INTRODUCTION

During the last two decades, theological research has demonstrated that British devotional literature had a significant impact on the development of German Pietism. Leading German Pietists read and actively made use of Puritan literature, particularly the works of Lewis Bayly, Edmund Bunny, Joseph Hall, Daniel Dyke, Richard Baxter, and John Bunyan. These names form a canon of Puritan writers, established by British and German theologians who identified their works as the most successful and influential Puritan books in Germany in the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. As it is impossible to provide a complete picture of the mass translation of British devotional literature in Germany, this first literary overview follows that canon because it is representative. A discussion of the epic *Paradise Lost* by John Milton goes beyond the scope of this thesis. He is the only Puritan whose work has been investigated in detail.

This study will explore the linkage between British devotional literature and German Pietism, and the influence that both had on the development of German language and literature during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It will be shown how this literature had a direct and significant impact on the historical development of German literature. The aim of this investigation is not to prove that British devotional literature was the only influence on German Pietism but that it was a significant one.

As this investigation is going to apply recent theological findings to German literature, a great part of this study is based on German as well as on British theological research. All of the English writers in this study were Puritan nonconformists and most of them have been highly regarded by English literary scholars. As some of the writers are recognized as literary pioneers, this study also builds on the results of English literary criticism.

It is only in recent years that Germanists have begun to acknowledge the success of British devotional literature and the fact that the ideas of Pietism were spread across Germany through these translated devotional works. However, apart from a few studies on John Bunyan, British devotional literature has never been investigated in detail by a Germanist. It will be shown that the German translations of these books should no longer be overlooked by German critics. Germanists tend to focus on bellettristic literature rather than the substantial area of pragmatic literature. Devotional literature is a form of *Gebrauchsliteratur* which has been neglected even though it often inspired *schöne Literatur*.

A distinction often made in German studies is found in the categories secular and religious. Germanists trained in the predominantly secular classical tradition often fail to realize the close relationship between secular and religious literature in the seventeenth century. Most prominent baroque writers were active in both of these
areas. Unlike some modern critics, they never used the distinction between secular and religious as a value judgement concerning the literary quality of their works.

It was no coincidence that writers such as Harsdörffer, Kempe, and Gryphius translated British devotional literature. The translation of exemplary literature, i.e. model poems, plays, and novels, was a main feature of German literature in the seventeenth century. Puritan literature was translated along with Modellübersetzungen of other secular genres. Baroque literature relies largely on the adoption of foreign exempla. The translation of British devotional literature stands in the same tradition. Martin Opitz’s influential Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey, for example, often recommends copying of foreign models.

Germanists have perceived Pietism mainly as an eighteenth-century phenomenon. Historians of eighteenth-century literature have looked at it in retrospect: as a religious forerunner of Empfindsamkeit and as a source for the investigation of Storm and Stress literature. Most scholars interested in the seventeenth century, on the other hand, were not aware of the early mass translation of Puritan literature, which influenced the development of Pietism. This study investigates Pietism from both the baroque and the eighteenth-century perspective. It will show the early roots of this religious movement as well as the way Pietist literature influenced secular German literature.

When one considers the fact that British literature has influenced the development of German Pietism, this new knowledge could significantly change the understanding of how German literary language developed during this period. In studying the language used in the translations of the British books, the question arises: are there any language patterns or typical Pietist expressions whose roots can be traced to Puritan literature?

An examination of what has been perceived as the ‘German Pietist language’ reveals that the style of writing characteristic of the Pietists existed before Philipp Jakob Spener even started this Protestant movement. Inwardness (Innerlichkeit) and sentimental language (Gefühlssprache) of the eighteenth century can be traced to the reception of English literature, not only to the reception of the works of English sentimentalism, which had its origins in the 1750s, but also to the translation of Puritan literature over a century earlier. The same can be said for the important Pietist method of introspection and self-analysis, as these were deeply influenced by the Calvinist content of these British books.

