

Pietismus und Neuzeit

EIN JAHRBUCH ZUR GESCHICHTE DES
NEUEREN PROTESTANTISMUS

BAND 45

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PIETISMUS UND NEUZEIT

EIN JAHRBUCH ZUR GESCHICHTE
DES NEUEREN PROTESTANTISMUS

Im Auftrag der Historischen Kommission
zur Erforschung des Pietismus
Herausgegeben von
Manfred Jakubowski-Tiessen, Anne Lagny, Fred van Lieburg,
Christian Soboth, Udo Sträter und Jonathan Strom

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Vorwort

Am 13. Juni 2020, im Alter von 86 Jahren, verstarb Prof. em. Dr. theol. habil. Friedrich de Boor, langjähriger Professor für Kirchengeschichte an der Theologischen Fakultät der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, in Halle an der Saale.

Als fünftes Kind einer Pfarrfamilie wurde Friedrich de Boor 1933 im pommerischen Stolp geboren. Hier besuchte er die Grundschule und noch bis 1945 das Gymnasium und legte nach der Flucht seiner Familie sein Abitur in Schwerin ab. Er studierte in Rostock Theologie, wo er auch seine theologische Abschlussprüfung absolvierte. Ab 1957 wirkte er ebenfalls in Rostock als wissenschaftlicher Assistent bei seinem Lehrer Erhard Peschke und begleitete Peschke bei dessen Berufung nach Halle 1959. In Halle wurde er 1964 mit einer Arbeit über den Simoniebegriff bei John Wycliff promoviert, die 1970 publiziert worden ist. 1969 wurde er in Halle zum Oberassistenten ernannt und habilitierte sich kurz darauf mit einer Arbeit über Franckes paränetische und methodologische Vorlesungen. Friedrich de Boor wurde 1970 zum Hochschuldozenten für Kirchengeschichte ernannt, seine Beförderung zum Professor und Nachfolger Erhard Peschkes verzögerte sich jedoch aufgrund der Fakultätspolitik des SED-Staates, der in Halle mehrere staatlicherseits erwünschte Theologen gegen den Willen der Fakultät ernannt hatte. Erst 1978 wurde Friedrich de Boor zum ordentlichen Professor für Kirchengeschichte ernannt. Von 1978 bis 1981 war er stellvertretender Direktor für Erziehung und Ausbildung, 1984 bis 1988 Direktor der Sektion Theologie und Dekan der Theologischen Fakultät. Fast 20 Jahre lang, von 1972 bis 1991, war er Ephorus des Tholuck-Konvikts in Halle. Aus gesundheitlichen Gründen ist Friedrich de Boor 1990 emeritiert worden. Von 1978 bis 2006 gehörte er dem Herausgeberkreis dieses Jahrbuchs Pietismus und Neuzeit an und war 1982 bis 1990 Vorsitzender der kirchlichen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus beim Bund der Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR, Mitglied des staatlichen Thomas-Müntzer-Komitees der DDR zur Vorbereitung des Müntzer-Jubiläums 1989 und des staatlichen Lutherkomitees zur Vorbereitung des Lutherjubiläums 1983.

Seine Forschungen und Publikationen bewegten sich auf dem Gebiet der reformatorischen Bewegungen zwischen John Wycliff, Thomas Müntzer und Martin Luther, auf dem Feld der pietistischen Bewegung vor allem hallescher Prägung zwischen August Hermann Francke, „Enthusiasten“, „Separatisten“, der Rezeption Luthers, der Frühgeschichte der Universität Halle, über Paul Gerhardt, die Bekennende Kirche im Nationalsozialismus, die Geschichte der halleschen Konvikte bis hin zu einer kirchengeschichtstheoretischen Arbeit

über *Kirchengeschichte als Auslegungsgeschichte*, die auch ins Ungarische übersetzt worden ist.

Friedrich de Boor war ein beliebter akademischer Lehrer. Seine geradezu lexikalische Kenntnis auf verschiedenen historischen Feldern war bekannt, seine Anleitung zur kritischen Quellenarbeit und sein besonderes Interesse an der Verbindung von konsequenter wissenschaftlicher Aufrichtigkeit mit kirchlichem Auftrag und pietistischer Frömmigkeit waren unter Studierenden und über die Fakultät hinaus sichtbar.

Die Historische Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus und das Interdisziplinäre Zentrum für Pietismusforschung der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg werden Friedrich de Boor ein ehrendes Andenken bewahren.

★★★

Der diesjährige Band präsentiert, wie dies schon häufiger der Fall gewesen ist, einen inhaltlichen Schwerpunkt mit eigener Einleitung zu *Pietistic influence on societal development in eighteenth-century Scandinavia*. Es handelt sich um acht Aufsätze dänischer und schwedischer Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler, die der Frage nach dem Einfluss des Pietismus auf soziale Prozesse und die Formung von Identitäten in Skandinavien im 18. Jahrhundert nachgehen.

