Spiritual Empowerment and the Demand of Marital Obedience
A Millenarian Woman and Her Journal

*Ulrike Gleixner*

The significance of religion in women’s lives in the early modern period is uncontested. Confessional and religious institutions reached far into women’s experiences—not always to the advantage of the women. Rather than emphasizing the negative factors of these relations, as many scholars have done, I will use a case study to show how in the beginning of the nineteenth century a woman could use her pietistic spirituality as a means of self-empowerment and thus circumvent temporal laws of subordination. The journal of Beate Hahn Paulus (1782–1842) shows how this Pietist, a minister’s wife, used her religion not only to resist her husband’s designs for their life and family but also to carry out her plans for the family. Her spiritual journal, in which she depicted her husband as unjust and impious and herself as a fighting Pietist and a mother willing to make sacrifices, was necessary for this endeavor. With regard to the three authorities on which her belief was focused (God, her descendants, and her self-interpretation), this textual subject position as a devoted Pietist allowed Hahn to legitimize her marital disobedience, which she regarded as necessary to continue the Pietist heritage in her family.

Hahn’s religious experience and empowerment refers to the early modern era, in which women in religious groups characterized by practice rather than dogma could employ their spirituality to transgress certain gender boundaries. Pietistic beliefs and practices enabled Hahn to expand the familial realm into a religious realm encompassing public and social spheres. While the Christian notion of spiritual equality of the sexes before God had no implications for the worldly social
order, in the pious movements—which included groups outside of state-supervised religious institutions such as Pietists, Quakers, and other Protestant and Catholic dissenters—women could, under certain conditions, transgress valid limitations within the familial, economic, and political realms. But the concept of spiritual equality never in principle changed society’s gender order. Spiritual equality never lead to the Pietistic demand for civil equality. Nevertheless, women could justify attempts to transcend certain gender boundaries and gain access to new spheres of activity with the religious explanation that God had called on all people to follow him. Women often used the writing of religious journals to initiate God into their problems and to justify their positions.

In a parallel development, beginning in the mid–eighteenth century, Enlightenment societies comprised exclusively of male members as well as informal social circles that included women took to discussing rational theology and pioussness. Their discussions criticized on the one hand belief in miracles and ecstatic forms of religion and on the other hand confessional dogmatism and fundamentalist world explanations, which were ascribed to an irrational, unenlightened past. By the end of the Enlightenment period, this striving toward emancipation from the structures of inherited religious traditions had eroded early modern female spirituality but had not created a new space of spiritual agency within the family for women. New possibilities for education arose outside of the household, and, in the course of professionalization, new work possibilities arose outside of the family. In Protestantism, for example, women’s religious clubs and the institutionalization of deacons provided new opportunities. Nonetheless, with regard to the social sphere of the family, the female religiousness at the end of this period was implicated in the new system with its ideology of separate spheres and thus was diminished as a resource of empowerment of the subject position. In the formation of the middle class beginning in the last decades of the eighteenth century, the relationships among religion, gender, and family became transformed. Women’s spirituality became much more confined within the limits of family. A subject position for women was denied because of their intellectual and emotional inferiority; they were entirely represented by family men—fathers, husbands, and brothers. The ideology of sexual difference codified by the language of economics, popular novels, religious and political debates, economic and legal changes, and scientific arguments defined the nature of woman within the world of domesticity. In the
ideology of separate spheres, woman’s true nature could find expression only in the intimate realm of the family. Within this space, women embodied virtue and morality set against the amoral world. Loving and caring for one’s children and husband inside the domestic sphere came to be seen as woman’s true vocation. Although women of the established Protestant and Catholic churches became more intimately connected with religious institutions than their husbands, the possibility of their spiritual self-empowerment had been diminished. Nevertheless, Pietist Beate Hahn had still in the nineteenth century a spirituality at her disposal, thereby allowing her to create a subject position in opposition to her husband. During the transitional era (1750–1830), with all its implications for a new gender system, social practices continued to exist that referred to the early modern period. Discourse and social transformations are not in any case congruent. Looking through the lens of early modern religious practice at the Lutheran Pietist reform movement, it becomes apparent that social change took place hesitantly and with delay. From the point of view of the creation of modernity, Lutheran Pietism, with its intensive autobiographical writing culture, provided women with new possibilities for saying *I*. A third position may integrate both perspectives. Spiritual empowerment by women as an early modern cultural praxis was integrated in Pietism, which—as a sophisticated culture of self-reflection—referred to modernity. The self-centered piety of the Pietist movement made it possible for women at least in the first decades of the nineteenth century to create a subject position through their spiritual strength that banished the new middle-class culture with the new household order and the public/private split.