The Oxford English Dictionary provides many examples of seventeenth-century words and phrases which reflect the development of the English language during that period. Grimm’s Deutsches Wörterbuch, however, is not a fully adequate early modern dictionary, as the time between Luther and Lessing is not sufficiently represented. Therefore some important vocabulary of that time is either missing or considered an eighteenth-century phenomenon. As our knowledge about this early vocabulary is limited, English dictionaries of that period, such as Bullokar, Blount, Cawdrey, and Florio, and early German dictionaries, such as Stieler, Adelung, and Campe are used in this study. However, they are not sufficient for researching the very specific language of the Puritans and Pietists. For the first time, significant words and phrases have been collected from unresearched sources. Based on this
philological material, this study is able to present an entire new layer of literary language not previously available in German research. This study not only lists important expressions but shows these expressions in the original linguistic context in order to demonstrate their specific usage and identify their religious origin.

In order to understand the success and influence of devotional literature, it is important to consider the religious motives of the writers, and the fears and expectations of the readers. The most important questions for believers at the time of Puritanism were: ‘Am I saved?’ and ‘Where will I spend eternity?’ These were not general philosophical or theological considerations; these were personal quests. The believer searched for individual answers to these questions through introspection, spiritual exercises, and divinely inspired feelings. Without understanding these religious implications, most of this highly emotional and introspective literature seems arcane. Therefore, in addition to understanding the reader’s perspectives and motives, it is necessary to give a brief historical overview of the theology of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, as well as the Pietist and Puritan movements. It is also important to understand the doctrine of predestination and the effect that it had on the believer and on the writer of devotional literature.

**Predestination**

The central and most controversial Christian concept in this study is the doctrine of predestination. It has caused division throughout the history of the Christian Church and could be seen as the dividing line between Lutheran and Calvinist theology. It also played an important part in Puritanism as well as early Pietism.

Predestination means that only a limited number of people are chosen by God to be saved from damnation. Those elected were predetermined by God before the creation of the world. God made a sovereign choice that was not based on the works of the believers during their lives. This doctrine is based on several passages of the Bible. Often quoted is a verse from the epistle to the Ephesians:

> He hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love: having predestined us unto adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will. (Eph. 1. 4–5)

The effect that this doctrine had on the believers and therefore on writers of Puritan devotional literature will be discussed later. Predestination is often associated with the teaching of John Calvin, but it was St Augustine who introduced this doctrine over a thousand years prior to Calvin’s birth. Augustine was convinced that from eternity God predestined those whom he would save and those whom he would not. Augustine became a major role model for Puritan writers. Following the Pauline tradition, i.e. the New Testament writings of the apostle Paul, he developed not only the concept of the Christian “inner self” and predestination but he also wrote the first spiritual autobiography of the western world, *The Confessions*, which has often been recognized as a forerunner of John Bunyan’s *Grace Abounding*. Augustine is referred to in almost all the Puritan books discussed in this study. Augustine’s doctrines played an important part in the Reformation. Martin Luther was an
Augustinian friar and greatly influenced by Augustine’s writings. Luther, like most leaders of the Reformation, never abandoned the concept of predestination. He taught the certainty of election confirmed by the deeds of the believer, but he did not make it the main pillar of his teaching. He avoided reflection on metaphysical questions, perceived them as dangerous, and saw predestination as a mystery that God had not completely revealed. After the reformer’s death, Luther’s followers dismissed this doctrine in order to preserve the concept of a good and loving God and tried to prove that Luther had never held Calvinist principles.

The rebellion against the Catholic Church started with Luther in 1517 and inspired many others to discover a new form of Christianity. The Reformed movement started only a few years later when Zurich broke with Catholicism. Churches which use the name ‘Reformed’ originated during the sixteenth century mainly through the teaching of Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin. Calvin followed Luther in his understanding of God’s election and also focused on the doctrine of justification by faith instead of predestination. However, Calvin explained the doctrine in a much more systematic way than Luther. Only through Calvin’s detailed explanation did the doctrine of predestination become the centre of theological thought, especially because his followers put even more emphasis on predestination than Calvin himself. Expressions such as ‘Calvinism’ and ‘Reformed’ in this study are mentioned mainly to describe a Christian theology and movement that stressed the doctrine of predestination. English Calvinists in this study are referred to as ‘Puritans’.

Puritanism

The Puritans were a varied group of reformers who provoked a rebellion against the Church of England in the mid-sixteenth century. They stood clearly in the tradition of the Reformed movement and shared a common Calvinist theology. Puritanism was a highly influential movement, which led to the English Civil War and to the rule of Cromwell in the middle of the seventeenth century. For this study, the political dimension of this movement is less important.

