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Chapter 2

Apocalypticism, Chiliasm, and Cultural Progress: Jerusalem in Early Modern Storyworlds

This chapter deals with the early modern transformation of the Jerusalem code in the Christian storyworld of “salvation history,” and the consequences it had in configuring human behavior on the pilgrimage towards the heavenly Jerusalem. The transformation became visible primarily in the outlook on the future, i.e. on the time span between the (respective) Now and the Second Advent of Christ. It implied a change from traditional apocalypticism to chiliasm (Greek root) or millenarianism, respectively millennialism (Latin root). The inner logic of salvation history inferred that this change deeply influenced the understanding of the present situation and its fatalities or potentialities. Moreover, it modified the view of the past as a basis of what happens now and will happen in the future.

The new chiliastic interpretation of biblical apocalypticism, developing in sixteenth- and, on a new level, in seventeenth-century early modern Europe, is a groundbreaking change in the Christian worldview and in the socio-political activities asked for or allowed in it. This change was a pivotal aspect of “modernization,” for two reasons. First, traditional apocalypticism assumed a spatially finite world, and a finite order of time, i.e. that is a “near” catastrophic end. Early modern chiliasm still referred to a Second Advent, but prolonged the time span from now to that end more and more. Modern chiliasm is reached, when the link between the view of the future and an end of time either becomes vague or non-existent. The presumption of an *open future* of the world was after all successful in the Enlightenment, also in its Christian strand. Second, chiliasm, which at the outset referred to the Second Advent, was open to “secularization” and able to move from the Christian storyworld over to a civil, religious or secular storyworld (or a “philosophical” paradigm) proclaiming the religious, moral, and cultural *progress* in “world history.”¹

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¹ “Modernization” and “secularization” I do not use in an essentialist fashion, rather as heuristic indicators for complex historical processes that cannot be homogenised by the assumption of a linear teleology. Cf. Friedrich Jaeger, “Moderne,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* VIII, eds. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2008), 651–54; Friedrich Jaeger, “Neuzeit,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* IX, eds. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2009), 158–81; Friedrich Wilhelm

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Fig. 2.1: The Main Building of the Waisenhaus in Halle, 1749. Engraving by Gottfried August Gründler.

“Jerusalem”: Normative Icon in the Apocalyptic Storyworld

Since the biblical “Jerusalem cluster” of meaning had its original and canonical seat in the Old Testament including apocalypticism (mainly in the books of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Fourth Ezra), the Christian concept of salvation history necessarily had to adapt the Jewish narratives and the role of Jerusalem in its own apocalyptic scheme.² The earthly place of Jesus Christ’s activity, passion, death, and

Graf, “Säkularisierung,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* XI, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2010), 525–72. In this essay I will refer preferably to *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, the result of an interdisciplinary cooperation and an integration of church- and religious history (responsible Albrecht Beutel, Walter Sparn) in a non-essentialist web of cultural memories.

² Introduction to all apocalyptic schemes in David Hellholm, “Apokalyptik,” in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 4th ed., ed. Hans Dieter Betz (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 590–600.

resurrection was now crucial in a new sense: Jesus Christ fulfilled the prophetic promises for salvation centered on Mount Zion; not only for Israel but also for all humankind and the whole creation. Therefore, the Christian understanding of “Jerusalem” (and of the Old Testament in general) from the very beginning developed a hermeneutical tool connecting a plurality of meanings with the biblical texts. This was the metaphorical or allegorical interpretation of biblical words or concepts.

Hermeneutical Setting

Concerning Jerusalem – the city in Palestine which was destroyed several times – we find a metaphorical understanding already in the Old Testament; even more in the New, where the relation of continuity and break with the first Covenant are explained by a typological or allegorical interpretation of persons, events, and prophetic predictions. Allegorisation of biblical texts became inevitable when the Christian community emigrated from the Synagogue, and when Jerusalem and the temple were destroyed in 70 C.E. Very early, too, the hermeneutics of allegory was successfully systematized, and the “fourfold sense of the Scripture” became a common hermeneutical rule for many centuries. The four senses connected (or presumed to connect) three allegorical meanings with the literal meaning; namely, an allegorical (in a narrower use), a tropic or moral, and an anagogic sense. “Jerusalem” was good for all four senses and was often used as an illustration for the well-known distich “Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, moralis quid agas, quo tendas [quid speres] anagogia.” The three allegorical uses clearly expressed normative intentions; to a certain extent, the literal use had a normative meaning, too.