In seinem Beitrag zu Gottfried Arnold nutzt Patrick Bahl einen ökumene-theologisch akzentuierten Heterotopiebegriff, wie ihn der katholische Systematiker Hans-Joachim Sander im Anschluss an Michel Foucaults Heterotopie-Konzept geprägt hat, als heuristische Kategorie, um Argumentationsfiguren und -strategien bei Arnold zu beschreiben. Bahl betrachtet dessen kirchenhistorische, mystische und pastoraltheologische Werke und sieht durch Arnolds reflektiertes Changieren zwischen konfessioneller (Selbst-)Bindung und Distanzierung von eben dieser einen Diskursraum eröffnet, der Gespräche zwischen den Konfessionen ohne polemische kontrovertheologische Zuspitzungen und Blockaden zulasse. Sabine Grauers monographischer Beitrag stellt mit Peter Fjellstedt (1802–1881) eine in der deutschen Pietismus- und missionsgeschichtlichen Forschung weitgehend unbekannte, aber wirkungsmächtige Figur im Übergang zur Erweckungsbewegung des 19. Jahrhunderts vor. Fjellstedt arbeitete in der Innenmission in Schweden, war unterwegs als Reisemissionar der Basler Mission und der Church Missionary Society, er hielt sich ebenso in Indien und Kleinasien wie in Leipzig und in Württemberg auf, fungierte als Leiter des Missionsinstituts in Lund und beschloss seine berufliche Laufbahn als kirchlicher Mitarbeiter in Göteborg. Grauers Beitrag macht mit Fjellstedt eine Quelle und somit eine weltumspannende Geschichte zugänglich, die über den interessanten historischen Einzelfall hinaus missionswissenschaftlich akzentuierende Forschungen anzuregen vermag, insbesondere zu Sozialisationen, Bildungsgängen und Karrieremustern.

Brigitte Klosterberg untersucht in ihrem Beitrag, ob, in welcher Hinsicht und mit welcher Prägekraft und Nachhaltigkeit der Verlag des Halleschen Waisenhauses ein Vorbild für den Verlag des Waisenhauses in Züllichau und für dessen

Programm war. Die buch- und verlagsgeschichtliche Studie liegt im Kontext eines von der Universität in Zielona Góra und den Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle betriebenen Projektes zu Halle und Züllichau als Pietismus- und Bildungszentren. Ihr Dreh- und Angelpunkt ist der 1740 vom ZüllichauerVerlagsleiter Gottlieb Benjamin Frommann veröffentlichte Verlagskatalog, an dem Hinweise auf signifikante Verschiebungen im theologischen und frömmigkeitslichen Profil gegenüber Halle zu erkennen sind.

Peter Vogt bietet eine kundige kritische Darstellung der Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung zur Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine, die sich in den vergangenen 20 Jahren zu einem wesentlichen interdisziplinären Forschungszugriff und Interessengebiet entwickelt hat. Vogt sichtet und ordnet die nach wie vor florierende Forschung nach inhaltlichen Gesichtspunkten: zur Geschichte von Frauen in der Gemeinde, zu männlichen und weiblichen Geschlechterrollen, zur religiös konzeptionierten Sozialordnung der Gemeinde und zu ihrem Verständnis von Ehe und Sexualität. Als Orientierungs- und Ordnungspunkt für die strukturierende Durchsicht des stark beforschten Feldes fungieren die einschlägigen Arbeiten von Gisela Mettele. Rezensionen und Bibliographie beschließen den Band.

Für die redaktionelle Mitbearbeitung, die Erstellung der Bibliographie und die Anfertigung der Register sei Paulien Wagener und Lukas Jentsch sehr herzlich gedankt.

Für den Nachruf: *Prof. Dr. Friedemann Stengel, Geschäftsführender Direktor des IZP*

Für die Herausgeber: *Christian Soboth*

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NINA JAVETTE KOEFOED AND SASJA EMILIE MATHIASSEN STOPA

Pietistic influence on societal development in eighteenth-century Scandinavia

The influence of Pietism on eighteenth-century Nordic societies has been revisited with renewed scholarly attention across the fields of systematic theology, church history, and cultural and legal history. This attention stems from increased scholarly awareness of the influence of religion or confessional culture on societal development in the Scandinavian countries, developing as they did into mono-confessional Lutheran states following the *Reformation*. This new focus has highlighted the need for further exploration of the influence of the Pietistic movements on societal development in Scandinavia. It is this subject which this special issue of *Pietismus und Neuzeit* aims to address.

Following the reformations in Denmark-Norway (1536) and Sweden-Finland (1527–1600), both kingdoms rapidly became strong Lutheran states with close connections to the state churches. The Scandinavian countries were exceptional in Early Modern Europe in their fusion of Church and state under the monopoly of Lutheranism, a synthesis that impacted deeply not only on politics and legal practice, but also on everyday lives. In that context, eighteenth-century Pietistic movements seem on the one hand to have challenged the defining grip of Lutheran orthodox theology on the state churches and thus perhaps have disturbed the peace and unity characteristic of the Scandinavian monarchies. On the other hand, the new understanding of pious living, especially as promoted by P.J. Spener and the Hallensian pietists, became very influential in Denmark-Norway during the reigns of the absolute kings, Frederik IV (r. 1699–1730) and his son, Christian VI (r. 1730–1746), both of whom were personally engaged in the promotion and implementation of Pietistic values and reforms.