From a doctrinal point of view, Puritanism in England is basically the stressing of predestination in terms calculated to appeal to the English population. Puritans deeply believed that God had already made his decision who went to heaven and who went to hell. They accepted that they could not change God’s choice by their good deeds or by their sins. Most important was their belief that the chosen ones would, by a profound sense of inner assurance, somehow feel that they were in possession of eternal life. The Westminster Confession is a confession of faith made by Puritans and approved by the Long Parliament in 1648. In Chapter 3, ‘Of God’s eternal decree’, the doctrine of predestination is set out: ‘By the decree of God, for the manifestation of His glory, some Men & Angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others fore-ordained to everlasting death’.

Although the Puritan believer had no power to influence his own eternal destiny, he became not passive but, on the contrary, extraordinarily active. He had no expectation of a reward in heaven for his good deeds. However, the motivation to lead a godly and disciplined life was so extremely powerful that many scholars
view this as the cradle for capitalism, rationalization, social activism, individualism, and secularization. What seems a contradiction at first sight makes sense only by considering the psychology of a Puritan mind. Predestination led to the following two phenomena, which will be investigated in the selected British devotional literature later:

**Asceticism.** By organizing his life, the Puritan was able to show that he belonged to the elect. The rationalization of spiritual life was to help the believer convince himself and others that he belonged to the chosen ones. It is important to understand that the Puritans saw their disciplined godly life not as the means for their salvation but, on the contrary, as an absolutely important sign of salvation. The problem was that nobody knew for sure whether or not he was saved. It was exactly this uncertainty that led not only to a further increase of their efforts in terms of work and discipline but also to:

**Self-examination.** The Puritans developed the ‘searching of the heart’ to a much higher degree than ever before in the history of Christianity. The believers continuously tried to analyse themselves in order to find evidence of their salvation. William Haller describes the Puritans appropriately as ‘physicians of the soul’ (Haller, *The Rise*, p. 3). By looking for salvation within themselves, they were aware of and analysed every emotional move. The fact that many of the Puritan writers were imprisoned for their beliefs led to even further introspection. The imprisoned writers Bayly, Powell, Hall, Baker, Baxter, and Bunyan will be discussed in this study.

In Protestantism, there was no saving grace through sacraments, which was the case in the Catholic tradition. The Church, even as a Protestant institution, became less important as it was unable to help the believer gain salvation. This also led the believer to look inward and see himself as an individual, isolated from the common world. This individual consciousness often led to strong feelings of fear and loneliness.

All British devotional books discussed in this study were written by Puritans who shared a Calvinist theology and believed in the doctrine of predestination. The only exception is *A Booke of Christian Exercise* written by the Jesuit Robert Persons. This book, however, was revised by the Puritan minister Edmund Bunny. Only the translation of Bunny’s Puritan version became influential and successful in Germany.

For Puritanism, devotional literature was important as it helped the individual believer enhance his religious life and practices outside the Church. These books also gave him instructions for introspection and examples of heart-searching activities. Expressions such as ‘Puritan’ or ‘Puritanism’ in this study are always related to British believers. In some quotations, theologians use the notion of ‘Puritan Pietists’ or ‘englischer Pietismus’, which refers to the Puritan’s stressing of the practice of piety and therefore the close connection to Pietism.
Pietism

There is no doubt that Pietism had a considerable influence on Protestantism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Germany. As Pietism never had a binding system of declarations and there was no commonly accepted ethic, different forms of Pietism developed. Best known amongst the Pietist leaders were Philipp Jakob Spener, August Hermann Francke at the New University of Halle, and in Saxony, Count Zinzendorf, the founder of the ‘Herrnhuter Brüdergemeinde’. In addition to these well-known branches, historical research has identified ‘Württemberg Pietism’ (e.g. Johann Bengel and Friedrich Christoph Oetinger) and ‘radical Pietism’ (e.g. Gottfried Arnold and Gerhard Tersteegen). Theodor Undereyck was the founder of the ecclesiastical Pietism in the Reformed Church in Germany. He held a position similar to Spener’s in the Lutheran Church.

For this study, the theological differences between the branches are not of particular interest. It is more important to trace the similarities within these forms and the influence they had on the emotions and the subjectivity of the individual believer. As a certain degree of repetition is characteristic of Pietist language and literature, this study will not be able to avoid covering familiar ground several times. The ‘searching of the heart’, for instance, will appear in several chapters because the act and duty of self-examination was continually reviewed, modified and intensified.