Here, the Reformation took a position different from the mainstream tradition. All reformers claimed that the literal or “historical” sense of a biblical concept is the most important and, what is more, in matters of justifying faith, it is sufficient and the only basis of religious conviction. The “historical” sense, however, was not everywhere historical in the modern understanding, because biblical hermeneutics was based on the belief that Jesus Christ is the actual content of all Scripture. Therefore, the exegesis of the Bible in the *analogia fidei Christi* (following the distinction of Law and Gospel, respectively) degraded allegorical interpretations (if not indicated by Scripture itself as such) as not necessary for salvation. Nevertheless, this did not at all exclude allegorisation from theological practice, but restricted it to the application of Scriptural testimonies to the practice of faith, morals, and hopes. Scriptural proof of theological positions, however, was restricted to the literal sense and the explication of biblical texts, and did not rely on any allegorical interpretation or on non-biblical tradition. Nota bene, this *Sola Scriptura*

necessitated the innovation of a general philosophical hermeneutics in seventeenth-century Lutheranism.³

“Jerusalem” (often named “Zion”) demonstrates the varieties of allegorical interpretation also in Protestantism: in the practical dimensions of theology, in religious literature (flourishing in Early Modern times), in poetry, and in the visual arts; in particular within religious iconography. Corresponding to the fourfold sense of Scripture there were four dimensions of the use of “Jerusalem” expressing normative standards. First, it was the spatial structure of the earth with Jerusalem in the middle position; second, it named the self-interpretation of the faith and that of the church; third, the moral practice in society, in particular education and *dia-konia*; fourth, the temporal order of the world including the imminent appearance of New Jerusalem. This fourfold understanding of “Jerusalem” was quite common throughout the centuries; until the Reformation introduced varieties. One of them arose in the second sense of “Jerusalem” (in the self-interpretation of the faith and of the Church): In Roman Catholic theology this sense was primarily the Church, who perceived itself as the anticipation of the Kingdom of God. Since Augustin, Revelation 20:1–7 had mostly been understood as fulfilled in the spiritual reign of the *una sancta catholica et apostolica ecclesia* [one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church]. In addition, monastic communities and church buildings counted among the terrene prefigurations of the New Jerusalem. Aptly, the Papal bull announcing the Council of Trent, November 30, 1544, began with *Laetare Jerusalem!* [Rejoice Jerusalem!] Protestant theologies did not deny the ecclesial sense, but developed much more emphatically the culture of an “inner” New Jerusalem, *i.e.* the pious soul, in which Christ resides even now, in the worldly life. In particular, Lutherans explicitly characterized and praised faith as *unio mystica cum Christo* [a mystical union with Christ].⁴

The Eschatological Role of “Jerusalem”

More important than the soteriological use of “Jerusalem,” in connection with individual salvation, is the broad eschatological use in connection with the future and the end of this world. Early modern Protestant theologians invented – like other

³ Walter Sparn, “Subtilitas intelligendi, explicandi, applicandi. Protestantische Bibelhermeneutik zwischen 1618 und 1717 im Zeichen des Sola Scriptura,” in *Sola Scriptura. Rekonstruktionen, Kritiken, Transformationen, Inszenierungen reformatorischer Schrifthermeneutik*, ed. Stefan Alkier (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 163–89.

