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11. *Memory, religion and family in the writings of Pietist women*

ULRIKE GLEIXNER

Pietist Protestantism was characterised by a pious culture of memory. Biographies, funeral sermons and autobiographical texts recall the exemplary piety of individuals, which, combined, form a pious genealogy. While at the beginning of the Pietist movement in the seventeenth century women and men of all estates were included in collective memory, in the second half of the nineteenth century, in particular, there developed within the educated Pietist middle class a culture of memory that privileged male piety. Women's contributions were practically excluded from Pietist historiography. Nevertheless, in texts forgotten and marginalised by the hegemonic culture of memory we find the voices of female Pietists who documented women's contribution to piety. The biographical *oeuvre* of one female Pietist who sought to rescue from oblivion the female role in Pietist *Heilsgeschichte* or sacred history (the history of God's plan for salvation) will be the focus of the present chapter.

Since the Middle Ages, women have recorded the achievements of their fellow women in individual and collective biographies, lists of names and biblical exempla.[1] In doing so, women also wrote religious and family history.[2] In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries women's biographical historiography expanded significantly.[3] These authors emphasised widely varying aspects, however, concentrating on such areas of female existence as learning, courageous deeds or piety, and adopted highly diverse criteria of judgement.[4] Only at the beginning of the modern period and with the advent of modern scholarly historical writing were women excluded from the historiographic tradition.[5]

What characterises the historiography by women or men in religious groups, whether Catholic and monastic or Protestant and familial, is their attempt to inscribe themselves in the sacred history of their church. Since memory is not the simple preservation of the past, but rather is reconstructed from the perspective of the present and filtered through the perceptions of the remembering individual or group, it is always also tied to the production of identity.[6] The biographies of dead Pietist women served as offering models for the living and helping to convey a gender-specific group identity. The passion for writing

and collecting biographical texts is a striking characteristic of the Pietist elite of Württemberg. If one reads these portraits as cultural techniques that create identity, one gains interesting insights into the background, aims and effects of biographical writing.

Since the late seventeenth century segments of the educated middle classes in Württemberg, particularly the clergy, became attracted to the Protestant reform movement of Pietism. The Pietist middle classes included the families of high government officials, pastors, physicians, apothecaries and teachers as well as some merchants. Their Pietist religiosity and their social status constituted the framework of the endogamous marriage behaviour through which this educated elite closed itself off to outsiders and indeed, by marrying frequently within the kin group, further cemented its internal ties. This pious middle class belonged to the so-called burgher 'estates' (*bürgerliche Ehrbarkeit*), and was composed of the higher officeholders of the Württemberg administrative cities, that is, judges, council members, mayors and clergymen of the towns and country, as well as officeholders and civil servants in the central secular and ecclesiastical institutions. The burgher estates of the administrative cities and the clergy had their political representation in the provincial estates (*Landschaft*). The strong political position of the burgher estates in comparison with that of other German territorial states can be explained by the absence of a Protestant territorial nobility in absolutist Württemberg.[7] Pious religiosity in Württemberg remained a movement within the Church, and was able to shape the Lutheran state church from within.[8] It is thus plausible that the burgher notables were able to reconcile their Pietist religiosity with State and Church service, if not always without conflicts. Middle-class Pietists in Württemberg, both male and female, cultivated a culture of biographical writing that inserted the individual into a pious family history. Biographies created sites of memory that lent a sacred quality to the commemoration of deceased family members.[9] The high point of this biographical practice came in the nineteenth century. The intention of these biographies was to create a tradition of piety reaching back to the seventeenth century, thus establishing a continuity of sacred history and ignoring changes within the group.[10] Thus the biographies established a group identity of particular piety, which appeared to be trans-historical and long-lasting.[11]

In what follows I would like to examine an unusually extensive and complete set of Pietist biographies. Beginning in the 1860s, Charlotte Zeller (1815–1899), widow of the pastor Friedrich Geß, created a voluminous biographical work on her female forebears on the maternal side extending from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.[12] With her written commemoration of her ancestresses, the biographer set up a connection between the dead and the living that could be reinforced, from one generation to the next, by the act of reading.[13] Charlotte Zeller's work is based on a culture of memory that sought

to combine retrospective aspects of piety, which were directed towards the past, with a prospective future-oriented view.[14] The holy lives of her female ancestors formed an admonition to later generations of readers to live up to their example. They also documented the integration of the family as a generational unit into sacred history.

INTRODUCTION TO THE WORK

Charlotte Zeller's genealogy of female piety consists of both brief and extensive biographical pieces which combine to fill 1,684 closely written manuscript pages. The shorter sketches contain reports on the women's final hours, excerpts from diaries, short biographies and a collection of copies of letters.[15] The more extensive works include a collective biography devoted to the widowhood of nine of her female forebears, and seven detailed accounts of the lives of her ancestresses on the maternal side, beginning with her great-great-grandmother. As sources for her biographical work the author used diaries, household account books, letters, prayer collections that had belonged to the dead women, funeral sermons and speeches held on the occasions of weddings, christenings and funerals that had been passed down in the family, as well as oral accounts. Out of these collected memory texts she composed a total of eight coherent life-stories, some of them containing original letters, funeral sermons and even locks of hair and scraps of cloth. Pointing beyond pure textuality, memory becomes matter here through an individual corporeal materiality that recalls the woman described. The life-story is created in compilation style from these disparate textual genres, with long passages from letters and diaries integrated as quotations. This constant citation serves several functions in the architecture of pious memory. First, the older textual models are recalled and the readers learn that the women kept diaries and frequently wrote and received letters. Second, the quotations allow her to claim greater authenticity for her biographical accounts. The intertextual compositional principle with selection and commentary permits the author to use the documents purposefully for her pious creation of meaning. Third, by citing the women's own words, Zeller affords them a prominent place in their own right alongside their important male relatives. The incorporation of the individual life-story into Pietist family memory follows a religious and familial logic. Subjective elements that deviate from this logic go unmentioned, along with contradictions and anything too worldly. Life is set within a coherent structure of meaning in which piety, described as the successful passing of divine tests, serves as a red thread.

Charlotte Zeller could tap a tradition of biographical writing in her own family. Her uncle Anton Williardts had written a commemorative text on his 'second mother', Friederike Schütz, based on her diary entries as well as an excerpt from the spiritual diary of his grandmother Maria Dorothea Caspart,

née Rieger.[16] To be sure, the Protestant middle classes had long cultivated a written commemoration of the dead in the form of funeral sermons and odes, deathbed accounts and brief life histories that were passed on from generation to generation, but it was only in the nineteenth century that these memory texts became the basis for extensive biographies composed of a mixture of documented citations from inherited texts, oral tradition and personal experience.[17] The Pietist biographical genre was revived in the nineteenth century by the pious laity. Charlotte Zeller's work was part of this biographical renaissance, which could look back on two centuries of development of Pietist biography as an independent genre.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL GENRE IN PIETISM

The commemoration of the dead played an important role in the early modern culture of Protestantism. Printed funeral sermons with their biographical sketches are evidence of this. Life-stories, funeral odes and the documentation of the final hours of a dying person's life are texts that seek to recall not what was individual but rather what was exemplary about a life, which in turn was to serve the religious edification of readers.[18] Because it did not create any special institutions of its own, the Pietist movement had recourse to a culture of memory centred on the biographical account.[19] In Pietism more generally the individual and his or her contribution to the kingdom of God were at the centre of interest. The genre of biography made it possible to document the central concern of Pietist religiosity, the sanctification of life, using instances of exemplary lifestyles. Pietist biography was quite similar in this respect to the saint's *Vita*, which also emphasised the exemplary quality of its subject's life.[20]

Since the beginning of the seventeenth century a holy way of life had become a central focus of reform efforts within Lutheran orthodoxy, whose devotional literature called for a new practical piety. The Lutheran theologians of the seventeenth century demanded the realisation of *pietas* in everyday life, and a devotional literature of examples developed out of this.[21]