This special issue deploys current theological and historical research together in an interdisciplinary effort to explore the various aspects of the complex impact wrought by Pietistic currents on Nordic societies in the long eighteenth century. To examine this impact and the theology behind it, the collection addresses the overall question of what defines Nordic Pietism and Pietistic influence: with regard to theology and ‘lived religion’, and also with regard to overall societal developments, including changes in legal practice and reforms of the educational system. The articles explore the influence of Pietism on Nordic societies by examining a diverse landscape of Pietistic movements, prominent individuals such as kings Christian VI and Charles XI, and the influential theo-

logians who promoted Pietistic ideas in the North, not least Erik Pontoppidan. The collection digs deep to uncover the rootedness of Nordic Pietism in sixteenth-century Reformation theology and in the theology and pedagogy both of the Pietistic pioneers, Spener and Francke, and the more radical Pietistic groupings, including the Moravian Brethren led by Nicolaus Zinzendorf. In addition, it seeks to identify the specific characteristics of Scandinavian Pietism in comparison with, for instance, Hallensian Pietism and English Puritanism.

Several of the articles seek to nuance the picture of Pietism as a firm break with Lutheran orthodoxy, emphasising pious practice and heartfelt devotion over doctrinal serenity and textbook Lutheranism. In tracing the ongoing influence of Reformation theology through Lutheran orthodoxy and into Pietism, these articles examine the continuity between them. They investigate whether specific traits of Reformation theology were enhanced and others downplayed as seventeenth-century Lutheran orthodoxy, which aimed to achieve external consolidation and stabilisation in a century of religious wars, developed into eighteenth-century Pietistic currents that focused on inner religious renewal in an age of prosperity. Important in this regard is the defining role of the more mainstream Lutheranism propounded by university theologians and safeguarded by the influential Nordic state churches.

Furthermore, some of the articles explore the connection between Pietism and Enlightenment rationalism. As is well known, core aspects of Pietistic thinking and practice fuelled the anti-rationalistic fire of the revivalist movements of the early nineteenth century. Less studied is that certain elements of Pietistic thought were closely connected to rationalist perceptions, perhaps including such central ideas as the birth of the autonomous subject and the emphasis on knowledge acquisition, leading ultimately to societal developments including the reform of educational systems and specific changes in Danish legal practice.

Following the Danish Reformation in 1536, the king became head of the Church, which was incorporated into the state to such an extent that it almost disappeared as an independent organisation. It was the Church Ordinance of 1537, centring on the Confession of Augsburg, that defined the new Lutheran belief (the Book of Concord was never accepted as a confessional scripture in Denmark); and with the advent of absolutism in 1660 and the obligation on the king in the 1655 King's Code to live by the Confession of Augsburg and make sure that his subjects also did so, the Lutheran faith as defined in that Confession became the foundation of the kingdom, impacting strongly on legislation. On the one hand, therefore, the intimate connection between absolute rule and the Church gives the impression that Denmark-Norway was one of the most Pietistic kingdoms of Northern Europe; on the other, it ensured that Pietistic influence never became too radical, but stayed within the acceptable frame of the Lutheran state Church.

The special issue opens with two articles examining how political development in Sweden-Finland and the attitude of the state towards Pietism differed from the state Pietism of the Danish-Norwegian kingdom. Both contributions

examine the connections between the political situation and the form and the extent of Pietism's societal impact. In *A hidden state Pietism? Perspectives on the era of Swedish absolutism during the reign of Charles XI*, Urban Claesson analyses the theological and political differences between the two monarchies, arguing that the Lutheran Church in Sweden developed into an unusually “un-Pietistic” Church compared with the Danish Lutheran Church and retained more independence from the state. Whereas Denmark-Norway was an absolute state, the political landscape in Sweden was more complex. Not only the nobility, but clergy, farmers, and citizens had political influence through representation in parliament, only interrupted by short periods of absolute rule, notably under Charles XI (r. 1655–1697). Once educational reforms are taken into consideration, however, Claesson suggests that Swedish and Danish Pietism are more alike. While Spener did not wish for his Church reform programme, *Pia Desideria*, to be introduced in Sweden, he urged Charles XI to implement the necessary reforms for a more pious country through the educational resources of the state. Moreover, Spener's lifelong friend and General Superintendent in Swedish Livonia, Johann Fischer, did receive support from the king for a programme of public schooling, later expanded to include all of Sweden.

Johannes Ljungberg, in *Threatening piety: perceptions and interpretations of Pietistic activities during the early phase of Sweden's age of liberty, 1719–1726*, provides a new explanation for why Pietism encountered greater scepticism in Sweden than Denmark. Ljungberg argues that the main issue of conflict was not Pietistic theology as such, but the importance of maintaining national unity and, following Sweden's break with absolutism in 1719 and the constitutional reforms that followed, the desire to keep silent about the rising tensions resulting from the reforms. Ljungberg's point of departure is the Act of Conventicles of 1726 against Pietistic gatherings, generally seen as evidence that Early Modern Sweden was hostile to Pietism. Drawing on material from three state commissions investigating various Pietistic groupings in the 1720s, Ljungberg shows how the sympathisers and the opponents of Pietism accused each other of violating honour and causing division, both sides warning that broken unity among the clergy would cause division on a much larger scale among the population. He suggests, further, that the prevailing practices of maintaining social and spatial order in the 1720s worked against Pietistic practices.