Pietism, in German literary criticism, stands mainly for the appearance of new forms of individualism and subjectivity, based on religious experience. Because there were many different branches, theologians have found it difficult to define Pietism.

Although the term ‘Pietismus’ was only established retrospectively at the end of the seventeenth century, Pietism as a historical phenomenon originated much earlier. In order to find the roots of this religious movement, one has to go back to the first half of the seventeenth century.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was an increased interest in Germany in theological renewal and spiritual experience. The new concept of faith, developed by Puritans in Britain, became popular in Germany as well as in the Netherlands. There are some other roots that have been discussed by theological research, such as the demands of the reform party within Lutheran orthodoxy. There is also mystical spiritualism, Roman Catholic mysticism, and Dutch Precisianism, which itself was influenced by Puritanism. None of these influences can be regarded as unique. However, it will be shown in the following chapter that theological research of the last decades has stressed the importance of the Puritan impact on Pietism while the Dutch influence is now seen as less important. This change of emphasis, particularly during the last two decades, is based on theological research on the religious literature of these two countries. The extremely large number of British devotional books translated into German is enough evidence to demonstrate that they were an important factor in the rise of Pietism. These books exerted a great amount of influence upon the movement. German translations of British devotional literature were significant because they spread Puritan ideas across Germany.
Spener, Francke, Arnold, and other Pietists were influenced by these Puritan writings. Many Pietists of that time discussed German translations of British devotional literature in their writings, used it or even copied it. Theological research has shown the similarities between both movements. Particularly important for this study is the aspect of self-examination, which was significant for Puritanism and Pietism alike.

As in Puritanism, the truth and reality of the Christian faith were no longer externally focused, e.g. based on the collective fellowship within the Church or on the Bible only. Pietists felt and experienced the truth of the Christian faith in their hearts. The Pietists stressed the importance of Wiedergeburt and used the term Bekehrung which received the meaning of a Gnadeneparauführung (experience of grace), similar to the Puritan’s ‘soul-wrenching, born-again experience of conversion’.17 Pietism with its stressing of spiritual experience stood for the reformation of the self. It disregarded any dry intellectual form of church life and promoted a more immediate experience with God. The believers maintained a personal devotion to God and encouraged the expression of emotion in their religious practices. As found in Puritanism, conversion experiences were highly suitable for expression in a literary form as they gave examples of spiritual journeys and helped non-believers on their way to conversion. The Erbauungsbuch (devotional book) was important because it helped the believer to gain a sense of true devotion. In this way, devotion was no longer an act, practised collectively with other believers. The reader had his own personal relationship with the almighty God. He did not necessarily need the Church any more but used the Erbauungsbuch for religious guidance.

The ‘Appell an das Herz’ (appeal to the heart) played a crucial role in Pietism because it turned the believer away from quarrels between the denominations in the seventeenth century.18 Pietism focused on the inner self and on the practical Christian life rather than on theological controversy. The fact that Pietists put much emphasis on introspection has been seen as the starting point of self-analysis. Many Germanists have viewed the religious emotional experience of the Pietists as important in order to understand the literature of the eighteenth century in Germany. There are different forms of Pietist literature: theological works, devotional literature, autobiographies, letters, diaries and religious poetry. In this study, the academic works of the Pietist movement play only a secondary role. One has to agree with Gerhard Sauder, who stresses the significance of devotional literature: ‘Zur Andacht und Erbauung wurden Bücher gelesen, die ein weit gefühlsbetonteres Christentum als Spener oder Francke verkündeten’.19 The expressions ‘Pietist’ or ‘Pietism’ always relate to German-speaking believers.