The *Historie Der Widergebohrnen* (History of the Reborn), a collection of biographies by Johann Henrich Reitz (1655–1720) published in seven volumes between 1698 and 1745, helped to found the genre within Pietism.[22] The 161 biographical sketches present pious men and women of various denominations from different parts of Europe. About one half of them were German or Dutch Pietists, while the other examples treat martyrs and mystics of the old church, representatives of reform orthodoxy, English Puritans and Dissenters as well as French Huguenots. The consciousness of a spiritual kinship among all of these pious movements was widespread in early Pietism. Reitz compiled the short biographies from diverse sources – tracts, reports of the subject's final hours, letters, autobiographical material and oral accounts.[23] He devoted his

portraits not just to exemplary lives, but also – in the older tradition of the *ars moriendi* – to exemplary deaths. His dramatic tableaux made the accounts lively and authentic. By completely laying bare the outer worldly and inner spiritual processes affecting the subject, readers were supposed to gain precise insight into their struggles, temptations and divine grace and guidance. Even before Reitz, Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714) had published his *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historien* (Impartial Histories of the Church and Heretics)[24] and further collections of biographies of 'godly' persons and saints throughout the history of the church. From a non-denominational perspective, the Gießen theology professor and church historian Arnold, who had close ties to radical Pietism, sought to juxtapose the 'degenerate' official church with the idealised circumstances of the early church and to demonstrate that the personal piety of individuals and congregations had been the true motors of church history. Reitz and Arnold stood at the beginning of a many-pronged genre tradition, and all Pietist biographers would follow their lead. Their constructive principle was a collage of various types of text that promised authenticity.[25] The best-known and largest collection of Pietist deathbed accounts, Erdmann Heinrich Graf Henckel's *Letzte Stunden* (Final Hours), which was published in Halle in four volumes between 1720 and 1733, adopts this biographical structure.[26] Henckel did not, however, report only on death. The life of his subjects as an individual path to salvation also became the object of the biographical account.[27] Johann Jakob Moser (1701–1785) published the Pietist journal *Altes und Neues aus dem Reich Gottes* (Old and New Accounts from the Kingdom of God) in Württemberg. The periodical ran for 24 volumes between 1733 and 1739. The journalistic concept of this magazine focused on the printing of edifying examples. Moser's journal contained tales of conversion, biographical sketches of people who had been born again, stories of God's mercy and judgement taken from the last hours of the dying, dreams and their interpretation, ghostly apparitions and reviews of new religious books.[28] Moser based some of his biographical sketches on Württemberg sources, but mainly on the collections of Reitz, Arnold and Henckel.

A large number of individual Pietist biographies were published in nineteenth-century Württemberg, but the tradition of biographical collections also continued. In 1828, the Württemberg pastor Christian Gottlob Barth published a collection of edifying autobiographical documents under the title *Süddeutsche Orginalien* (South German Originals), composed of letters, sayings and diary excerpts by well-known male Pietists of the eighteenth century.[29] The proportion of biographies of women in Pietist devotional literature fell. In the nineteenth century, collections of biographies were separated by sex and the few compilations relating to women were regarded as supplements to the collections of outstanding Pietists written in order to offer figures with which women and girls could identify. In 1838 and 1839 Johann Christian Burk

published his two-volume *Pastoraltheologie in Beispielen* (Pastoral Theology in Examples) using the life-stories of men. Because of the demand for female role models, he compiled a *Spiegel edler Pfarrfrauen* (Mirror of Noble Pastors' Wives)[30] in 1842 as a supplementary counterpart; a collection of the life-stories of sixty-eight biblical, Lutheran, Puritan and Pietist women figures compiled from published anthologies and unpublished manuscripts. This book was the first collective biography of women printed in Württemberg. It was followed in 1851 by the two volumes of Heinrich Merz's *Christliche Frauenbilder* (Portraits of Christian Women).[31] Merz presented fifty-six women in chronological order from early Christianity to the nineteenth century and added a few English and French examples as well. In the introduction he refers to his work as a 'female history of the church' dedicated to the women who performed their works in humility, self-denial and mercy.[32] Nevertheless, developments in the biographical genre in Württemberg led in the second half of the nineteenth century to a presentation of male Pietists only. Wilhelm Claus's *Württembergische Väter* (Württemberg Fathers) published in two volumes in 1887 and 1888 and later expanded to four, contained only biographies of well-known Württemberg Pietists, mainly pastors and theologians.[33] No comparable collection of biographies was written about Württemberg women. The interest of the older biographical tradition in providing role models from all social strata and both sexes had ceased to exist. Beginning in the nineteenth century, Pietist biographies increasingly served a bourgeois family and class consciousness, and were generally written by family members about their own ancestors. A male tradition of Pietist religiosity was created using the example of worthy theologians and charismatic Pietist leaders. Charlotte Zeller's biographical work was composed against this process of writing women out of the history of Pietism. With her historiography she fought for a representation of the female role in the memory of Pietists as a group.

CHARLOTTE ZELLER'S BIOGRAPHIES

In what follows, Charlotte Zeller's biographical work will be placed in the context of history and memory, the Pietist middle classes and female religiosity. The collective biography of her nine widowed female forebears who had lived between 1613 and 1835 is an apotheosis of the lives and sufferings of the protagonists. The honouring of these women during their widowhood must be understood against the backdrop of the social decline experienced by the widows of officeholders and civil servants. As a result of the wholly insufficient provision made for widows, these women and their children found themselves without a livelihood after the deaths of their husbands and fathers. That the author was herself a pastor's widow at the time of writing helps explain her empathy with her ancestresses and the emotional solidarity that came from her

similar life experience. Her collective biography begins with a plea on behalf of the difficult estate of widowhood:

> A large number of widows have existed at all times and in all places. Thousands are living today and many more, indeed countless women, will join their ranks. Those who know the widow's estate from their own experience know that it is a hard and sad estate, and will feel deep compassion for anyone entering it. If, however, a widow is a *real* widow, who is left all alone but has set her hope on God, then she will not just have ample compassion for her old and new fellow sufferers, but will also feel compelled, whilst weeping with them, to invite them, too, to come and see, and taste how kindly is the God of widows.[34]

Full of intertextual references,[35] this opening passage is at once a description of the widow's estate and a pious programme. The sad and lonely state of widowhood should be lived in a proper trust in God, and widows should sympathise with and support each other in faith. The nine widows described in the text shared not just piety and kinship, but also, over a period of 180 years, a home in the same house on the market square in Esslingen. Just as these pious, lonely and in some cases penniless women were fed at the table of their kinfolk in the house in Esslingen, so they would have a place at the table of their heavenly father. Dedicated to the family memory and the 'Bonz cousins', Charlotte Zeller describes in detail how the protagonists behaved and, as a result of their exemplary lives, were rewarded with divine grace. The women described accepted their widowhood with humility and commended themselves to divine guidance, according to the Twenty-third Psalm, which the author quotes: 'The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want.' They sought their comfort alone in prayer, singing and Bible reading. Each demonstrated her piety by her exemplary acceptance of her individual situation. The circumstances of life varied – according to the length of marriage, number of births, survival of children and financial situation as a widow – as did the trials of faith. Some learned in girlhood and others only later to accept their fates meekly. The described piety, favourite prayers, frequency of religious reading and inner stance served the readers as evidence and orientation. In their humble attitude the widows offered comfort, role models and help for their grandchildren, children and friends. They sought their own comfort only in God, however.

The life of Margarethe Mauchardt, née Morsch (1613–1676), widow of Mayor David Mauchardt in Esslingen, was marked by the horrors of the Thirty Years' War.[36] Her daughter Catharina Palm, née Mauchardt (1638–1703), widow of Imperial Councillor Johann Heinrich Palm in Esslingen, bore many burdens and underwent many trials during twenty-eight years of marriage. Of sixteen births only eight children survived and one of her daughters died as a newly married woman. Although three of her children were not yet settled when her husband died she bore her widowhood with trust in God's help.

Patiently and bravely she endured times of great hardship brought about by the occupation of the city by 'the rapacious French' and the billeting of troops from the late 1680s on.[37] Her daughter Elisabeth Margarethe Magirus, née Palm (d. 1707), widow of the bailiff Magirus in Marburg, enjoyed twenty-two years of marriage. Her widowhood was particularly trying, since after the death of her only daughter in adolescence she lost her two sons as well and finally returned alone, albeit wealthy, to the parental house she had inherited.[38] Her sister Maria Magdalena Williardts, née Palm (1674–1758), widow of the town captain J. Williardts in Esslingen, was compelled from youth to practise the 'imitation of Christ'. Of her first five infants only one son lived into childhood, but then succumbed to a fatal accident at the age of six. Only her youngest child survived to adulthood. When her husband died the family was left with large debts and her son was still in training in distant Nuremberg.[39] Her grand-daughter Marie Magdalena Groß, née Bengel (1738–1768), widow of the chaplain of the Stuttgart orphanage, Groß, was widowed after only three years of marriage. She returned to her parents' house but died soon afterwards, after only one year of widowhood, at the age of thirty.[40] Her mother Johanne Rosine Williardts, née Bengel (1720–1788), widow of Imperial Councillor Williardts in Esslingen, had married at seventeen. During her forty-two-year marriage she enjoyed the 'rich grace of God' but she too endured several trials. She lost three new-born babies one after the other (in 1740, 1741 and 1745), as well as her eighth child, and her health was always precarious during her childbearing years. She entered her ten-year widowhood at a time when she 'had long since learned to bend willingly to the sacred will of her Lord . . . like a blind woman, in the obedience of blind faith'.[41] Marie Dorothea Caspert, née Rieger (1728–1800), widow of the lawyer Caspert in Esslingen, came of a very pious family and as a young girl had enjoyed an extensive religious education under the supervision of her uncle Prelate Weissensee. When she began her forty-year widowhood at the age of thirty-four she still had three children aged nine months, eleven and fourteen years to support. Poverty forced her to move to the home of her widowed mother in Stuttgart. After the marriage of her eldest daughter she found a home with the newlyweds, but only for a short time since her daughter died in childbed. She gave herself up completely to the will of God, asking him to extinguish her own will and to make her ever more silent in her suffering.[42] Ernestine Friederike Schütz, née Straßheim (1734–1813), widow of Pastor Schütz in Oppenweiler, also came from a pious family. After fifteen years of marriage she lived with her two daughters in extremely modest circumstances. Apart from her work she spent her time listening to sermons, praying and reading devotional texts.[43] The life of her daughter, Jakobine Friederike Williardts, née Schütz (1756–1835), widow of the town physician Williardts in Esslingen, was similarly marked by painful deaths. She was widowed twice and also saw her children die.[44] The quotation that the biographer Charlotte Zeller inserts from the spiritual diary of the widowed Friederike Williardts represents a quintessence of the exemplary behaviour of all nine widows: 'Soon after the beginning of her widowhood she said to herself: "Since my dear God wishes to lead me along such a lowly-slowly little path, I shall follow with all my heart." She also resolved to bear her cross as quietly as possible – and to lament her suffering to none but the Lord.'[45]