**Pietism and the Production of the Self in Württemberg**

German Pietism was part of the Protestant evangelical awakening in Europe and the American colonies in the last decades of the seventeenth century. As a Protestant reform movement within the churches of Württemberg, Pietism was first associated with the academic middle class. The Pietist network was based on family, kinship, and group culture. This was an educated group, consisting predominantly of families of high officials, ministers, doctors, pharmacists, and teachers as well as some tradesmen. Pietists were characterized by endogamous marriages: cousins often would marry.

Pietism opened up new forms of self-construction to women as well
as to men. Philipp Jakob Spener led the movement in Germany. His reform program, *Pia Desideria*, drafted in 1675 and addressed to an academic audience of theologians, as well as his popular 1676 devotional text, *Das Geistliche Priestertum*, called for a new religious responsibility on the part of the laity and explicitly included women. Autobiographical evidence documents women’s response to this new religious offering. They attempted, through the practice of spirituality, to develop a subject position for themselves.

The Pietist reform movement sought to augment personal piety by placing the individual at the center of attention. Becoming more godly clearly defined the meaning of life and provided a yardstick by which a person’s suitability as a model for the community could be measured. Pietist activities focused on the concept of the sanctification of life. Understanding Württemberg Pietists requires taking into account their strong millenarian perspective and its impact on their expectations of the future. Millenarianism—the vision of the second coming of Christ combined with the establishment of a thousand-year kingdom of God and his saints on earth before the Last Judgment, based on Revelation 20—served as the clandestine connecting thread for the awakened (*die Erweckten*). They saw themselves as having been chosen to play a special role in the realization of God’s plan for his future kingdom on Earth.

The religious practices of the Pietists in Württemberg were based on oral communication, reading, and writing and included individual as well as family and group-related activities. In addition to reading the Bible and devotional literature, singing, and praying, either alone or with other household members, the Pietists gathered regularly in so-called conventicles for discussion and prayer. These activities shaped a new community culture. The most demanding individual religious exercise was introspection, which was seen as a means of acquiring self-knowledge. Through the close observation of one’s own spiritual life and development, one was supposed to continually compare one’s expectations with reality. In this way, any potential negative developments or dark side of the soul would be revealed. Pietists thus in a sense were required to spy on their own souls. The results of this self-examination—the recognition and naming of feelings—were recorded in diaries, in journals, and occasionally in letters.

The Pietist idea of a necessary permanent renewal of the soul was the basis for the goal of developing a self conceived through spirituality and independent of people and the world. In the interest of this self-
creation, Pietists made a radical separation between external, worldly developments and those that were internal or spiritual. Their idea of a religious but autonomous self contrasted with the narrow set of standards of accepted behaviors, outlooks, and feelings. But this kind of self-construction made it possible to acquire agency and to create for oneself a space in opposition to one’s environment. Women exploited this potential to develop resistance. Their autobiographical writings can be understood as an act, a space in which to create subjectivity. As Natalie Zemon Davis’s and Felicity Nussbaum’s works have shown, the spiritual autobiographical writing of women must be understood as an attempt to create a gendered position and to express opposition.15

The strongly theological emphasis of previous historical research on German Pietism accounts for the almost complete disregard in existing historiography of the contributions of women to Pietism within the Lutheran church. Because women Pietists left behind hardly any theological writings and were not permitted to hold ecclesiastical offices, they have been left out of the history of the movement, and historians have ignored women’s autobiographical writings. However, these personal writings attest to women’s important family and group-related contributions to the Pietist movement.16

The Conflict in the Hahn-Paulus Marriage

Occupying the not very lucrative parish of Talheim, possessing little ambition, having integrated himself into life at the village inn, and enjoying good wine to an extent that overextended his budget, Karl Friedrich Paulus projects an image of personal resignation. Born into a well-to-do family of civil servants, he experienced his simple existence in a rural parish as a social step downward and was not prepared to sacrifice his few comforts for the sake of his five sons’ education.