Another religious concept that will be mentioned often in this study is ‘mysticism’. The mystic wanted to gain knowledge of God rather than knowledge of himself. He thought that spiritual things were unobtainable through the natural intellect; and as a result, there was no reason for self-analysis. The devotio moderna was a later form of mysticism. The best-known and most important book of this movement was Thomas à Kempis’s De imitatione Christi, written in 1427.20 The inwardness of the mystic movement was significant and many mystical expressions were adopted by Pietist language. This study does not deny the influence of the
mystical tradition, but recognizes the strong Puritan impact on Pietism, which was overlooked previously. There are important differences between mysticism and the Calvinist tradition. These differences have often been ignored by Germanists but need to be recognized in order to understand the importance of British devotional literature for Pietism. Medieval Christianity was not as highly individualistic as Puritanism and Pietism. The mystic believer did fight against sin but did not have the same feelings of isolation as found in Puritanism and Pietism. He did not have to work out for himself whether or not he belonged to the elect. The Church was an important mediator between God and the believer. Another example of this distinction is noted by Gerd Birkner, who stressed the importance of predestination:

Durch ihre strenge Zuordnung auf die durch die Prädestinationstheologie geschaffene Glaubenssituation gewinnen diese im einzelnen aus dem Arsenal der mittelalterlichen Predigt herleitbaren literarischen Elemente einen neuen Stellenwert, der den Versuch problematisch erscheinen läßt, die puritanische Predigt- und Traktatliteratur als ungebrochene Fortsetzung mittelalterlicher Predigttraditionen zu deuten.21

In his article on bibliographical problems within German research on Pietism, Hans-Jürgen Schrader has pointed out that Germanists depend on theological research:

Für die zu einem fundierten Verständnis der deutschen Literaturentwicklung vom Ausgang des Barock über die Goethezeit bis zur Romantik entschieden notwendig bleibende germanistische, d.h. literatur- bzw. sprachgeschichtliche und -analytische Pietismusforschung ist also beständig mit Grundlagen, Arbeitsinstrumenten (wie Texteditionen) und Hilfsmitteln (Lexika und Bibliographien) zu arbeiten, die sich ein anderes Fach geschaffen hat, legtimmerweise nach Maßgabe und in der Auswahl seiner eigenen, durchaus anders gelagerten Interessen. In unseren eigenen Handbüchern und Lexika beispielsweise sind Informationen über die Schriftsteller und die bevorzugten literarischen Gattungen des Pietismus entweder gar nicht vertreten oder nur dürftig ausgeführt.22

As this study applies theological findings to the development of German literature, it depends even more on religious studies. Therefore it is important to give a brief updated overview of research by theologians and Germanists on Pietism.

In the first chapter of this investigation, the results of theological studies will be summarized in order to prove that Puritan books were indeed very popular in Germany in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and to demonstrate how the doctrine of predestination influenced this British literature. For a long time, Germanists have followed the early view that Pietism was basically only an updated form of mysticism. One needs to consider this perspective to understand why British devotional literature was overlooked.

In Chapter 2 of this study, the effect that this lack of recognition had on German research will be shown by the example of August Langen’s Der Wortschatz des deutschen Pietismus. Like many before and after him, Langen stresses that the subjective tendencies of German eighteenth-century literature were rooted in religious experiences. In order to understand the language of the heart, which was
so important for the literature of the Storm and Stress and Empfindsamkeit, he states that one needs to know the works of the Pietists. For decades Langen’s study has been widely accepted and used in order to explain the development of Gefühlssprache and the process of secularization in German literature. Therefore, it may come as a surprise that this well-known and influential study is partly based on translations from Puritan literature. Langen’s view of the origins of Pietism was based on a limited understanding of Church history. Many of Langen’s references for typical Pietist expressions were taken from Die Historie der Wiedergebohnen, one of the most important and successful Pietist works ever published. This work, however, was partly translated from Puritan books. Langen was not aware of the particular original English sources of the Historie. Many of his references can be traced back to Vavasor Powell’s Spiritual Experiences and Samuel Clarke’s The Lives of Thirty-Two English Divines. Many of Langen’s references for typical Pietist expressions will be compared with the original English text in order to show the similarities between the Puritan and Pietist styles. This chapter on Langen’s main work is placed before the investigations of the individual British writers, as it proves that the vocabulary that Germanists have perceived as Pietist is partially derived from British devotional literature.

Lewis Bayly’s Praxis Pietatis and Emanuel Sonthom’s Güldenes Kleinod der Kinder Gottes will be investigated in Chapter 3. They not only had very high numbers of editions, but they were also recommended by leading German Pietists. The success of these two books opened the door for what theologians have called the mass translation of British devotional literature in Germany. Germanists, on the other hand, have often held the opinion that England only started to make an impact on the development of German literature in the eighteenth century. The name of John Milton, a Puritan, represents the change from a rationalist type of literature towards a more imaginative and emotional style of writing. The literary quality of John Milton’s work ranks high above British devotional literature, but it still stands in the same devotional tradition. The reception of this Puritan literature started almost a century before Johann Jakob Bodmer’s translation of Paradise Lost and his argument about Milton with Johann Christoph Gottsched. However, there is no published evidence that Germanists have investigated the early Puritan works in detail.