The historical perspective on her family and ancestors chosen by Charlotte Zeller, with widows at the centre, is an unusual one. By adopting a social historical perspective, Zeller succeeds in her portrayal in gleaning from the apparent lack of events in women's existence specific life circumstances that differed according to age, wealth and status. Her detailed description of the difficulties, achievements and exemplary piety of her protagonists depicts them as humble, courageous and self-sacrificing heroines of widowhood. The holiness attained by each of the individual widows becomes part of a piety of the family group across generations and centuries. This genealogy of female piety also has autobiographical characteristics, for the author is the final link in this chain of widows.

Charlotte Zeller wrote not just a family history of pious widowhood, but also seven very extensive life histories, some of them devoted to the women mentioned above. The individual biographies treat only female forebears of the maternal line. The biographer begins chronologically with her great-great-grandmother Maria Magdalena Williardts, née Palm (1674–1758), and then describes in an ascending line the life of selected ancestresses ending with her mother: the life of her great-great-grandmother Johanne Rosine Williardts, née Bengel (1720–1788); that of the latter's younger sister, her great-great aunt Maria Barbara Burk, née Bengel (1727–1782); the life of Johanne Rosine Williardts's daughter, her great-aunt Marie Magdalena Geß, née Williardts (1738–68); the life of her great-grandmother Ernestine Schütz, née Straßheim (1734–1813); that of the latter's daughter, her grandmother Friederike Williardts, née Schütz (1756–1835), and finally that of the latter's daughter, the biographer's own mother, Charlotte Geß, née Williardts (1795–1850).

The phases of life – birth, childhood, youth, marriage, motherhood, life as a mother and grandmother, widowhood, old age and death – determine the chronological structure of the biographical narrative. Within this framework biographical details about the subjects' parents, siblings, husbands and offspring are developed, so that a whole context of family and kinship unfolds. Individual stages in life are viewed as divine trials and described in scenes that reveal the true piety of the protagonist, who willingly gives herself up to divine guidance. From youth to old age, exemplary piety is the central theme of the text. At the very beginning of the life-story of Johanne Rosine Williardts, née Bengel (1720–1788), we learn that the care of her surviving younger siblings – four had died as babies only a few weeks or months old – gave the eleven-year-old

Rosine much opportunity 'to lend her mother a helping hand'.[46] Her sister Maria Barbara Burk, née Bengel (1727–1782) is introduced as an 'honest and serious girl'.[47] At the beginning of the biography of her grandmother, Friederike Williardts, née Schütz (1756–1835), the author emphasises that, as the daughter of a pastor's widow, she had learned early to live in poverty and modesty. When Friederike was sent to faraway Nürtingen to nurse her ailing grandmother it was a great trial for the young girl:

> At the express wish of her grandmother her mother decided, if not gladly, to send her daughter to her; the separation was especially hard for Friederike; she put her on a horse ordered for the purpose and a man delivered her in this way safely to her waiting grandmother. The latter was an upright if very strict woman, who had become somewhat peevish in her old age, so that Friederike's position was not an easy one; what she had learned up until then stood her in good stead now. Small as the establishment was that she had to manage, much rested on her; her grandmother demanded to be instructed precisely on the most insignificant matters, and when Friederike could not answer to her complete satisfaction, her dear grandmother was much aggrieved. Her unassuming nature and the simplicity of her needs also helped her to accept her fate; while she generally prepared good and suitable meals for her grandmother (which gave her pleasure) she shared rougher fare with the maid – she was frequently embarrassed when the maid asked her to bring her more and better drinks from the cellar than her grandmother had instructed. Conscientious and loyal as she was, she was often placed in a difficult position, where according to her own accounts she was frequently driven to prayer; sometimes she walked around the loft praying, looking for freshly laid eggs, and in the dark kitchen prayer was also required to help her out of many a trouble.[48]

Friederike passed these trials because of the qualifications in domestic management that she had gained at home, her tested humility and conscientiousness as well as her requests for God's help through prayer. That her great-grandmother Ernestine Schütz, née Straßheim (1734–1813) had been particularly chosen was already evident in childhood: 'The Redeemer had elected and sealed the soul of this child, and for that reason she was also safe when many worldly influences were exerted upon her.'[49] As evidence of the particular protection of God the author recounted the following occurence: the child Ernestine, daughter of the bailiff Straßheim in Oppenweiler, was taken under the wing of the Catholic landowner Frau von Sturmfeder from the neighbouring district. When as a reward for her 'industry and good behaviour' she was to be permitted to accompany the noblewoman to a celebration at the ducal palace in Stuttgart, the child's response was not, as the lady had expected, happy surprise, but rather confusion and displeasure. Her special relationship with God allowed the still ignorant child to suspect the sinful nature of the courtly festivities. This scene presents

two attitudes characteristic of the eighteenth-century Pietist middle classes: the rejection of the courtly culture of dancing and festivity and the contrast between bourgeois-Protestant and aristocratic-Catholic self-understandings that arose in a situation where the duke of Württemberg and his court aristocracy were Catholic. Divine guidance of the young Ernestine was also evident in the careful spiritual education she enjoyed under her famous Pietist uncle, Johann Christian Storr, vicar and court chaplain to the Pietist dowager duchess in Kirchheim. His words on the imitation of Christ spurred her childish soul on to do just that. When, just at the time when her confirmation lessons were to begin, the Pietist pastor Canz took over the congregation in Oppenweiler and she was thus able to receive 'blessed' instruction, God's dispensation for the good of Ernestine's inner life was again revealed.[50] It is, then, not at all surprising to hear that God had destined a Pietist minister, the 'servant of Jesus' Johann Christoph Schütz, to be her husband.[51] The biographer wrote the life-story of her great-grandmother Ernestine Schütz for her daughter on the occasion of her confirmation. The example of this great-grandmother chosen by God corresponds to that of a saint's life. For the candidate for confirmation, her kinship tie reinforced the aspiration to emulate this example and to view herself, who had just renewed her baptismal bond with God, as a participant in the familial sacred history. Text and para-text create a genealogically defined female familial holiness composed of the individual holiness of each member.

A point developed in detail in all of the life-histories is marriage, whose coming about was also developed in vivid fashion. The suitor's approach as well as the intensive prayers of parents and girls asking for a divine sign belong to the more dramatic passages. The Pietist religiosity of bride and groom was assumed as a self-evident prerequisite for marriage. In the biography of her great-great-grandmother Rosine Bengel, her future husband Christian Gottlieb Williardts is introduced as the son of a 'godly widow' and a pious father who himself stood 'firmly in his faith'.[52] When in 1766 Marie Friederike, daughter of the late apothecary Gmelin, married Ernst, the youngest of the Bengel sons, when he took up his first congregation, the following terms were used to assure readers of the bride's Pietist religiosity: 'She was a devout maiden raised in the true fear of God, who was accepted into the family with heartfelt joy and love.'[53] The family's place in sacred history needed to be secured by cautious marriage politics. That marriage alliances were thus always complicated decisions is demonstrated by the extensive descriptions. Only through intensive prayer was it possible to discover whether God meant the future life partners for each other. In the life-stories of Ernestine Schütz and her daughter Friederike, the impoverished widow of the physician Dr Bonz and mother of five children, who entered a second marriage with the widowed town physician and obstetrician Johann Christian Williardts, the author describes in precise detail how the suitor Williardts attained certainty through prayer, 'following God's inner

guidance', that it was His will that he marry Friederike against the wishes of his relations and despite her poverty and five children.[54] The offer of marriage put Friederike in a position of 'struggle and pressure' and only 'persistent prayer' could help her decide.[55]

