ch.E. Ehmann in Friedrich Christoph Oetinger, *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 6 (Stuttgart, 1864).
27. Lehmann, *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung*, 109f.
28. For Hahn see Alfred Munz, *Philipp Matthäus Hahn, Pfarrer, Erfinder und Erbauer von Himmelsmaschinen, Waagen, Uhren und Rechenmaschinen* (Sigmaringen, 1977); Philipp Matthäus Hahn, *Die Kornwestheimer Tagebücher 1772–1777*, ed. Martin Brecht and Rudolf F. Paulus (Berlin/New York, 1979) and *Die Echterdinger Tagebücher 1780–1790*, ed. Martin Brecht and Rudolf F. Paulus (Berlin/New York, 1983); *Philipp Matthäus Hahn 1730–1790, Ausstellungskatalog*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1989). With his first wife's money, he set up a watchmaker's workshop in which apprentices, his brothers, and later his sons worked. Hahn improved the cylinder gear in pocket-watches, built astronomical clocks, and developed an adding machine and clinometric scale.
29. Hahn's works include the exegesis of parts of the letter to the Ephesians: *Fingerzeig zum Verstand des Königreichs Gottes und Christi* (1773), a translation of the New Testament, *Die Heiligen Schriften der guten Botschaft vom verheißenen Königreich* (1777); *Eines ungenannten Schriftforschers vermischte Schriften, 4 vols,* (1779–1780); and his published *Erbauungsreden Versuch einer neuen Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannis* (1785).
30. Martin Brecht, "Philipp Matthäus Hahn und der Pietismus im mittleren Neckarraum," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 77, 1977, 101–131.
31. Hahn, *Kornwestheimer Tagebücher* (KwTb), 45.
32. KwTb, 223.
33. In his diary he developed this concept for his *Erbauungsstunde*, see KwTb, 136f.
34. In the original version one page was taken out here, see KwTb, 352.
35. Württembergische Landesbibliothek (WLB) Cod. hist. 8° 109, 4; 8° 109, 5; 8° 109, 6; 8° 109, 7; 4° 370, 8; 8° 109, 9; 4° 109, 10; 4° 370, 11.
36. WLB Cod. hist. 8° 109,5 (book 2) Bl. 63.
37. Retrospective account after the death of her husband in WLB Cod. hist. 4° 370,11 (Book 8), 18ff. Later, friends in Stuttgart agreed to take in another son without charge. The youngest of her five sons was later able to live at limited expense with his brother in Tübingen.
38. Oetinger, *Güldene Zeit*, 7ff.
39. WLB Cod. hist. 8° 109,7 (book 4) :12.
40. Oetinger, *Güldene Zeit*, 47.
41. WLB Cod. hist. 4° 370,8 (book 5) :131.
42. WLB Cod. hist. 8° 109,5 (book 2) :131.
43. WLB Cod. hist. 8° 109,6 (book 3) :168.
44. WLB Cod. hist.8° 109,9 (book 6) :71f.
45. Oetinger, *Selbstbiographie*, 21ff.
46. Philipp Matthäus Hahn, *Die gute Botschaft vom Königreich Gottes* (Zeugnisse der Schwabenväter Bd. 8), ed. J. Roessle (Metzingen, 1963).
47. Paul Grünberg, ed., *Philipp Jakob Spener, Schriften*, vol. 3, (Hildesheim/New York), 71.
48. John A. Newton, *Susanna Wesley and the Puritan Tradition in Methodism*, (London, 1968); Katherine M. Faull, *Moravian Women's Memoirs. Their Related Lives 1750–1820* (Syracuse/New York, 1997), XIX.

49. For the inclusion of the ministers' wives in the duties of their husbands as part of the Protestant tradition see the overview in Luise Schorn-Schütte, "> Gefährtin und Mitregentin< Zur Sozialgeschichte der evangelischen Pfarrfrau in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Wandel der Geschlechterbeziehungen zu Beginn der Neuzeit*, ed. Heide Wunder and Christina Vanja (Frankfurt a. M., 1991), 109–153.
50. Patricia H. Labalme ed., *Beyond Their Sex. Learned Women of the European Past* (New York/London 1984); Christel Köhle-Hezinger, "Frauen im Pietismus" *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 94, 1994, 107–121; Claudia Opitz and Elke Kleinau, eds., *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung*, vol. 1, (Frankfurt a. M./New York, 1996).
51. Oetinger, *Selbstbiographie*, 50.
52. Cited in Mälzer, *Bengel*, 59 and 62.
53. Philipp Matthäus Hahn, *Versuch einer neuen Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannis* (1785). The handwritten copy by his wife is in the manuscript section of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart. A later edition, based on the copy made by Beata Regina, was published by his grandson: *Leitfaden zum Verständnis der Offenbarung*, Ludwigsburg 1851.
54. Lehmann, "Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft," and "Absonderung und Gemeinschaft im frühen Pietismus," *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, vol. 4, 1977/78, 54–82.
55. Lehmann, "Pietistic Millenarianism."