Joseph Hall will be investigated in Chapter 4 as he goes beyond Lewis Bayly and Edmund Bunny by focusing on the heart of the believer rather than on Christian duties. The translation of his Arte of Divine Meditation did not appear as a separate volume, but was often bound in one volume with Bayly’s Praxis Pietatis and therefore became a very popular work in Germany. He was highly regarded in the Nürnberger Kreis and Georg Philipp Harsdörffer translated two of his best-known works, the Occasional Meditations and the Characters of Vertues and Vices. It will be shown that the typical Pietist Zufällige Andachten, which were mainly associated with Christian Scriver, were initiated by Joseph Hall. Harsdörffer was not the only well-known writer of the baroque who translated British devotional literature. Andreas Gryphius translated some works by Richard Baker and it will be shown that these translations already include a high number of typical ‘Pietist’ words, listed in Langen’s Wortschatz.
‘Pietist’ expressions can be found even earlier in the German translation of Daniel Dyke’s *The Mystery of Selfe-Deceiving*, which will be looked at in Chapter Five. Apart from typical Pietist vocabulary, other Pietist features such as the abundant use of prefixes and the ‘plain style’ will be discussed. For the first time, it will be shown that sentimental language, characteristic of German Empfindsamkeit, was already used in Dyke’s work a century earlier and therefore can be viewed as directly influenced by the Puritans. The German translator of Dyke’s important work was Theodore Haak, who became better known as the first translator of John Milton’s *Paradise Lost*. As in the chapter on Langen, numerous ‘Pietist’ words will be examined in order to prove that the origins of this language as well as sentimental language are considerably older than hitherto assumed. Another aspect that will be noted in this work is the increasing degree of individualism. Through Dyke’s book, the believer was encouraged to focus on himself rather than on God. This Puritan tendency developed into a form of secularization, which can be found in later British devotional works.

In Chapter 6 of this study, an early writer of the second Puritan generation will be discussed. Richard Baxter’s *Treatise of Self-Denyall* shows signs of secularization, which are revealed in his use of language. Based on the new findings of theological research on British devotional literature, it will be shown that Baxter’s *Treatise of Self-Denyall* actually led to self-awareness and to the conclusion that Puritan thought helped to shape the modern concept of the self. This resulted in a new definition of the ‘Selbst’ and in the use of numerous ‘self’-compounds, which previously had been thought to be a typical, highly subjective product of German eighteenth-century literature.

John Bunyan is one of the last writers of Puritan devotional literature. In the final chapter of this study, it will be shown that his literary style led to a more secular form of writing which included the display of psychological insight, the distinction between different forms of literary characters, and the reflection of the inner condition of a person’s soul in nature. This new literary style started the process of secularization within Pietist literature in the seventeenth century.

In earlier German research, secularization has been perceived primarily as the transfer of biblical terminology and spiritual expressions to non-religious subjects. Albrecht Schöne, for example, has shown this important process in the works of influential writers such as Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz. However, secularization starts much earlier within popular religious writing. Therefore, it is important to explain precisely where, why and how religious literature was changing. Bunyan’s main works *Grace Abounding* and *The Pilgrim’s Progress* were examples of this change, and had an important impact on German Pietism. The more secular appearance of these works is the result of Bunyan’s ability to turn typical Puritan spiritual experiences into literary fiction. Once again, it will be shown that this was influenced by the doctrine of predestination.

This is the first study by a Germanist to provide an overview of British devotional literature in Germany in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It aims to show why this literature was important for German Pietism, and how it influenced the development of German language and literature.
Notes to the Introduction

1. The books of this canon were often recommended by influential Pietists. They also had the highest numbers of editions and represent typical Puritan and Pietist aspects such as conversion, self-deceit, and self-denial.

2. For further study, see e.g. Helmut Slogsnat, *Das dramatische Epos: Studien zu Miltons Paradise Lost* (Frankfurt a. M., 1978) and Angela Gorr, *Puritanisches Gedankengut in Miltons Paradise Lost*, Neue Anglistik, 2 (Essen, 1986).