After the sons’ financially motivated removal from school, it became clear that Paulus was making no effort to tutor them in the classical languages, the acquisition of which was a prerequisite for an academic education. When Beate Hahn realized this, she was infuriated. The idea that her sons were being educated beneath their station—were “being made into peasants,” as she noted at one point—precipitated a crisis between her and her husband. According to his plan, one was to become a notary and the other a game warden, a notion that repelled her, for she associated both occupations with a sinful life. She was convinced that only with a university education...
would her sons be able properly to serve the coming kingdom of God. This lending of a religious and millenarian tone to a family mentality must be understood against the background of the Pietist notion of the elite, within which the learned constituted an especially elect group working toward the kingdom of God. With the support of her relatives, she negotiated a financial plan with Paulus, according to which her mother, her brother, and his wife would pay for the maintenance of two sons, Wilhelm and Philipp, on the basis of the paternal inheritance, leaving her husband responsible only for supporting his oldest son, Fritz. However, this plan broke down, apparently because precise financial arrangements had not been made for books, school fees, travel, and clothing. In addition, Paulus continued to refuse to contribute his share. Hahn’s attempt to finance these expenditures through earnings from agricultural lands, which were normally leased out, was thwarted by her husband, who claimed that all of the income belonged to him. All transactions involving money and food had to be carried out behind her husband’s back. In view of his constant threats to force his sons to return home, she hid from him any information about additional financial support she gave them. Despite all her calculations and economizing, money was always short, and Hahn was repeatedly obliged to borrow from wealthy innkeepers in the village against the proceeds of the next harvest. In the constant marital struggle over finances, her husband, as head of the household, had the stronger position, and she looked on helplessly as he conducted his business affairs according to his wishes. It was a very unequal fight because Paulus had legal control over the family income.

**Organizing Opposition through Writing**

Beate Hahn was born in 1778, the oldest daughter of Philipp Matthäus Hahn and his second wife, Beate Regina. A pastor, author of theological texts, watchmaker, and inventor, Philipp Hahn is remembered as a charismatic leader in the Pietist movement. His conventicles were known far beyond the central Neckar region and were attended by many people from outside the area. Although merely the daughter of a rural pastor, Beate Hahn grew up with the consciousness of belonging to the Pietist elite. In 1800, after the death of her father, she entered into an arranged marriage with Karl Friedrich Paulus, a pastor from a family of Stuttgart civil servants. Paulus, however, was not a Pietist,
and the spouses’ differing conceptions of piety led them into considerable conflict. Beate Hahn began her so-called *Wochenbuch* (weekly journal) in 1817 and ceased writing in it after the death of her husband in 1829. During those twelve years she filled eight books, which together contain about a thousand manuscript pages and are now housed in the manuscript department of the Württemberg State Library. Her writings document the couple’s marital conflict over the financing of their sons’ formal education. She began writing when her husband, against her will, planned to take the two eldest of their five sons, Fritz and Philipp, out of the Latin School in Leonberg to spare the expense of their tuition and maintenance. He did so in 1818. It is significant that her text ends with her adversary’s death.

Beate Hahn wrote on Saturdays or Sundays, at times twice a week, usually one or two pages at a time but often much longer passages—some as long as twenty pages. When time was lacking—for example, during the harvest or the children’s vacations—she occasionally broke off her writing. Between 1817 and 1824, she occasionally used two books at the same time. She did not intend to produce a chronological documentation, which explains why she did not date her entries. For Beate Hahn, the act of writing was of primary importance, enabling her at times of crisis to create for herself a mental space for resistance. The introductory passages usually mark situations of acute stress: “Again I found it so hard”; “I’m so discouraged because I don’t see a way out because of the money”; “Woke up with a heavy heart.”

Beate Hahn’s reflections on her restricted situation as Paulus’s wife occupy a good deal of space in her journal. The years up to 1824 are particularly marked by desperation. During this period, she wrote most prolifically, and her descriptions of her marital conflicts are most vehement. Self-abnegation and longing for death alternate with long passages in which she begs God to help her. These in turn alternate with attempts to lend meaning to her suffering by seeing it as a special trial from God. In the winter of 1820, after a long journey, she writes of praying for her husband for the first time in years.

**Her Gendered Position**

The positions of daughter, wife, mother, and maidservant legally subjected women to male control. Thus, in a certain sense, women’s attempts to develop a subjective selfhood stood in contradiction to
their social position. Beate Hahn describes the structure of her gendered status and her role as a victim within it by emphasizing her husband’s transgressions of proper boundaries:

Then I became angry and said he was lazy and sighed. Oh, if only I were delivered of such a wastrel of a husband, he never does anything. In the evening he and I were quiet again, but when he returned home drunk from the inn a storm brewed. He reproached me for saying, “If only I were free of this squanderer of a husband,” and said I should go away and then I would be free. I said I only said it because of Philipp, because it is so hard for me that he isn’t in school and the other children as well, but it was no use. He became so incensed that he chased me around the attic with a walking stick and said his brother told him if I fought back he should strike me in the ribs, but the walking stick was much too good for that. I finally managed to get down from the attic, full of fear, and he didn’t hit me too many times. And I went into the street among friends and thought he could do nothing there. He called to me, but I did not go back in until I heard that his rage had cooled somewhat. Then I recalled the proverb, “Here is the patience and faith of saints,” and thought I mustn’t do anything any more but must submit patiently to my lot, come what may, and mustn’t open my mouth. I will obey from now on. But it shocks me the way my relatives treat me and that they tell my husband to strike me, the mother of eight uneducated children, in the ribs. Now I see that they are set against me, and it is very hard for me, so that I can scarcely do anything. I am so sad.21

Beate Hahn’s lamentations illustrate a dilemma specific to Pietist wives: she was not obligated to obey her non-Pietist husband in contradiction to God; rather, as Philipp Jakob Spener outlined in great detail in his catechism, she must patiently and gently try to win over the unjust husband who is behaving in error.22 Literary researchers have recently pointed out this fundamental contradiction in marriage documents of the early modern period.23 Although the concept of the “spiritual priesthood” certainly allowed for the inclusion of females, in practice this spiritual autonomy for women—as seen in the case of Beate Hahn—could lead to problems with other temporal and spiritual mandates.

Her writing concentrates on descriptions of situations and the
analysis of her feelings of unhappiness but avoids judgmental conclusions, so that any condemnation of her husband is left to the reader. She invalidates his relatives’ judgments of her by noting that her husband had told them lies. However, she completely represses the fact that her family also at times doubted that her husband was solely to blame for the emotional and financial breakdown of their marriage.

In entries in which she notes that her husband has much better food than she and the children and that sugar, coffee, fruit, and meat were reserved exclusively for him, her sacrifices have a martyrlike quality. Her husband’s behavior oversteps the boundaries of the permissible. She cites occasions when he deploys his “male force” against her as evidence of her oppressed state. Her enumeration of situations in which he intrudes into her sphere of responsibility as materfamilias and thereby subjects her to public humiliation serves as further proof of his transgressions: at times he forbade the village tradesmen to sell goods to her without his permission, and he tried to undermine her authority over the servants by ordering them to stop obeying her.24 Paulus told the wealthy of the village not to lend Hahn any more money, for he would not pay it back. She wrote in response, “No husband does that to his wife,” expressing the full weight of his transgressions.25

Hahn’s descriptions are grounded in a domestic and marital order that her husband had wrongfully violated. His offenses rendered her a victim and legitimized her chosen position as a disobedient wife. Her objectified status as an injured party is the necessary precondition for her resistance, but it describes only one element of her constructed personality.

Sanctification, Consolation, and Devotion

Beate Hahn’s introspection was combined with self-criticism. She knew that her accusations enraged her husband, and she constantly admonished herself to remain calm and to bear everything with silent humility. Like Jesus, she wanted to suffer all insults in silence.26 The thought that Jesus and his disciples had also remained silent just prior to his arrest strengthened her resolve not to reproach her husband.27 She repeatedly tried to invest her struggle with a spiritual meaning, “because all suffering brought upon us has as its object our sanctification.”28

The separation of the world into two spheres, one outward and secular and the other inward and spiritual, enabled her to banish the accu-
sations made against her to this external, evil world. She regarded her in-laws’ unjust reproaches and the value placed on bourgeois luxury in her environment as misguided, worldly attitudes. Her religious devotions helped her to endure her humiliations. She comforted and fortified herself with prayer and with hymns recorded in her diary: “Walked around all day singing and felt most joyful: Joy, joy upon joy, Christ endures all suffering; delight, delight upon delight. He is the sun of mercies.”

The Pietist assurance that joy in Christ transforms all suffering into bliss helped her to distance herself from earthly humiliations. The hymn “A Lamb Goes Carrying the Guilt of the World” lent a spiritual meaning to her suffering by equating it with that of the lamb. Her father’s sermons had a special place in her devotional practices, offering her spiritual instruction and comfort. She even wrote parts of her diary in the half-filled notebooks he had used to draft his sermons. Even if we consider that paper was expensive at the time, her taking up where his theological writings had literally left off must have been motivated by more than mere thrift. In so doing, she inscribed herself into her father’s tradition and took up his spiritual legacy. She was committed throughout her lifetime to seeing his sermons published and, in the autumn of 1820, visited Pietist friends and theologians to facilitate the project. In the summer of 1824, she arose daily at four o’clock in the morning to spend the hours until eight neatly copying out one of his sermons for the printer.