The following six articles move back across the Øresund to examine the influence of Pietistic currents within the Danish-Norwegian kingdom. Juliane Engelhardt, in *Performing faith and structuring habitus: sociological perspectives on the propagation of Pietism in Denmark-Norway in the first half of the eighteenth century*, explores the social, educational, and disciplinary Church reforms developed by Pietists in Halle and subsequently introduced by kings and government officials in Denmark and Norway. Engelhardt analyses how new structures for mobilising and disciplining the population were propagated by the state administration and how they were negotiated at the local level. Employing Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus, Engelhardt argues that the reforms were concerned not only

with outer behaviour, but also with changing the emotional and social norm culture of believers. Integrated in this habitus was the expectation that the conversion to true faith would be practised and performed in the everyday lives of believers.

In *Pietistic subjectivity as an agent of legal change: On theologians' arguments regarding punishment for murder in eighteenth-century Denmark-Norway*, Tine Reeh examines whether the Pietistic emphasis on introspection and the religious individual's state of mind formatively influenced Danish legal practice. Reeh's point of departure is a 1767 law signed by Christian VII regarding "groundless" or melancholic murders, a law that broke with the Biblically derived principle of *jus talionis* and the regulations termed Mosaic Law embedded in the Danish Code of 1683. This step towards secularisation of the legal system was occasioned by a new understanding of the pathological character of some murderers. Reeh contests the view set out in previous research that this change was a consequence of Enlightenment ideas of the human being, as propounded by philosophers like Cesare Beccaria, François de Voltaire, and Karl Ferdinand Hommel. She shows that a break with Mosaic Law was proposed as early as 1757, predating the celebrated work of Beccaria. Reeh's investigation reveals that the roots of this change can be traced to works by some of the most influential – and most radical – of the Pietistic theologians, who can thus be seen to have opened the way not only to new practices concerning mentally ill criminals, but to the secularisation of Danish legislation, an important step towards modern criminal law.

Two articles deal specifically with the work that probably exerted the greatest Pietistic influence in the Danish-Norwegian kingdom: Erik Pontoppidan's explanation of Luther's *Small Catechism*, *Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed* (*Truth unto Godliness*). Pontoppidan's book, published in 1737 by order of Christian VI, became a central part of the catechetical teaching, preparing children for their confirmation, introduced as a new rite in 1736. In her article, *A communion of saints? Reincorporating sinners into the created order of eighteenth-century Denmark through catechetical practice*, Sasja Emilie Mathiasen Stopa examines how young people were taught to view themselves and society through learning Pontoppidan's book by heart. Pontoppidan's work unfolded the complex relation between the Pietistic ideal of a communion of saints (*communio sanctorum*) or society of brotherly love and the actual society inhabited by both penitent and impenitent sinners. At first glance, Pontoppidan's explanation seems to educate children in how to behave well and thus gain access to the communion of saints. His consistent emphasis on penitence, however, reveals the fundamental premise that sin prevents any immediate causality between knowing and fulfilling the law of God, between learning and living the catechism. As a result, conversion into the communion of saints becomes a re-socialising, breaking with the natural inclination to sinful self-interest, and reincorporating penitent sinners into God's created order through the mediating principle of faith understood as trust in God and in earthly authority figures who function as his representatives. Ac-

cording to Stopa, *Truth unto Godliness* seeks to launch this process of sanctification in the young people by communicating the Word of God.

Kurt E. Larsen, in *Pontoppidan versus Spener: no 'better times' but more personal piety within the national Church*, compares Pontoppidan's *Truth unto Godliness* with Spener's explanation of the *Small Catechism*, *Einfältige Erklärung der christlichen Lehre*, which served as its model. Analysing the sections of Pontoppidan's text where he deviates from Spener by omitting or adding questions, Larsen concludes that Pontoppidan was more sceptical than Spener concerning the operation of grace and the ability of the individual to improve, warning against abuse and calling for penitence. Pontoppidan was also less optimistic about better times to come for the Church and mentioned no alternative to the Lutheran State Church. Larsen's argument is that Pontoppidan aimed to promote individual fervour within the framework of the Lutheran State Church, and that he did not follow Spener in actualising Luther's idea of a common priesthood of all believers in real life – an idea which, for Spener, might even grant women a role. The comparison demonstrates how Danish-Norwegian differed from German Pietism by focusing less on eschatology and social and religious reform and more on individual faith, morality, and penitence. The effect was thus to strengthen Lutheran churchmanship, enabling Pietism to function within the framework of an absolute monarchy.