That Pietist religiosity did not necessarily presuppose wealth but did demand the proper social status is revealed by the marriage drama of one of the Burk daughters. When her mother Maria Barbara Burk, the poor widow of Philipp David Burk, a deacon highly regarded among the Pietists, received a marriage proposal from a clerk for her daughter Regina Catharina, she was tormented by her prejudices against his occupation, all the more so because her late husband had shared them. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the occupation of legal clerk, which involved an apprenticeship rather than university study, was apparently no longer considered by the pious educated middle classes as belonging to their own stratum. The reasons given here related neither to property nor to education, but were religious instead: the occupation of clerk was 'too worldly and corrupt'. The psychological pressure described by the biographer, which the uncertain mother exerted on her daughter, who was inclined to accept the offer, was massive. She asked her daughter to consider that if she married the man she would have to accept anything that came with 'submission and obedience'.[56] That Pietist religiosity and social status were more important in familial marriage politics than any other consideration is evident in the family communication surrounding the marriage of the oldest Williardts daughter Maria Magdalena. The family friend Groß, chaplain of the Stuttgart orphanage, had asked for her hand. Although a well-known Pietist and 'true disciple of Christ', he was of a weak and sickly constitution. After intensive prayer and in the hope that God 'would reveal at the proper time the traces of his gracious providence',[57] the Williardts parents discussed the precarious state of health of the candidate in their correspondence with various relations. Albrecht Reichard Reuß (1712–1780), a brother-in-law asked for his prognosis as a medical doctor, answered: 'It is a blessing when in marriage matters the sole aim and interest is in union with Jesus. It appears that the Reverend is weakly – where what matters is whether this may become better as the years pass. This however takes us to futurity, things unknown to devout resignation, into the hands of God.'[58] With these words the ducal physician Reuß proved himself a devout Pietist. The parents should base their decision not on a medical prognosis but solely on divine guidance and the piety of the candidate.

Marriages, births and, naturally, reports on the careers of fathers, husbands, sons and grandsons as pastors, physicians, civil servants and councillors belong to the chronologies of each life-story. The author particularly emphasises well-known Pietist theologians such as Johann Albrecht Bengel and Philipp David Burk, but also the wine merchant, imperial councillor and much-respected Pietist Christian Gottlieb Williardts. Kinship and edifying correspondence with,

and visits from, distinguished Pietist personalities as well as higher civil servants deserved special mention. The biographies of Pietist women make it clear that Pietist men also took the spiritual lead in their own family circles. In the life history of Rosine Williardts, née Bengel, her father Johann Albrecht Bengel, the most famous theologian of Württemberg Pietism, fills this position. His letters to his daughters, sons, sons-in-law and mother-in-law assume an important place in the biographies.

The texts devote the most space to descriptions of illnesses, childbirth and death. Ailments are viewed as 'gracious visitations' by God and 'tests of faith' in which the proper humble stance had to be learned. In the correspondence of the newly married couple Maria Magdalena and Jakob Friedrich Groß in November 1764, the partners, both plagued by permanent illness, comfort each other with words concerning submission to God: 'We shall simply accept from the hand of the Lord what he sends to us.'[59] Maria Magdalena and Jakob Friedrich Groß's parents/parents-in-law, Johanne Regine and Johann Albrecht Bengel, refer to their illnesses as a trial for the young couple. After three weeks' convalescence at the Bengel home in January/February 1765, which could not, however, stabilise their son-in-law's health in the long term, the Bengels offered him the following advice in a letter: 'We wish our dear son a cheerful state of mind or passive patience with that which cannot be changed.'[60] In the summer of 1766 Jakob Friedrich Groß's renewed serious illness moved his father-in-law to regard his fate as an imitation of Christ, and he referred to John 17, Jesus's prayer to God in the face of his impending arrest and death. In a letter to the couple written in the winter of 1766/1767, Bengel glorifies his son-in-law's suffering by lending it spiritual meaning: 'the Lord disciplines those whom He loves'.[61] Groß died that January and his young wife followed one-and-three-quarters years later, 'calmly and quietly', it was reported, since she had suffered a deep yearning for her departed husband. During their illnesses, the couple, the fatherly patriarch Bengel and his wife communicated about the religious meaning of suffering. Comfort came not from a hope of overcoming the illness but rather from the prospect of accepting God's trials cheerfully and patiently as a sign of election.

These middle-class mothers expended so much energy caring for their very numerous children during their often long and serious illnesses, as well as for the elderly relations who shared their homes, that their own health is described as permanently compromised. In 1768, only a few months after her fourteenth birth, the still weakened Maria Barbara Burk wrote to her sister that she felt that she had 'served her purpose'.[62] The biographer considered it important to emphasise that the women's 'health suffered much from their rich maternal vocation' [i.e. from having so many children].

When the sickbed became a deathbed, it was time to place oneself wholly in the hands of God and to relinquish any will of one's own in regard to the outcome

of the illness. Suffering must be understood as grace for the dying person, and the survivors must humbly accept death as a divine decision. When Maria Magdalena Williardts's last living child, a six-year-old boy, died as a result of falling down the cellar stairs, the biographer describes his mother's 'violent, burning' pain and her 'hot and terrible trial'. She had picked up her dead son, carried him upstairs and laid him on her bed, speaking the words 'The Lord has given, the Lord has taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.'[63] She behaved like a saint who subordinated her pain to the praise of God. Also exemplary from a Pietist standpoint was the reaction of Maria Barbara Burk to the death of her fourteen-day-old infant, which is recorded in her diary: 'So take unto you what you require – my firstborn is yours.'[64] Her sister Rosine Williardts's experience in coping with the deaths of her children, in contrast, is portrayed as a drawn-out and painful ordeal. Upon the death of her second baby, her father Johann Albrecht Bengel wrote to comfort her: 'Endeavour diligently, my dear daughter, to maintain tranquillity of mind! Seek your satisfaction in God.'[65] During her third pregnancy, which followed soon thereafter, an accident endangered her own survival as well. Philipp David Burk saw her state as a school of suffering, in which God had placed her so that she might prove herself. As in the previous death of their child he criticised her for her insufficient focus on God.[66] Her sister Sophie Elisabeth Reuß advised her to bear everything in silence, for this suffering was in her best interest. Her husband Christian Gottlieb Williardts wrote to his parents-in-law shortly before the birth:

> Dear Johanne Rosine is out of danger now. The Lord will also help her to survive what awaits her. She knows her shortcomings, and also knows who compensates for these failings; of course she must apply those means that the Redeemer has revealed to us, namely prayer and faith.[67]

Rosine survived the birth, but her baby did not. When her fourth infant died in 1746 after a six-month 'maternal struggle', father Bengel assumed that Rosine would now have learned to extinguish her will and give herself up to God's guidance, but she could not submit to this 'school of suffering' and overcome despair. Bengel's comfort that their heavenly father would turn what he had inflicted as a chastisement into an act of benevolence, and that the Lord would send her easier days again expresses the transformation of personal suffering prescribed in Pietism.[68] Burk's letter of comfort appears almost inhumanly harsh. He writes that his comfort probably comes too late, and that her heart was doubtless already joyful 'that the Lord had "so quickly brought the gift of his hand to safety and delivered it from all troubles" '.[69] Rosine's attitude towards her fifth child, born on 27 November, is then portrayed as resigned to God, which her biographer interprets as the reason for the child's survival.[70] During her six-year ordeal, in which three infants died one after the other, Rosine finally succeeded in overcoming her resistance, accepting God's 'inner chastisement' and learning the requisite humility. With the support of her parents, pious friends

and relations she was ultimately able to adopt the posture expected of her, to transcend her painful feelings and accept the deaths of her new-born babies and praise God.

If we think of Johann Franck's 1650 poem 'Jesu, meine Freude' (Jesus my Joy) which Johann Sebastian Bach used as the basis for his famous motet of the same title on the occasion of a memorial sermon for Johanna Kees, née Rappold, with lines such as 'To those who love God, even their affliction must be great joy' or 'Misery, troubles, calamity, disgrace and death shall not separate me from Jesus, though I must suffer greatly',[71] Pietist resignation to God's will and the imitation of Christ appear quite similar to the Protestant orthodox line. What became specific to Pietist culture, however, was the relentlessness with which this attitude was demanded of believers. Feelings such as pain and grief must never gain the upper hand, for death was the consequence of divine direction. From a present-day perspective, this compulsion to transform personal suffering into the praise of God represents an unimaginable harshness towards oneself and others that is also expressed in the tale of Rosine Williardts's refusal to transcend her pain at the death of her babies. If, however, adopting the perspective of historical anthropology, we assume the historicity of feelings, we must admit that Pietist religiosity also generated the emotions of devout men and women. From this spiritualisation of suffering and fear they could derive not just a compulsion to repress but also a function of emotional relief. The ambition to overcome pain and the channelling of emotional energy into spiritual religious joy could make it possible to live on without despair. In the face of frequent illnesses and deaths the religious creation of meaning appears to have relieved the burdens on individuals and have given them a perspective for the future. If this Pietist transformation process proved unsuccessful, however, group expectations could produce individual failure.