3. For other influences, see p. 6 of the present study.

4. Although parts of Luther's language can often be found in translations of British devotional books, the highly individualistic and sentimental aspects of these translations go beyond Luther's influence.

5. See also II Thessalonians 2. 13–14; II Timothy 1. 9; Romans 9. 11–13; Revelation 17. 8. In this study, references to books of the Bible are always taken from the King James Version, except references in the German language, which are always taken from the Luther Bible. Theologians distinguish between 'double' and 'single predestination'. 'Double predestination' affirms both God's election and his reprobation of chosen men and women. Some will be saved and go to heaven, some will be lost and go to hell. 'Single predestination' means that God did choose people for eternal life in his kingdom but he did not decree that the rest of human beings would go to hell. In this study, the word 'predestination' always refers to 'double predestination'.


11. The best-known study is certainly Max Weber’s *Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* (1904), a major classic in the social sciences. There are two new English editions by different translators of this work, both published in 2001. Weber was convinced that the Puritan’s extreme form of self-discipline and asceticism led to the accumulation of wealth and to an absence of interest in ‘worldly pleasures’. Like many before and after him, he singled out predestination as the most important and driving doctrine of Puritanism. Although considered a classic, Weber’s theory has been criticized, for example, because Weber did not have satisfactory empirical evidence. Moreover, he made a false distinction between rational capitalism and preceding types of capitalistic activity. However, it is evident that the moral discipline enforced by Puritans definitely had an impact upon the economy at that time. See Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. by Stephen Kalberg (Chicago and London, 2001).

12. This is an important difference between the Augustinian and the Puritan understanding of predestination. Augustine had not only a much more philosophical approach (he rightly has been called a Christian Platonist), but he also saw the sacraments of the Catholic Church as outward signs of election.

13. It was unusual for a Puritan minister to make use of a Catholic book, but Bunny was impressed by the book’s potential to promote the general godliness of the reader. However, he omitted several passages on topics such as purgatorial fire, which Protestants rejected as non-biblical. See in detail the only systematic comparison of Person’s and Bunny’s texts: Brad S. Gregory, ‘The “True and Zealous Service of God”: Robert Persons, Edmund Bunny, and The First Book of the Christian Exercise’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45 (1994), 238–68.
14. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Pietism had become the most powerful force in Protestantism. About 40 per cent of all Protestants could be seen as Pietists. This was about a fifth of the whole German-speaking population. See Hans-Jürgen Schrader, ‘Pietismus’, in Literaturlexikon: Begriffe, Realien, Methoden, ed. by Walther Killy, 15 vols ( Gütersloh, 1988–93), XIV (1993), 208–16 (p. 209). Martin Brecht gives a good overview of this movement in Geschichte des Pietismus, 4 vols (Göttingen, 1993–2000).

15. See, for example, Heinrich Bornkamm, Mystik, Spiritualismus und die Anfänge des Pietismus im Lutherismus, Vorträge der theologischen Konferenz zu Gießen, 44 (Gießen, 1926).

16. See, for example, Wilhelm Goeters, Die Vorbereitung des Pietismus in der reformierten Kirche der Niederlande bis zur labadistischen Krisis 1670, reprint of the edition of 1911 (Amsterdam, 1974).


18. Chapter 4 and particularly Chapter 5 of this study aim to show that the German ‘Appell an das Herz’, i.e. the extensive use of ‘vocabulary of the heart’ and sentimental language, can first be found in translations of British devotional literature.


20. All four parts of this work were first translated into German in 1434. It was not until 1531 that it was fully translated into English. See Michael Mascuch, Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-identity in England, 1591–1791 (Cambridge, 1997), p. 62.


23. ‘Emanuel Sonthom’ is a fictitious person, based on the name of the translator, Emanuel Thomson. Thomson translated Edmund Bunny’s Protestant version of A Booke of Christian Exercise, originally written by the Jesuit Robert Persons. For further details, see p. 66 in the present study.

24. In a sense it would be wrong to speak of Pietist words in these works as the Pietist movement did not exist in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, as the characteristic language of Pietism resulted from translations of Puritan works which predate Pietism and Pietist language, this expression is used here in inverted commas.