Laurel Lied's article, *Nature is hallowed by grace: how debates on "Grace and Nature" influenced Danish Pietism*, deepens the understanding of Danish Pietism by analysing the theology of one of the most influential of the Pietists: Enevold Ewald, the founding minister of the Royal Orphanage in Copenhagen. Lied employs the concepts "grace" and "nature" as a hermeneutical aid to understanding Ewald's theology, exploring his realistic conception of sanctification and the claims of perfectionism that led to his interrogation by a royal commission for heretical teaching. To explore the background of Ewald's views more deeply, Lied outlines the views of grace and nature of the Lutheran theologian Johann Franz Buddeus (1667–1729), whose book *Collegium theologico-morale* influenced both Ewald and Pontoppidan. Rather than placing nature and grace in an antagonistic relationship so that human nature must either be destroyed or surrendered, Buddeus allows human nature to enter into a relationship of healing or hallowing through grace. Lied shows how Ewald follows Buddeus in rejecting a theological vision in which nature and grace are not permitted to "cooperate".

Kristian Mejrup, in his *Guidelines and Christian principles for decorum: the Danish translation of Wohlanständige Sitten*, explores the influence of Hallensian Pietism on Danish society by tracing the Danish reception of *Decent Manners*, published in 1706 in Halle for use in the Pädagogium Regium school in the Francke Foundations. *Decent Manners* defined Christian principles of decorum and provided detailed guidelines to the young students for good behaviour. Mejrup shows how the book testifies to the fusion between religious piety, erudition, and knowledge that was characteristic of Halle Pietism taught at the Pädagogium Regium. The fact that it was translated into Danish in 1755 (as *Velanstæn-*

dige Sæder) reveals an initiative to revive both religious and enlightened aspects of Halle Pietism and simultaneously to introduce reasonable and respectable rules of conduct for a Danish audience at a time when the age of Pietism was about to be replaced by that of rationalism. Mejrup argues that the book sought to overcome these distinctions and strove to steer a middle course between the two movements.

With this joint effort, researchers from history and theology hope to draw a more detailed map of the diverse Pietistic influences on eighteenth-century Nordic societies than afforded by previous research. We hope that it will serve to guide further research into the complex landscape of eighteenth-century Denmark-Norway and Sweden-Finland in an age when theological quarrels, religious practice, and societal development were so closely intertwined.

URBAN CLAESSION

A hidden state Pietism? Perspectives on the era of Swedish absolutism during the reign of Charles XI

If we search for a Nordic historical parallel to the successful Prussian state-building project, with its strong support for Pietism, one case is particularly striking: the reign of Christian VI (1699–1746) in Denmark-Norway between 1735 and 1746. That political project in Denmark was strongly influenced by the Prussian example: notable among its achievements were the introduction of stricter regulations concerning Sabbath regulations, of schools for the entire population and of the introduction of an Act of Confirmation as a test of individual belief. Also introduced in this wave of reform was a pietistic catechism written by Erik Pontoppidan (1698–1764).¹

Sweden-Finland, on the other hand, was notable for its strong consolidation on the foundation of Lutheran orthodoxy. Unlike the counterpart Lutheran Church of Denmark-Norway, the Lutheran Church of Sweden-Finland introduced the Book of Concord as a scripture of confession during the seventeenth century.² The following quotation may be seen as representative of the dominant narrative of the triumph of the orthodoxy in Swedish handbooks on Church history:

During the reign of Charles XI, the road to old Lutheranism was completed. Orthodoxy, theocracy and uniformity became the foundation of old Lutheranism.³

The reign of Charles XI of Sweden

The era of Charles XI of Sweden (1655–1697) was characterised by the centralisation and concentration of state power. The political power of the land-owning high nobility was dramatically reduced in favour of new groups of

¹ *Manfred Jakubowski-Tiessen*: Der Pietismus in Dänemark und Schleswig-Holstein. In: *Geschichte des Pietismus*. Vol. 2: Der Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert. Ed. by *Martin Brecht* and *Klaus Deppermann*. Göttingen 1995, 446–471, here 450–455.

² *Ingun Montgomery*: Der Pietismus in Schweden im 18. Jahrhundert. In: *Geschichte des Pietismus* 2 [see note 1], 489–522, here 490sq.

³ *Berndt Gustafsson*: *Svensk kirkohistoria*. Helsingborg 1986, 107.

lower-ranking officials in the state administration. Property belonging to the nobility was expropriated in order to create an efficient state apparatus. This great so called “Reduction”, decided in parliament (the *Riksdag*) in 1680 and implemented in 1682, was popular among the landowning peasant farmers, who were politically represented in parliament in the Estate of Peasants and were also able to rule in local parish meetings. The wars of the late 1670s against Denmark over the region of Scania had been as devastating as they were successful. As a result, the state’s military organisation was radically reorganised in favour of a standing army of soldiers supported by peasants. The years that followed were characterised by successful attempts to extend state power over the Lutheran Church. In 1686, a Church Law was introduced, prescribing that every Swede should be able to read and know Luther’s *Small Catechism* by heart; in 1689, an official so called development of Luther’s *Small Catechism*, written by the Swedish Lutheran archbishop Olof Svebilius (1624–1700), was published. In 1693, a common Church manual was published, standardising the liturgy for the first time; in 1695, the Church of Sweden received its first common hymnal. Previously, different dioceses had often used their own hymn books. It would be easy to argue that the Church was centralised for the purpose of state-building.⁴