Dying, too, is described in detail in the life histories. The spiritual Pietist accompaniment of the dying was made possible within the family and among co-religionists by visits, constant presence at the sickbed and correspondence. One's piety and status of election had to be evident in one's dying too, and deathbed accounts provided the proof. The young widow Marie Magdalena Groß accompanied the also young widow of her uncle Bengel in her dying hours, which she described in a letter to her parents. She had told the dying woman that now was the moment 'to step out of time into eternity', then she had sung her a funeral hymn and the dying woman had been comforted and looked at her kindly.[72] It was part of the Pietist preparation for death to speak directly and openly with the dying person about his or her impending demise and to comfort them with spiritual literature and songs. The biography of Marie Magdalena Groß, who died, already widowed, at the age of thirty-one, provides a detailed description of the last two days of her life based on an account by her father.[73]

Our lifetime is a preparation for death, which is, to be sure, a departure from the world but at the same time also the beginning of a new, eternal life. The joyful preparation for death of the six-year-old Sara Beata Burk could have come from a life of the saints. On her sickbed she developed a longing for death, not out of a desire to escape her sufferings, as the sources note, but rather out of her love for God. The child's mother had answered that she must learn to extinguish her own will and wait, 'until the Redeemer considers it right to call you home'.[74] The child's moving yearning to pass into eternal life, and her happy anticipation of reunion with her dead father and brother, is given a Pietist correction by her mother, who reminded her that this decision was God's alone. The famous Pietist Philipp David Burk (1714–1770) was buried in a white coffin as a joyful sign that for a devout Christian death was not the end, but rather 'a cheerful transition from miserable temporality to joyous eternity'. Accounts of harmonious and indeed joyous death demonstrated that the dying family members had been born again and elected to enter the kingdom of God.

The spiritual guidance and education of children and their piety and 'hard trials' are also a subject of the life histories of their mothers. Rosine Williardts's son Christian and Maria Barbara Burk's son Joseph, both of whom studied medicine in Tübingen, had to be held back from the temptations of the 'corrupt world' of opera, concerts and balls. When Christian was sent to Vienna for a year to further his training after the end of his university studies, and lived with his father's aristocratic relations, his true piety was proven in his Catholic surroundings by his refusal to participate in sociable card-playing, dancing and luxurious dress. Daughters, too, could take years to find the 'inner light'. The youngest Williardts daughter, Johanne (1750–1816), only reformed when her fiancé broke off their engagement after an officer claimed that he had become betrothed to her.

Women's domestic duties and motherhood, understood as a 'vocation' in the Lutheran sense, form the framework of the narrative. An important sector of responsibility was nursing the sick. Embedded in the account of the death of Rosine Williardts's eighty-four-year old mother-in-law is a description of her daughter-in-law's spiritual companionship and nursing care. Rosine read aloud from the spiritual songs of consolation of the Pietist and Württemberg senior civil servant Christoph Karl Ludwig von Pfeil 'on the coming of Jesus Christ' in which the dying woman was 'enwrapped, as it were', and thus 'brought through death into life'. In the personal section of the funeral sermon the dead woman's son, Christian Gottlieb Williardts, husband of her devoted nurse, emphasised his wife's twenty-one-year service to his mother.[75] Unmarried daughters played a crucial role in the care of ailing relatives. Beginning in 1754, Rosine Williardts sent her eldest daughter, the sixteen-year-old Marie Magdalena, from Stuttgart to Esslingen several times in order to nurse her grandmother Bengel. After 1764 Marie Magdalena's younger sister Friederike took care of her and her

ailing husband in Stuttgart more than once. Before the death of grandmother Bengel in 1770 her sixteen-year-old grand-daughter Regine Catharina Burk was sent to her sickbed on several occasions.[76] After her father's death Regine Catharina was sent to the Williardts house as a foster daughter to look after her nearly blind Aunt Rosine. She was replaced in the Willardts household after her marriage by her younger sister Elisabeth Dorothea Burk, now also sixteen, who continued to care for her blind aunt for ten years until her own marriage. The young, unprovided for and impoverished Burk girls were sent to the home of their wealthy aunt and employed there as nurses. In these middle-class families girls were placed in the homes of their relatives as a matter of course until they married. Family nursing also included the assistance of women in childbed. Since Rosine Bengel was already very weak before her eighth birth and one of her children was poorly, her younger married sister Catharina Margaretha Hellwag moved into her house for a time. This specifically female family nursing work is mentioned and honoured repeatedly in the accounts. If the women themselves no longer had small children to raise they 'hastened' to child- and sickbeds in the households of their married children. After assisting one daughter in caring for her sick husband and five children for nine months in 1788/89, Ernestine Schütz then moved on to the home of her second, ailing daughter to assume her duties, staying until her son-in-law remarried after his wife's death.[77]

Using letters, the biographies reconstruct the Pietist culture of visiting between kin. Reciprocal visits are described as joyful events or comforting support in times of illness or suffering. Visits from devout high-ranking figures in the Church, State service or nobility as well as renowned Pietist men and their wives deserved particular mention. Pietists were obliged to visit the sick as a charitable office (*Liebesdienst*). Visits to the sickbeds of persons likely to die were a fixed element of Pietist religiosity; they were intended to help the dying to reach God through death. Married or widowed Pietist women cultivated friendships and formed devotional circles. A picture of pious sociability emerges, with visits to kin and friends, combined with shared meals and walks in nature. During the summer months visits became far more frequent in the Williardts house in Esslingen. Relatives stayed for weeks, where possible travelling to Esslingen on foot (in the case of Stuttgart, for example, which was only 20 km away). This culture of visits presupposed a certain level of wealth. The biographer recognised that this also meant work, and belonged to the duties of the ladies of the house: 'Charitable works of all sorts, performed for the most various persons, were practised continually and as a matter of course. The house provided shelter for many children of God, a city on the hill.'[78]

The life-stories explicitly document the piety of the family as a cross-generational phenomenon, using the examples of female ancestors and their life achievements. In so doing, the biographer, who emerged from this genealogy,

also implicitly writes about herself and her children. The intent was historiographically to secure women's contributions to the family's sacred history from the beginnings of Pietism in the seventeenth century to the biographer's own time in the nineteenth century.

FEMALE HISTORIOGRAPHY, FAMILIAL SACRED HISTORY AND THE CULTURE OF MODELS

The biographies discussed here present a female view of family and religiosity within Pietism. The stories are, to be sure, incorporated into the general success of the family group's sacred history and the chronological accounts thus also contain the stories of fathers, husbands and sons, but the narrative position and the biographical viewpoint are oriented towards women's life experiences, achievements and religiosity. What family history *is* is developed by examining women's contributions. Despite its idealisation, harmonisation and religious interpretations, which no longer correspond to our secular notions of history, Zeller's is a fascinating document of forgotten female historiography in two respects: as evidence of women's understanding of history and in its portrayal of women as the objects of historical writing. The texts treat the phases of women's lives – marriage, pregnancy, childrearing and widowhood – as historically relevant and are to that extent documents of a cultural and social historical view of history. The mental and physical stresses on women, their suffering at the deaths of their children and their efforts to adopt the prescribed pious position of resignation to God's will represent the greater part of the narrative. The extensive accounts of pregnancies, births and caring for the sick present women's everyday lives and their contributions to the family and to Pietism. The life-stories are, to be sure, written as edifying exempla, yet with their sketches of 'real-life' events they are also instructive for social historians. They offer information about the life phases, everyday activities, pious practices, reading, emotions and fears of both the writer and the women she was describing. Naturally, many everyday matters went unmentioned, since only those aspects that emphasised Pietist religiosity and work for the family were considered worth remembering. Charlotte Zeller's understanding of history shows how highly she valued the female role in the family's sacred history as well as her Pietist self-confidence, which allowed her to preserve for posterity women's specific contribution to the sacred history of Württemberg's Pietist elite. The emotional and physical labour that women – as young girls and daughters, wives and widows – performed in order to maintain their families is treated in detail by the author in each biography, and thus the work and achievements of women enter quite concretely into the family's sacred history. Charlotte Zeller's pious memory tells the history of the family and everyday life as a sacred history sustained by women.