⁴ First re-discovered by Werner Elert, *Morphologie des Luthertums I* (Munich: Beck, 1965), § 13, 135–54; important again in the context of Finnish Luther interpretations, cf. Matti Repo and Rainer Vinke, eds., *Unio. Gott und Mensch in der nachreformatorischen Theologie* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Teologinen Kirjallisuusseura/Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft, 1996).

technical terms in theology had been invented – also a term comprising the (temporal) *novissima*, Eschatologia. These “last things” were: Individual Death; Second Advent; Resurrection of the Dead; Last Judgment; End of this World; Eternal Death, respectively Life. Again, Lutherans were most eager to elaborate these topics in correspondence with the apocalyptic texts in the Bible and in the *analogia fidei Christi*; therefore, quite a number of commentaries on the Revelation of St. John were published,⁵ and “positive” (later called “systematic,” or “dogmatic”) theology was intensely preoccupied with apocalypticism.⁶ Johann Gerhard, the most influential theologian in the first half of the seventeenth century, known also in Scandinavia, published *Loci theologici* (multiple editions: 1610–1625, ²1657, ³1776); here eschatology fills two (of nine) volumes in folio and consists of six tracts, two explaining also the “New Jerusalem from above.” Of course, Gerhard discusses carefully traditional exegeses and current exegeses of Protestant and Tridentine theologians. A main issue for him is the relation between the “New Jerusalem” in Revelation 21f. and the allegorical “Jerusalem”; respectively its equivalents now, *i.e.* before the Second Advent. In addition, he raises the question how the description in Revelation 21:10–14, of the descending Celestial Jerusalem, is to be harmonized with Revelation 21:1; or 2 Peter 3:11–13, “new heavens and a new earth”.⁷

Surprisingly, the eschatological allegorization of “Jerusalem” refers also to the first, literal sense in order to stress the negative aspect of Christian expectation for the time to come.

Gerhard recognizes in the complete destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. an image and a prophecy of what the created world would experience soon: complete destruction. This radical interpretation was new. In loc. XXIX *De consummatione saeculi* Gerhard takes the description of *Hierosolyma caelestis* [the heavenly Jerusalem] in Isaiah 60:19; Revelation 21:22, 22:5; James 1:17; 1 Corinthians 15:28; as a good reason to justify the assumption that the future consummation of this world will not only be an alteration of its qualities, but a destruction of its substance, *totalis annihilationis* [total annihilation]; only human souls will be carried through the catastrophe. Confessedly hereby he opposes the Church fathers, also Martin Luther and fellow Lutherans, and he deviates from other Lutherans who leave the question open. Surely, he would not establish a regular article of faith, but he is convinced that his thesis meshes best with the emphatic biblical sayings about the end of the old, tired

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5 Best list of commentaries and of sources in arts, liturgy, theatre, and sermons in Klaus Berger, *Die Apokalypse des Johannes* (Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 2017), 5–42; secondary literature, Berger, *Die Apokalypse des Johannes*, 42–50.

6 Cf. Walter Sparr, “Apokalyptik,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* I, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2005), 491–7.

7 Last edition (started 1864), vol. 8, Berlin: Gust. Schlawitz 1870; vol. 9, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs 1885; here loc. XXXI *De vita aeterna*, in particular cap. II, § 23–26.

world, and with the promise of a new heaven and new earth.⁸ After all, not many Lutherans accepted Gerhard's idea; nevertheless, it was a specific articulation of an apocalyptic feature common to most Lutherans: a sharp contrast between the present world and the world to come. Correspondingly, they held that Christians, in these last days, cannot and need not structurally reshape the old world antedating the promised new one; they may only contribute to its conservation in order to save as many humans as possible for eternal life in a substantially new world. Gerhard unfolds this "conservatism" of orthodox-Lutheran individual and sociopolitical ethics in loc. XVII *De bonis operibus*, XXIII *De ministerio ecclesiastico*, XXIV *De magistratu politico*, and XXV *De conjugio*.