Interestingly, from an international and comparative perspective, the decree that required the populace to learn to read was introduced without implementing any general system of public schooling. Responsibility for the process of learning to read was mainly allocated to households. These peasant farmer households were often landowning and tax-paying outside the realm of aristocratic rule. As early as c. 1700, the ability to read was already very widespread among the Swedish-Finnish population, a historical finding brought to light internationally by the work of Egil Johansson and Daniel Lindmark.⁵

As has already been suggested, these ecclesiastical reorganisations played an important part in the victory of Lutheran orthodoxy. The Church Law of 1686, for example, acknowledged the Book of Concord.⁶ In Swedish historiography, however, a different picture is also current concerning the spiritual profile of Charles XI and his reign:

⁴ Montgomery, *Der Pietismus in Schweden* [see note 2], 491–493.

⁵ Egil Johansson: Den kyrkliga lästraditionen i Sverige. En konturteckning. In: Nordiska historikermötet 18. Ur nordisk kulturhistoria. XVIII nordiska historikermötet. Ed. by Mauno Jokipii and Ilkka Nummela. Jyväskylä 1981, 37–69; Egil Johansson: Kyrkan och undervisningen. In: Sveriges kyrkohistoria 4. Enhetskyrkans tid. Ed. by Ingun Montgomery. Stockholm 2002, 248–258; Daniel Lindmark: Läs- och skrivkunnigheten före folkskolan. Historisk läskunnighetsforskning i nordiskt och internationellt perspektiv. Umeå 1990; *idem*: Four Decades of Research. In: Understanding literacy in its historical contexts. Socio-cultural history and the legacy of Egil Johansson. Ed. by Harvey J. Graff [et al.]. Lund 2009, 60–88; Daniel Lindmark: Popular education and religious reading in early nineteenth-century Sweden. In: Religious Reading in the Lutheran North. Studies in Early Modern Scandinavian Book Culture. Ed. by Charlotte Appel and Morten Fink-Jensen. Cambridge 2011, 191–215.

⁶ Montgomery, *Der Pietismus in Schweden* [see note 2], 491.

The monarch who introduced absolutism in Sweden in many ways appears as a good official, diligent in his public strivings and religiously disciplined in his private life. A strict bureaucrat without the air of luxury and aristocratic behaviour – absolutism of a Swedish kind.⁷

Charles XI was successful in mobilising strong anti-aristocratic opinions within the empire, as concisely formulated by the Swedish historian Per Nyström:

The large group of lower-ranking officials was socially anchored in families consisting of diligent tradesmen and craftsmen, where thrift and diligence were hailed as virtues. The opposition that grew was therefore characterised by the life these groups lived in practice, and the strict puritan ideals that we connect with the Carolingian era grew as a conscious reaction against the extravagance and luxury of the higher nobility.

The opposition put the principle of diligence against luxurious waste and proposed the principle of equality before the law against the arbitrariness of the aristocracy. Against religious indifference among the rulers they emphasised the importance of a living faith.⁸

Swedish anti-aristocratic opinion in support of the king was an important contributory factor in the introduction of absolutism connected with the Reduction of property owned by the nobility. Both, the mainly anti-aristocratic Estate of Peasants in parliament and the new social stratum of state officials appreciated the development towards absolutism. Common interests existed between the royal power and the peasant farmers against the nobility, which in Swedish historiography have been used as an explanation for the long-standing and steady support for the state within the Swedish population well into the twentieth century and its development of a strong and dominating social democracy thereafter. The new absolutist state of 1680 was associated with justice, predictability and legal security.⁹

⁷ Göran Behre [a.o.]: *Sveriges historia 1521–1809. Stormaktsdröm och småstatsrealiteter*. Stockholm 1992, 155sq.

⁸ Per Nyström: *Ekonomisk frihet och rätt i Sveriges historia*. In: *P. Nyström: I folkets tjänst. Historikern, journalisten och ämbetsmannen. Artiklar i urval 1927–1983*. Ed. by Anders Björnsson. Stockholm 1983, 122–134, here 129. The Carolingian Era represented an epoch comprising the reign of three kings between 1654 and 1718, all of whom were named “Carl” in Swedish: Charles X Gustav (1622–1660), Charles XI (1655–1697) and Charles XII (1682–1718).

⁹ Henrik Berggren and Lars Trägårdh: *Är svensken människa? Gemenskap och oberoende i det moderna Sverige*. Stockholm 2006, 41sq.