The Elected and Spiritual Priesthood

For Pietists, election meant possessing God’s particular grace and serving the kingdom of God in an exemplary fashion. Beate Hahn assures herself of belonging to the elect. She mentions several times that even in her earliest youth she had felt drawn to God, thereby affirming a Pietist pattern of religious awakening during childhood.

Intertextual references are a consistent stylistic device in her text. Her equation of herself with biblical figures—primarily the great men of the Old Testament—provides the biblical authority for her struggle. She repeatedly equates her own unfulfilled plea that her sons should receive an academic education and become good Pietists with Abraham’s long-unfulfilled request for male offspring. In fear for her sons’ future, she derived from this identification the comforting assurance that her prayer, too, would be heard. Her situation, like those of Abra-
ham and Job, represented a special trial. This equation bestowed a spiritual meaning on her suffering as a mark of distinction and election. Like David and the people of Israel, she and her children had been chosen to fulfill God’s mission.

She identifies with Rachel, who wept for her children and would not be comforted because they were far from home. Here Hahn again indirectly marshals comfort and hope. The passage, in which she refers to Jeremiah 31, continues, “Keep your voice from weeping and your eyes from tears; for your work shall be rewarded, says the Lord, and they shall come back from the land of the enemy.”

As a means of self-suggestion, these biblical references were highly strengthening. Several characteristics were always present in Hahn’s comparisons: the positive outcome in the future, the imbuing of her suffering with meaning, the encouragement to continue the struggle, and the certainty that she was among the elect.

Moses’ mother tried to evade the Pharaoh’s order to cast all of the newborn sons of the Israelites into the Nile by laying her infant son in a papyrus basket among the reeds on the riverbank, where the Pharaoh’s daughter found him while bathing. Out of pity for the whimpering creature, the princess took him in. Through the clever mediation of her maidservants, Moses’ mother was employed as the infant’s wet nurse (Exodus 2). Beate Hahn discussed the story of Moses’ rescue with her Sunday school class. It is obvious why this story was, as she noted, “particularly important” to her. As in her own case, the means of rescue employed by Moses’ mother was a deceptive ploy. The instructions of a husband possessed of all authority, whether as head of household or as Pharaoh, were rendered powerless through female trickery. Describing her position, justified through this story, she simultaneously revealed her husband’s reprehensible position. Her argument is again symbolic and indirect. By depicting the biblical stories as analogous to her own situation, she enabled herself to reflect on the latter. Not she but the Old Testament justified her conduct. Her virtuoso deployment of these references necessitated an impressive expertise in the Bible. Pietist biblical studies, often dismissed as a relatively simplistic practice of piety, take on a more complex psychological dimension in light of Hahn’s utilization of them for self-explanation, self-fortification, and absolute justification.

On feast days she recorded her religious thoughts and reflected on her father’s theological writings, his interpretation of John’s Revelation, and the Pietist circulars that she found among his papers. She was
deeply distressed by the dancing, drinking, and games in which the youth of the village indulged. Pietism had attempted to eradicate these forms of popular cultural expression through pastoral care and, where it enjoyed state support, through prohibition. Here again it is plainly implied that her husband, as village pastor, is to blame. Every holiday she bemoans the fact that the congregation has not been prepared in a truly pious fashion to receive communion:

Went to God’s table. This time I had the distinction of being united with Christ, and because I was united with him, he could give me our congregation, particularly because I have to see it thus, like sheep without a shepherd, and can contribute so little to its salvation, however much I might want to.32

Firm in her identity as a Pietist leader, she held devotional hours on Sundays during which she read her father’s sermons. On Saturdays she led a Bible study for children and confirmation candidates. She visited the pious in their sickbeds, and the mentally ill were brought to her to be cured—tasks that her father had performed in his capacity as a Pietist pastor. In these activities, she radicalized the responsibility for spiritual priesthood among the laity, transcended the boundaries of her female role, and even assumed duties of an ecclesiastical official.