The religious interpretation of history was linked in Württemberg Pietism with an eschatological future perspective on the approaching millennium. Pietists viewed the present as a stage on the path from the Creation to the Final Judgement.[79] Like Spinoza and Leibniz before him, Johann Albrecht Bengel tried to use mathematical rules to derive from the Bible a chronology of the salvation of the world. Proceeding from the book of Revelation, he calculated that the kingdom of God on earth would begin in 1836. The expectation of the impending thousand-year reign was still alive and well in nineteenth-century Württemberg.[80] The Pietist understanding of history was derived from the New Testament, and Pietists saw themselves in the genealogical and sacred-historical tradition of the progenitors of Israel.[81] Charlotte Zeller inscribed her own family into this genealogy: 'The Lord wishes for a seed that will serve him – in order to carry out this blessed work of love, from time to time he elects the member of a family, in order through it to win many other members for his kingdom.'[82]

Charlotte Zeller uses a letter from Prelate Magnus Friedrich Roos, a friend of the family, to introduce the connection between sacred history and individual achievement:

> Sons and daughters, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law shall fill the gap . . . To be sure, one does not achieve this all at once and suddenly, but must submit to divine discipline, under which our forefathers [in biblical times] long stood and in which there is killing and bringing into life, beating and weeping, the preparation of human thoughts and the realisation of the thoughts of God, the emptying of the soul of its own wisdom, justice and strength and the imparting of true wisdom.[83]

The individual sanctification of life was necessary in order to belong to the elect who would constitute the coming kingdom of God. Analogous to their worldly status as an educated elite, Pietist bourgeois families, expecting the impending millennium, also portrayed themselves as a religious elite of the elect. Charlotte Zeller located the history of her family within this concept of sacred history. She wrote a chronology of female familial piety and provided the biographical evidence of successful sanctification in pious action in the world. When, upon the death of her mother-in-law, Rosine Williardts advanced to the highest female position in the Williardts household, she continued the fulfilment of the family's sacred history: 'Johanne Rosine joined the ranks of the three devout mothers who had managed here for 100 years: Frau Bürgermeisterin Mauchhart, Frau Anna Cath. Palm and Frau Marie Magd. Williardts, to serve the Lord in her time in the footsteps of these mothers.'[84]

Charlotte Zeller dedicated the biographies to her children and grandchildren. Two of the texts were dedicated by name to her daughters on their birthday (1884) and confirmation (1866). She dedicated the life history of her mother Charlotte Geß, née Williardts (1795–1850) to her son and his wife and

children with a quotation from Psalm 102:28: 'The children of thy servants shall dwell secure; their posterity shall be established before thee.'[85] This psalm also points to the aspect of her writing that emphasised God's saving grace in history. Charlotte Zeller's passing down of the family genealogy by highlighting her female ancestors creates a consciousness of belonging to generations of the elect. Reading each single biography served the individual 'blessing and salvation'[86] of the reader. Generations to come should orient their lives according to these exemplary *vitae*. Zeller refers to her female ancestors as priestesses and heroines of faith, even calling Ernestine Schütz a 'holy woman'.[87] The statement that Rosine Williardts always had eternity before her eyes[88] elevates her piety to holiness. Friederike Williardts's 'exemplary humility' is stressed;[89] while for her mother Ernestine Schütz, the psalms 'had penetrated to her innermost being, flowing like nourishment into the blood'.[90] Taken together, these attained stages of piety recall saints' lives and hagiographic topoi.

The author inscribes herself almost imperceptibly into the biographical text – not just in her collage of texts, the selection of copied passages from letters and diaries and her interpretative commentaries, but also in the thematic emphases she chose. The fact that the life of Christian, their only son to survive childhood, assumes such a large role in the biography of Rosine Williardts and her husband Christian Gottlieb – Zeller appears to have inserted copies of his complete correspondence with his parents during the years of his university studies and training – may doubtless be attributed to the circumstance that he was the author's grandfather, and had founded her own branch of the family. Christian's *vita* is equipped with all conceivable Pietist qualities: he grew into a genuinely devout man, a great physician and a loyal son who remained obedient to his parents even in adulthood. When one of Rosine Williardts's daughters 'emigrated' to north Germany with her husband, Charlotte Zeller adds that she knew what Williardts felt as a mother because 72 years later she, too, had lost a daughter to a faraway place.[91] The biographer's special empathy for certain persons and situations repeatedly shines through the text. Mother and daughter Schütz, for example, had her particular compassion: 'What, in the heat of adversity, these two women felt, suffered, prayed – believed and sensed in their innermost beings from their high priest and Redeemer and Prince of Life, is recorded in the books of eternity.'[92]

Charlotte Zeller's emotional connection with the widows in her family, derived from her own widowhood, frequently inspired her to integrate her admiration for these women into the biographical account. Ernestine Schütz, whom Zeller introduces as an especially devout woman forced as a pastor's widow to live very modestly, who was 'left all alone, has set her hope on God and continues in supplications and prayers night and day' (1 Tim. 5:5), is equated with the biblical ideal of a widow as expressed in the quotation from St Paul.[93] On the whole, all of the women are described as very pious, highly committed

to their duties, obedient, practised in suffering, resigned to God's will and unassuming. The notions of female nature implicit in the text correspond to nineteenth-century models of femininity.[94]

A FEMALE TRADITION OF SACRED HISTORY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Charlotte Zeller had several reasons for creating this pious memory, all of them connected to historical changes in the nineteenth century. First, the so-called *Ehrbarkeit* had lost their political and social status. The coalition of October 1805 between the elector of Württemberg, Friedrich II, and Napoleon signalled the end of the old Württemberg estate system, and the provincial diet was dissolved. Although the group of academically trained civil servants remained the ruling stratum until the Revolution of 1848, the old oligarchic securing of power through nepotism and co-optation no longer functioned, since the principle of self-recruitment from within a sort of higher civil service club had been abolished.[95]

Second, as a consequence, the meaning of family and kinship changed among the bureaucratic middle classes. Since the continuity of membership in the social elite could no longer be secured as a matter of course by family ties, election by God was needed to cement elite identity. The very meaning of kinship was called into question by this change, which moved Charlotte Zeller to remind her readers several times of Johann Albrecht Bengel's legacy: 'Give those whom I leave behind togetherness in heart and mind, that in love and loyalty, each the other's refuge be.'[96] A mark of the self-understanding of the old Pietist educated elite was their constant drawing of boundaries and emphasis on differences to other groups, for which reason inner distinctions were denied.

Third, the assessment of women's contribution to middle-class piety changed. While within the group women were gradually pushed to the margins after a phase of initial openess in early Pietism,[97] women outside the Pietist group were completely ignored. Women's contributions to early modern Pietism, which Charlotte Zeller so energetically uncovered, gained no place in Pietist historiography. The first general scholarly monograph on Pietism by Albrecht Ritschl (1880–86)[98] does not treat the contributions of Württemberg's women Pietists to the internal history of Pietism. In the cases where he does mention women by name, he presents their religiosity as excessive or spurious.[99] Biographical publications dealt mainly with Württemberg's male Pietists. Although it was frequently women who produced these manuscripts, they were published under the names of male authors. Charlotte Zeller's biographical work on Christian Gottlieb Williardts was published under the name of her son, Paul Zeller. Only the manuscript itself reveals her authorship.[100] Charlotte's biography of Friederike Williardts, née Schütz, was published in a revised version by

the popular Württemberg biographer, Karl Friedrich Lederhose.[101] In this case, too, her work goes unmentioned. With the creation of pious memory through a female history of the family, Charlotte Zeller set continuity against change and memory against suppression. The author's religious perspective generated both a continuous sacred history of female piety in the family and individual, everyday female role models.

Modern-day historians were not the first people to notice the asymmetrical relations between the sexes. Charlotte Zeller wrote her own historical work in opposition to the exclusion of her sex from the historiography of Pietism. In doing so she used the genuinely Pietist genre of biography. Charlotte Zeller was the administrator of the family memory; she preserved an extensive body of texts including letters, diaries and collections of prayers that had been passed down from generation to generation in her mother's family. She conceived of her resistance to the exclusion of women as a female contribution to the culture of memory, which had become masculinised. The scope of her work remained limited, however, for her text did not reach beyond her own family.

The Württemberger Magdalena Sibylla Rieger (1707–1786), daughter of Prelate Weissensee, who was known to a broad public for her religious poetry, was honoured by the University of Göttingen as a poetess crowned by the emperor, and became a member of the Deutsche Gesellschaft, had earlier criticised the public denigration of married women.[102] In her rhymed treatise, *Die poetische Eh-frau* (The Poetic Wife), she noted that although a happy marriage had been the basis and inspiration for her own poetry, normally 'Only men's names count, we go unmentioned.'[103]

NOTES

1 For numerous examples from different historical periods, see Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness* (Oxford, 1993); and Heide Wunder, 'Überlegungen zum Tradieren von Geschichte im Mittelalter und zu seinem Wandel am Beginn der Neuzeit', in Joachim Heinzle (ed.), *Modernes Mittelalter. Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche* (Frankfurt-on-Maine and Leipzig, 1994), 324–54.

2 Cf. Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Gender and Genre: Women As Historical Writers, 1400–1820', in Patricia H. Labalme (ed.), *Beyond Their Sex. Learned Women of the European Past* (New York and London, 1984), 153–82.

3 Bonnie G. Smith, 'The Contribution of Women to Modern Historiography in Great Britain, France, and the United States, 1750–1940', *American Historical Review* 89 (1984): 709–31.

4 Ulrike Weckel, *Zwischen Häuslichkeit und Öffentlichkeit. Die ersten deutschen Frauenzeitschriften im späten 18. Jahrhundert und ihr Publikum* (Tübingen, 1998), 532–85.