Pietist hopes for a Swedish future

From his base in Frankfurt, Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705), chief pastor in the Lutheran Church there and founder of the Pietism movement, was also impressed by Charles XI's political commitment. Spener counted the nobility as the origin of much of what was evil, worldly and materialistic in his time and saw this group as the cause of the general lack of piety among the common people. The new pietistic groupings on the Continent therefore held views similar to the opinion behind the Reduction that changed Swedish political life so dramatically in 1680. The church historian Johannes Wallmann argues that Spener was impressed by Charles XI's piety and that he considered the Reduction to be the correct course of action. Soon, Spener was in correspondence with the Danish-born Swedish Queen Ulrika Eleonora (1656–1693), who was known for assembling groups for mutual spiritual edification somewhat resembling gatherings in pietistic conventicles. Already in 1679, Spener had encouraged his friend, Christian Sriver (1629–1693), who was held in esteem among pietists for his work *The Soul's Treasure* (*Seelen-Schatz*), to apply to become pastor of the influential German congregation in Stockholm. In Spener's important reform programme, the *Pia Desideria*, published a few years earlier in 1675, Spener had formulated his new belief in the future by mobilising the congregation of active Bible reading believers gathering in conventicles into driving force for increasing the level of godliness within the Lutheran Church. This change would, in due course according to Spener, attract both Jews and Catholics to convert to the true evangelical faith. Meanwhile, in the Swedish Baltic region, Spener's close friend Johann Fischer (1636–1705) was already superintendent (general superintendent from 1678) for the Lutheran Church in Swedish Livonia. (Spener and Fischer had come to know each other before Fischer left to travel north for his duties in the Swedish empire.) In the same year that Spener had published his *Pia Desideria*, Fischer had presented his so called Memorial for ecclesiastical reform in Swedish Livonia to Charles XI in Stockholm, for which he had received strong royal support. Accordingly, back home in Livonia, the rule of the Church shifted from a higher consistory ruled by clerics to a newly instituted general Church commission consisting of both pastors and laypeople. Fischer's idea of schools for poor children in Livonia, set out in his Memorial, also received strong support. It was decided that a part of the revenue from the royal customs for Riga should be directed to support general education by introducing schools for the poor in Livonian towns. Soon, schools were being erected in every parish in the countryside by royal decree, financed by the local nobility. In 1684, Charles XI donated the large Biskopshov (*Piiskopi mõis*) estate outside Tartu to establish education for all the teachers who were now needed for this new form of general schooling. A further effect of Fischer's Memorial of 1675 was the assigning of royal privilege to found a printing house in Riga to print books that were affordable for the people. Among the books printed here were those with symbolic significance for the new pietistic move-

ment. Fischer's edition of the German Bible in 1677 has been called the first pietistic Bible because the foreword highlighted the importance of sanctification. The so called *Riga Catechism* was published in 1680, containing a sixty-page summary of questions and answers as an extension of Luther's *Small Catechism*. The questions were known as the "peasant questions", while the summary was intended as a textbook for the general population that was to be educated in the new schools and was therefore soon translated into the vernacular languages. In 1682 a Latvian edition was published, in 1684 a Tartu-Estonian, and in 1694 a Reval (Tallinn)-Estonian version saw the light. After the publication of the *Riga Catechism*, Fischer focused entirely on publishing Christian books in the vernacular languages for the wide mass of Church visitors. He therefore worked on producing Bible translations in the vernacular languages, which resulted, for example, in the Bible being published in Latvian in 1689.¹⁰

As we can see, the system of general schooling in Swedish Livonia deviated from the general order of education in Sweden-Finland – a deviation problematised by the historian Aleksander Loit. As noted above, the Swedish-Finnish kingdom was characterised by political representation of landowning peasant farmers at local parish meetings and in the Estate of Peasants in parliament. The repercussions of the Reduction of 1680 took a variety of forms. In Swedish Livonia, the Reduction saw the abolition of serfdom on estates formerly owned by the nobility: five-sixths of all cultivated land in Livonia was returned to the Crown. In the event of state takeover of property, which noblemen were thereafter entitled to use only as tenants, all serfs were to come to the manor, where a state commissioner would explain to them that they no longer belonged to the nobility. Now they constituted the king's subjects, and were to be treated in the same way as other peasants within the Swedish kingdom. As the nobles were permitted to sign a contract to continue to operate the goods and chattels that they had previously owned, in legal terms farmers and noblemen came to be more on an equal footing in relation to a common state. Peasants could now turn to the king if they felt their rights had been violated by the nobility. The earlier feudal relations were thus replaced by more impersonal contracts. There were also plans at the time to break up the property of the aristocratic estates to create a new class of self-sufficient farmers; for political reasons, however, this was ultimately considered too risky, as it threatened to create a bitter homeless nobility that might turn to enemy countries for support. The abolition of serfdom, however, gave rise to hopes for more productive farming. The peasantry could now also be considered as a resource of talent, as new opportunities for education were opened up to them. In addition to the benefits listed above, the

¹⁰ Johannes Wallmann: Beziehungen des frühen Pietismus zum Baltikum und zu Finnland. In: J. Wallmann: Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Zeitalter des Barock. Gesammelte Aufsätze. Tübingen 1995, 249–281, hier 259–264, 275–278; Urban Claesson: Die Anfänge des Pietismus in Schweden. Olof Ekmans Kampf für eine Erneuerung des Christentums am Stora Kopparberg 1689–1713. Halle/Saale 2020, 57–60, 104–110.

abolition of serfdom meant that Swedish Livonia became more strongly linked to Sweden. Swedish and Finnish peasants could henceforth, in theory, move to Livonia and retain their legal status. Loit argues that it would have been strange to offer the peasants such an ambitious educational programme if there was no intention to convert a relatively unproductive social stratum of serfs on noble estates into a broad base of freer farmers with elementary education.¹¹