The necessity for sons to receive a formal education was legitimized by religion. They were supposed to become “workers in the Lord’s vineyard” and to help realize God’s kingdom on Earth. This passage from the New Testament, which derives from Matthew 28:1–16, is central to her father’s eschatology and represents the special calling to work toward the millennium. The goal of establishing the thousand-year kingdom of God on Earth connects Beate Hahn to the future of her family. The plea for God to accept her sons and make of them “useful workers in his vineyard” occupies significant space in the journal. As theologians and university graduates, they would be involved in a special way in the realization of the millennium. On this point, her gendered position is also very clear: as a woman, she and her daughters cannot serve the kingdom of God (they, therefore, are hardly ever mentioned in the diary). Work in the service of the kingdom of God is the professional work of men with university degrees. Hahn’s contribution was to do everything possible to place her sons in such a position.
Conclusion

The narrative of Beate Hahn’s journal is implicitly rather than explicitly constructed. The language often reads less like a private diary than like a text composed for others. In the depictions of the conflicts with her husband, her documentation has a strong structure of confession and justification. Her emotionally laden and desperate style and the events she describes verify that she experienced herself as a victim. In placing herself in the role of a martyr, however, she could simultaneously assume the role of a saint.

In reproaching Karl Friedrich Paulus as a husband, father, and pastor, she justified her resistance. In drawing parallels between herself and biblical mothers and fathers who suffer and take responsibility for their children, Hahn justifies both her overstepping of boundaries and her role as a disobedient wife and furthermore sanctions her larger plan. Her objectives stem from her consciousness of being among the chosen. She assumes religious responsibility for the community and especially for her children. In light of the religious significance attributed to it, the status-appropriate education of her sons took on a particular urgency.

Hahn’s journal opened up a space in which she could reflect on her gendered position. Her writing became the basis for her opposition as well as a place in which to regenerate her psychological energies. Her self-healing through spirituality gave her great powers of resistance and self-assertion. The often-repeated self-affirmation that she was among the elect enabled her to hope for the future. Her optimism was justified, for all of her sons eventually completed their studies.

Hahn’s defense in her journal of her worldly disobedience, legitimized in Pietist terms, required an enormous leap of argumentation on her part—that is, the abrogation of her duty to be obedient. The attempt to create a textual subject position for oneself is made significantly more difficult in an environment where the social pendulum swings forcefully toward the duties of obedience. The irresolvable conflict between the duty of subordination and the resistance required of the Pietist is transferred to one’s inner self, and this ambivalence becomes part of her text. Through her spirituality and her writing, however, Hahn resolved in favor of resistance the conflict between being a good Pietist and being a dutiful wife.

Why could Beate Hahn act in this manner as late as the beginning of
the nineteenth century and well after the late Enlightenment, when women’s opportunity for self-assertion had become very limited? Reinhard Koselleck answers this question in terms of the asynchronous nature of change in history.33 Not all parts of society experienced the Enlightenment in the same manner or simultaneously. The Pietistic community was isolated from the rest of society, and general developments thus came much later to the Pietists. Perhaps more significant in this regard is the fact that, simultaneous with the de-Christianization process, the European Enlightenment movement brought forth its own processes,34 including a re-Christianization that also became part of modernity. Hahn’s Pietism gave her an internal strength that allowed her to quietly but powerfully resist some of the most confining features of the new middle-class construction of gender.

Notes
4. Rebekka Habermas, “Weibliche Religiosität—oder: Von der Fragilität


7. Ibid., 149–92.


16. For the English Protestant reform movements, the Puritans, the Quakers, the Methodists, and other dissenters, the contributions of women are much better documented. For these groups, published autobiographical writings by women exist: see Nussbaum, *Autobiographical Subject*.

17. Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart (hereafter cited as WLB), Cod. Hist. oct. 109, 10, 20–24. Pietist friends in Stuttgart later agreed to take another son, Christoph, in without charge, and another son, Immanuel, lived at minimal expense with his brother in Tübingen.

18. See Martin Brecht, “Philipp Matthäus Hahn und der Pietismus im

19. WLB Cod. Hist. oct. 109, 6, 37.

20. WLB Cod. Hist. oct. 109, 10, 18. However, in the years preceding his death, she frequently included him in her prayers.


24. WLB Cod. Hist. quart. 370, 8, 77.


26. WLB Cod. Hist. quart. 370, 8, 140–42.

27. WLB Cod. Hist. oct. 109, 10, 77.

28. WLB Cod. Hist. oct. 109, 6 pp. (1).

29. WLB Cod. Hist. quart. 370, 8, 89–90. These lines are from the Christmas song “Freuet euch, ihr Christen alle!” in *Württembergisches Gesangbuch* (Stuttgart, 1786), 387.

30. Title and beginning lines of a Passion song in ibid., 27.


32. WLB Cod. Hist. oct. 109, 5, 165–66; for a similar testimony, see pp. 10–11.