5 Gianna Pomata, 'Storia particolare e storia universale: in margine ad alcuni manuali di storia delle donne', *Quaderni Storici*, 74, Jg. 25 (1990), 341–87; Heide Wunder, '"Gewirkte Geschichte": Gedenken und "Handarbeit". Überlegungen zum Tradieren von Geschichte im Mittelalter und zu seinem Wandel am Beginn der Neuzeit', in Joachim Heinzle (ed.), *Modernes Mittelalter. Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche* (Frankfurt-on-Maine and Leipzig, 1994), 324–54, and 'Überlegungen zum "Modernisierungsschub des historischen Denkens im 18. Jahrhundert" aus der Perspektive der Geschlechtergeschichte', in Wolfgang Küttler, Jörn Rüsen and Ernst Schulin (eds.), *Geschichtsdiskurs*, vol. II: *Anfänge modernen historischen Denkens* (Frankfurt-on-Maine, 1994), 320–32.

6 Fundamental for the cultural significance of memory are the ideas developed by Maurice Halbwachs in the 1920s. See his *On Collective Memory*, trans. and ed., Lewis A. Coser (Chicago, 1992); see also John R. Gillis, 'Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship', in J. R. Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994), 3–24.

7 For a good overview of the politics of estate in early modern Württemberg see Hans Medick, 'Von der Bürgerherrschaft zur Staatsbürgerlichen Gesellschaft – Württemberg zwischen Ancien Régime und Vormärz', in Lutz Niethammer *et al.* (eds.), *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland* (Frankfurt-on-Maine, 1990), 52–79, 54–55; see also Hartmut Lehmann, 'Die württembergischen Landstände im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in Dietrich Gerhard (ed.), *Ständische Vertretungen in Europa im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1974), 183–207.

8 Hartmut Lehmann, *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung in Württemberg vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1969; Martin Brecht, 'Der württembergische Pietismus', in *Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. II: *Der Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed., Martin Brecht and Klaus Deppermann (Göttingen, 1995), 225–95.

9 Referring to Frances A. Yates's 1966 *The Art of Memory*, Pierre Nora has called his research programme *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory). These include all imaginable sites on which – in contrast to analytical history – the memory of the French nation settles. He also counts biographies among the *lieux de mémoire*. See his *Rethinking France: Les Lieux de Memoire* (Chicago, 1999).

10 On constituting traditions, see Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983).

11 On the connections between the biographical and identity see Hans Paul Bahrdt, 'Identität und biographisches Bewußtsein. Soziologische Überlegungen zur Funktion des Erzählens aus dem eigenen Leben für die Gewinnung und Reproduktion von Identität', in Rolf Wilhelm Brednich Hannjost Lixfeld, Dietz-Rüdiger Moser and Lutz Röhrich (eds.), *Lebenslauf und Lebenszusammenhang. Autobiographische Materialien in der volkskundlichen Forschung* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1982), 18–45; Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Biographical Illusion', trans. Y. Winkin and W. Leeds-Hurwitz, *Working Papers and Proceedings of the Center for Psychological Studies* (Chicago, Ill.), vol. 14 (1987), 1–7.

12 Alongside the women, Charlotte Zeller devoted herself in a comparatively modest way to her male ancestors and also wrote some essays on general historical questions.

13 On the role of the commemoration of the dead in creating identity in the Middle Ages and the early modern period see the collections of essays, Joachim Heinzle

(ed.), *Modernes Mittelalter. Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche* (Frankfurt-on-Maine and Leipzig, 1994); Karl Schmid (ed.), *Gedächtnis, das Gemeinschaft stiftet* (Munich and Zurich, 1985); and Otto Gerhard Oexle (ed.), *Memoria als Kultur*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 121 (Göttingen, 1995).

14 On the culture of memory (*Erinnerungskultur*) as a link between the retrospective and prospective dimensions of memory that relates to a specific group and era, see Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1992), 61ff.

15 Archiv für Familienforschung, Leonberg (cited here as AFFL), 18 I 2/2; 18 I 14/1–7; 18 I 48/1.

16 AFFL, 18 I 12/1 and 13/1, Anton Williardts, In memoriam matris secundea, dilectissimae nat. Schütz and 18 I 13/1, Tagebuch meiner l. sel. Großmutter Caspert geb. Rieger.

17 Martin Scharfe, ' "Lebensläufle". Intentionalität als Realität. Einige Anmerkungen zu Pietistischen Biographien', in Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, Hannjost Lixfeld, Dietz-Rüdiger Moser and Lutz Röhrich (eds.), *Lebenslauf und Lebenszusammenhang. Autobiographische Materialien in der volkskundlichen Forschung* (Freiburg i. Br., 1982), 116–30. Spiritual biographies in seventeenth-century France were structured quite similarly. Cf. Jacques Le Brun, 'Die geistliche Biographie im Frankreich des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 14 (1991): 156–65.

18 On this aspect of funeral sermons see Winfried Zeller, 'Leichenpredigten und Erbauungsliteratur', in Rudolf Lenz (ed.), *Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaften*, vol. I (Cologne and Vienna, 1975), 66–81; Jill Bepler, 'Women in German Funeral Sermons: Models of Virtue or Slice of Life?', *German Life and Letters* 44 (1991): 392–403; Cornelia Niekus Moore, 'Erbauungsliteratur als Gebrauchsliteratur für Frauen im 17. Jahrhundert: Leichenpredigten als Quelle weiblicher Lesegewohnheiten', in Hans Erich Bödiker, Gerald Chaix and Patrice Veit (eds.), *Le Livre religieux et ses pratiques* (Göttingen, 1991), 291–315; Heide Wunder, 'Vermögen und Vermächtnis – Gedenken und Gedächtnis. Frauen in den Testamenten und Leichenpredigten am Beispiel Hamburgs', in Barbara Vogel and Ulrike Weckel (eds.), *Frauen in der Ständegesellschaft* (Hamburg, 1991), 227–40.

19 On the relationship between religious movements without their own (ecclesiastical) institutions and the biographical tradition see Leszek Kolakowski, *Chrétiens sans Eglise. La conscience religieuse et le lien confessionnel au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1969).

20 See also Eberhard Gudekunst, 'Weibliche Heilige, geheiligte Frauen', in *Weib und Seele. Frömmigkeit und Spiritualität in Württemberg*, exhibition catalogue of the Landeskirchliches Museum Ludwigsburg (Stuttgart, 1998), 35–44; Frieder Schulz, 'Hagiographie, IV. Protestantische Kirchen', in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. XIV (Berlin and New York, 1985), 377–80.

21 See Udo Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform in der lutherischen Kirche des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, 91 (Tübingen, 1995); Johannes Wallmann, 'Pietas contra Pietismus. Zum Frömmigkeitsverständnis der Lutherischen Orthodoxie', in Udo Sträter (ed.), *Pietas in der Lutherischen Orthodoxie, Vorträge und Abhandlungen der Stiftung 'Leucorea' an der Martin-Luther*. (Universität Halle-Wittenberg [n.p., 1998]), 6–18.

22 Johann Henrich Reitz, *Historie Der Wiedergebohrnen/Oder Exempel gottseliger/so bekandt = und benant = als unbekandt = und unbenanter Christen/Männlichen und Weiblichen Geschlechts/In Allerley Staenden/Wie Dieselbe erst von Gott gezogen und bekehret/und nach vielen Kämpfen und Aengsten/Durch Gottes Geist und Wort/zum Glauben und Ruh ihres Gewissens gebracht seynd*, parts 1–7.

23 For an analysis of Reitz's work see Hans-Jürgen Schrader, 'Nachwort', in Reitz, *Historie Der Wiedergebohrnen* [complete edition of all seven volumes of the Pietist collective biography (1698–1745) with an appendix tracing the history of the work including the variants and additions from later editions] (ed.), Hans-Jürgen Schrader, 4 vols. (Tübingen, 1982), vol. IV, 127*–203*.

24 Gottfried Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer- Historien, vom Anfang des neuen Testaments biß auf das Jahr Christi 1688*, 4 parts, 1699–1700.

25 See Schrader, 'Nachwort', in Reitz, *Historie Der Wiedergebohrnen*, 131.

26 Erdmann Heinrich Graf Henckel, *Letzte Stunden einiger Der Evangelischen Lehre zugethanen und in diesem und nechst verflossenen Jahren selig in dem HERRN Verstorbenen Personen/Von unterschiedlichem Stande, Geschlecht und Alter, zum Lobe GOttes und zu allgemeiner Erweckung, Erbauung und Stärckung*, part 1, Halle, 1720; part II, Halle 1721; part III, Halle 1723, part IV, Halle 1733.

27 On Henckel's collection see Ulrike Witt, 'Eine Pietistische Biographiensammlung: Erdmann Heinrich Graf Henckels "Letzte Stunden" (1720–1733)', *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 21 (1995): 184–217.

28 *Altes und Neues aus dem Reich Gottes*, no. 1 (1733), preface.

29 Christian Gottlob Barth (ed.), *Süddeutsche Orginalien*, 4 nos. (Stuttgart, 1828–1836).

30 Johann Christian Burk, *Spiegel edler Pfarrfrauen. Eine Sammlung christlicher Charakterbilder* (3rd edn, 1842; Stuttgart, 1865).