Although Spener never sent his close friend Fischer a copy of his reform programme, he remained in other respects very eager to spread his *Pia Desideria*. Wallmann's conclusion from this is that Spener had never thought of his programme as relevant to the Swedish empire, but for a continental European environment. Spener's programme rendered the evangelical Church as an important actor in a multi-confessional situation; his programme did not include belief in a strong state power. Sweden, by contrast, had a single large evangelical Church with one Lutheran king. The example of Swedish Livonia seems to have led Spener to imagine that a strong king might support aspirations to a higher level of piety across Sweden-Finland more generally, in such a way as to foreshadow his later positive connection between Pietism and "Preußentum". Interestingly, Fischer had defended the Reduction in a sermon of tribute to Charles XI, which the king had subsequently richly rewarded.¹²

A relevant question to put forward here is whether we may speak of a Swedish variant of state Pietism existing beyond the Swedish province of Livonia. Were the Livonian experiences ever transformed into a programme? As Udo Sträter has established, seventeenth-century Lutheran Europe was characterised by reform programmes.

The field superintendent of the Swedish army in Livonia in the 1670s was Olof Ekman (1639–1713). Ekman, as he headed back to Sweden in the late autumn of 1679 after fulfilling his duties in Livonia, was shipwrecked twice in the Baltic Sea. During these crises at sea, Ekman had promised God that, were he to survive, he would write a programme for reform. He did survive, so he dutifully wrote a book that was called, perhaps a little unimaginatively, the *Promise at Sea* (*Sjönödslöfte*). Ekman published his text in 1680 as an exhortation to the young ruler Charles XI, who became the sovereign and absolutist ruler of the Swedish Empire in that same year. Interestingly, there are signs that Queen Ulrica Eleonora sponsored the publication of the *Promise at Sea*. Ekman's main inspiration came from the Rostock theologian Theophil Grossgebauer's (1627–1661) programme published in 1661, the *Wächterstimme aus dem verwüsteten Zion* (*The Warning Voice of Ravaged Zion*). Fischer, in the province of Livonia, had re-

¹¹ Aleksander Loit: Den politiska bakgrunden till bondeskolornas upprättande i Östersjöprovinserna under svenska väldets tid. In: Stat – kyrka – samhälle. Den stormaktstida samhällsordningen i Sverige och Östersjöprovinserna. Ed. by Torkel Jansson and Torbjörn Eng. Stockholm 2000, 167–184.

¹² Wallmann, Beziehungen des frühen Pietismus [see note 10], 259–278; Claesson, Die Anfänge des Pietismus in Schweden [see note 10], 107–110.

ceived support from the Swedish king to put Grossgebauer's ideas for popular education in schools into practice, financed by the state. In Ekman's programme, the road to improvement of public piety thus ran through a system of public education financed by the state, and ultimately Ekman's programme became a Swedish parallel to Spener's *Pia Desideria*. Both Ekman and Spener strove to mobilise the individual's faith in social practice, and both shared a belief in a future led by public piety. The main difference between the two programmes was that while Spener propagated the idea that the Church itself would be a driving force for change, Ekman saw the state as the potential mainspring for reform: Ekman believed that the implementation of general schooling would bring about the emergence of a new and pious population as soon as in ten or twenty years' time. Simply put, Ekman developed Großgebauer's belief in public schooling, but added to those strivings Spener's optimism for the future. As we have seen, during the early years of Charles XI's rule, Spener did entertain hopes for a form of what we might call Swedish state Pietism. In the Swedish empire, Grossgebauer's programme seemed appropriate and *Pia Desideria* was not needed.¹³

Swedish absolutism as a hidden state Pietism

Official Swedish policy towards Pietism was not, however, to be influenced predominantly by Fischer. Instead, the influence of another German theologian in the Swedish provinces, Johann Friedrich Mayer (1650–1712), whom Charles XI in 1691 appointed Senior Church Councillor (*Oberkirchenrat*) of the German territory under Swedish rule, Greifswald, Swedish Pomerania, became decisive in. Mayer acted as one of the main opponents of Pietism in the German-speaking realm and managed to influence the rulers in Stockholm. The years 1694 and 1706 saw the publication of sharply formulated edicts against Pietism in Sweden. The official Swedish catechism of archbishop Olof Svebilus of 1689, which formed the foundation of Christian education, was considered orthodox; and in 1726 the Swedish state was to strictly forbid conventicles.¹⁴ The path of Pietism was not to be followed in Sweden.

However, a different picture may also be painted. Ekman, in a funeral address for Charles XI in 1697, claimed that the new Swedish Church Law of 1686 had in fact been a form of fulfilment of his early reform programme for general education. Lutheran phrases from Ekman's programme about the need for the

¹³ Udo Sträter: *Meditation und Kirchenreform in der lutherischen Kirche des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Tübingen 1995; Claesson, *Die Anfänge des Pietismus in Schweden* [see note 10], 57–78, 86–104.

¹⁴ Claesson, *Die Anfänge des Pietismus in Schweden* [see note 10], 27sq., 115, 153, 164; Montgomery, *Der Pietismus in Schweden* [see note 2], 493sq., 506sq.