31 Heinrich Merz, *Christliche Frauenbilder* (2 vols., 3rd edn, 1851; Stuttgart, 1861).

32 Merz, *Christliche Frauenbilder*, preface to vol. I.

33 Wilhelm Claus, *Württembergische Väter* (first edn, 2 vols. 1887–1888; 3rd edn, 4 vols., Stuttgart, 1926).

34 AFFL, 18 I 6/1–9, 122, Charlotte Zeller, Sammelbiographie.

35 The passage 'set her hope on God', for example, is a quotation from a letter of Paul to Timothy outlining the proper behaviour of widows (1 Tim. 5:5).

36 Cf. AFFL, 18 I 6/1–9, 122, Charlotte Zeller, Sammelbiographie, 7ff.

37 *Ibid.*, 13ff.

38 *Ibid.*, 19ff.

39 *Ibid.*, 27ff.

40 *Ibid.*, 39ff.

41 *Ibid.*, 60.

42 *Ibid.*, 83.

43 *Ibid.*, 95ff.

44 *Ibid.*, 111.

45 *Ibid.*, 113.

46 AFFL, 18 I 8/1, 417, Charlotte Zeller, Lebensbeschreibung der Joh. Rosine Williardts, geb. Bengel, samt ihres Ehegatten Christ. Gottlieb Williardts, 3 (referred to below as Rosine Williardts, née Bengel).
47 AFFL, 18 I 9/1–2, 180, Charlotte Zeller, Lebensbeschreibung der Maria Barbara Burk, geb. Bengel, 10–11 (referred to below as Maria Barbara Burk, née Bengel).
48 AFFL, 18 I 3/1–2, 234, Charlotte Zeller, Lebensbeschreibung der Friederike Williardts, geb. Schütz, 11–12 (referred to below as Friederike Williardts, née Schütz).
49 AFFL, 18 I 4/1–2, 112 S., Charlotte Zeller, Lebensbeschreibung der Ernestine Schütz, geb. Straßheim, 4 (referred to below as Ernestine Schütz, née Straßheim).
50 Ernestine Schütz, née Straßheim, 5ff.
51 *Ibid.*, 10.
52 AFFL, 18 I 8/1, Rosine Williardts, née Bengel, 6.
53 Rosine Williardts, née Bengel, 163.
54 AFFL, 18 I 4/1–2, Ernestine Schütz, née Straßheim, 74–75.
55 AFFL, 18 I 3/1–2, Friederike Williardts, née Schütz, 61ff.
56 AFFL, 18 I 9/1–2, Maria Barbara Burk, née Bengel, 150–51.
57 AFFL, 18 I 8/1, Rosine Williardts, née Bengel, 135.
58 AFFL, 18 I 8/1, Rosine Williardts, née Bengel, 137.
59 AFFL, 18 I 10/1–2, 112, Charlotte Zeller, Lebensbeschreibung der Maria Magdalena Groß, geb. Williardts, S. 45 (referred to below as Maria Magdalena Groß, née Williardts).
60 Maria Magdalena Groß, née Williardts, 49.
61 *Ibid.*, 55.
62 AFFL, 18 I 9/1–2, Maria Barbara Burk, née Bengel, 97.
63 AFFL, 18 I 5/1–3, 74, Charlotte Zeller, Lebensbeschreibung der Maria Magdalena Williardts, geb. Palm, 10 (referred to below as Maria Magdalena Williardts, née Palm).
64 AFFL, 18 I 9/1–2, Maria Barbara Burk, née Bengel, 20.
65 AFFL, 18 I 8/1, Rosine Williardts, née Bengel, 13.
66 *Ibid.*, 29ff.
67 *Ibid.*, 26.
68 *Ibid.*, 56.
69 *Ibid.*, 57.
70 *Ibid.*, 64.
71 The lines cited here are from the sixth and fourth stanzas of the poem 'Jesu, meine Freude' (1650) by Johann Franck (1618–1677) and Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), 'Jesu meine Freude', BWV 227; see Werner Neumann (ed.), *Sämtliche von Johann Sebastian Bach vertonten Texte* (Leipzig, 1974), 222–23.
72 AFFL, 18 I 10/1–2, letter from Maria Magdalena Groß, née Williardts to her parents, inserted in her life history, 64a–d.
73 *Ibid.*, 84–85.
74 AFFL, 18 I 9/1–2, Maria Barbara Burk, née Bengel, 134.
75 *Ibid.*, 108.
76 *Ibid.*, 245.

77 Cf. AFFL, 18 I 4/1–2, Ernestine Schütz, née Straßheim, 46ff.
78 *Ibid.*, 126. The biographer refers to the Williardts house in Esslingen.
79 Hartmut Lehmann, 'Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft im Denken des württembergischen Pietismus', in Heinz Löwe (ed.), *Geschichte und Zukunft. Fünf Vorträge* (Berlin, 1978), 51–73, here 51; see also the same author's 'Pietistic Millenarianism in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany', in Eckhart Hellmut (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture. England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1990), 327–38.
80 Gerhard Sauter, 'Die Zahl als Schlüssel zur Welt', *Evangelische Theologie* 26 (1966): 1–36; Friedhelm Groth, *Die 'Wiederbringung aller Dinge' im württembergischen Pietismus. Theologiegeschichtliche Studien zum eschatologischen Heilsuniversalismus württembergischer Pietisten des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus, 21 (Göttingen, 1984), 67ff.
81 See the article 'Genealogie' in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. IV (Freiburg i. Br., Basel, Rome and Vienna, 1995), 442–44.
82 AFFL, 18 I 4/1–2, Ernestine Schütz, née Straßheim, 3.
83 AFFL, 18 I 8/1, Rosine Williardts, née Bengel, 419–20.
84 AFFL, 18 I 8/1, Rosine Williardts, née Bengel, 109.
85 AFFL, 18 I 1/2, Charlotte Zeller, Lebensbeschreibung meiner Mutter Charlotte Geß, geb. Williardts.
86 AFFL, 18 I 8/1, Rosine Williardts, née Bengel, 345.
87 AFFL, 18 I 14/1–7, Charlotte Zeller, Beschreibung der letzten Wochen der Urgroßmutter, der Witwe Ernestine Schütz (1734–1813), 8.
88 AFFL, 18 I 8/1, Rosine Williardts, née Bengel, 126.
89 AFFL, 18 I 3/1–2, Friederike Williardts, née Schütz, 104.
90 AFFL, 18 I 4/1–2, Ernestine Schütz, née Straßheim, 93.
91 See AFFL, 18 I 8/1, Rosine Williardts, née Bengel, 334.
92 AFFL, 18 I 4/1–2, Ernestine Schütz, née Straßheim, 47.
93 Ernestine Schütz, née Straßheim, 25.
94 See *A History of Women in the West*, vol. IV: *Emerging Feminism from Revolution to War*, ed., Geneviève Fraisse and Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1994).
95 Medick, 'Von der Bürgerherrschaft', 69ff; Lehmann, *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung*.
96 'Gib daß die, so ich verlaße, rechter Sinn zusammenfaße, daß in wahrer Lieb u. Treu Eins des Andren Zuflucht sey.' AFFL, 18 I 8/1, Rosine Williardts, née Bengel, 119.
97 Christel Köhle-Hezinger, 'Frauen im Pietismus', *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 94 (1994), 107–21.
98 Albrecht Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1880–86).
99 Beata Sturm (1682–1730) is introduced as an unmarried religious woman whose convent-like life in asceticism, work and prayer led to an exaggerated virtuosity in prayer. Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. III, 19ff and 41ff. The pastor's daughter Christina Regina Bader, who proclaimed her visions around 1698, is presented as a trickster, as is the vintner's daughter Maria Gottliebin Kummer (b.1756); Rietschl, 177–78.

100 She remarks not without pride on the very first side of the manuscript that she had written the text herself. See AFFL, 18 I 47/1–3, 360, Charlotte Zeller, Lebensbeschreibung von Christian Gottlieb Williardts; published as Paul Zeller, *Der kaiserliche Rath Williardts, Prälat J. A. Bengels Schwiegersohn* (Gütersloh and Leipzig, 1879).

101 Karl Friedrich Lederhose, *Die Frau Doctor Friederike Williardts von Eßlingen. Ein schwäbisches Familienbild* (Gütersloh, 1875).

102 See Cornelia Niekus Moore, 'Magdalena Sibylla Rieger, "die Poetische Eh-frau" ', *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 21 (1995): 218–31.

103 *Magdalenen Sibyllen Riegerin geb. Weissensee, Kayserl. Gekrönter Poetin, und der löbl. Deutschen Gesellschaft in Göttingen Mitglied, Geistlich- und Moralischer auch zufällig-vermischter Gedichte Neue Sammlung, mit einem Anhang poetischer Glückwünsche und ihren Antworten, auch einer Vorrede Herrn Daniel Wilhelm Trillers* (Stuttgart, 1746), 305–38, here 309.

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ULINKA RUBLACK

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