The negative attitude toward the present world was justified by the apocalyptic doctrine of the "world" corrupted by "sin," "death," and "devil"; it was restrained, however, by the doctrine of creation which according to Genesis 1:31 underlines that all is and remains very good which has been created by God. Nevertheless, it allowed people to feel and to express the desire for, and to enthusiastically praise the new world, in particular the New Jerusalem. Popular religious literature of that period was very successful in articulating that affect. Name only Philipp Nicolai's *Freudenspiegel des ewigen Lebens* [*The Joyful Mirror of Eternal Life*] (1599) with the hymn "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme / der Wächter sehr hoch auf der Zinne, / wach auf, du Stadt Jerusalem," a text paraphrasing Matthew 25 and Revelation 21; written in times of struggle and plague. Another example, sung still today in several languages, is Johann Matthäus Meyfart's poetic paraphrase of Revelation 21: "Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt / wollt Gott, ich wär' in dir! / Mein sehrend Herz so groß Verlangen hat / und ist nicht mehr bei mir. / Weit über Berg und Tale, / weit über Flur und Feld / schwingt es sich über alle und eilt aus dieser Welt" (1626).⁹ The desire of the pilgrim, however, did not eliminate, not even marginalize the experience of God's blessings in the magnificent beauty and friendliness of the creation in the here and now. This experience motivated Lutherans to look at nature as a parable for the heavenly garden. Paul Gerhardt's hymns – several of them are still in use in many Christian denominations – are poetry in praise of God based on a theology of nature (later called: physicotheology).

"Geh aus, mein Herz, und suche Freud / in dieser schönen Sommerzeit / an deines Gottes Gaben" (1653), abundantly praises nature as a garden and as the typos for the heavenly garden of Christ. Gerhard here employs the rural imagery in accordance to "paradise", though he does not forget the cultural imagery, evoking the "golden palace" in Christ's garden.¹⁰

⁸ Ibid. Loc. XXIX, § 37; § 45,4; §§ 38–44.

⁹ Theological and musicological analysis in Ansgar Franz, "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme," in *Geistliches Wunderhorn. Große deutsche Kirchenlieder*, eds. Hansjakob Becker, Ansgar Franz, Jürgen Henkys, Hermann Kurzke, Christa Reich, Alex Stock and Markus Rathey (Munich: Beck, 2001), 154–66.

¹⁰ Cf. Christa Reich, "Geh aus, mein Hertz, und suche Freud," in *Geistliches Wunderhorn. Große deutsche Kirchenlieder*, eds. Hansjakob Becker, Ansgar Franz, Jürgen Henkys, Hermann Kurzke,

J. Gerhard praises the heavenly paradise as well as the New Jerusalem, in prose. Loc. XXXI *De coelo ac vita aeterna sive piorum glorificatione* enumerates among twelve biblical synonyms for the site, and the condition of the glorified believers, and New Jerusalem is one of them. Here it functions as the *antitypos* of the earthly Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, site of the Temple, Mother of the Church [!]. According to Gerhard, it is called “new” because of the eternally perfect condition of humans, who are elected by God – not because of the new architecture. In addition, he exposes not only the *bona animae* [goods of the soul] but also the *bona corporis* [goods of the body]; the discussion on glorified bodies was vivid among Lutherans, as opposed to Calvinists and Spiritualists whom were not much interested in the material aspects of the heavenly life. One of the authors, Daniel Cramer, gave voice to the complaints of the suppressed peasants; Balthasar Meisner contributed philosophical arguments.¹¹ Gerhard stresses the political aspect too; the vision of peace and best society of God’s *sympolitoi* under the best, i.e. Christ’s laws. In order to demonstrate that there is an eternal life, Gerhard employs the two, main biblical *typoi* and parables, the transfiguration of Christ and the prefiguration of the celestial Jerusalem. The “picture” of the latter gives an account of Revelation 21f., including the form, the site, and the inhabitants of the city.¹² Although Gerhard deals *in extenso* with the social life of the glorified with God, Christ, Angels, and with their fellow glorified, he never touches human life and work in the past, between creation and consummation [*consummatio mundi*]; it is nature as distinct from society, which serves as a *typos*. In apocalyptic Lutheranism, “New Jerusalem” does not provide a paradigm of social activity in our days that exceeds beyond the love of neighbor in given political and religious institutions. This aspect is missing also in the explicitly practical *usus hujus articuli* (§§ 173–176).¹³

Christa Reich, Alex Stock and Markus Rathey (Munich: Beck, 2001), 262–74. An analysis contextualized in terms of politics, religion, and poetry is provided by Hans-Georg Kemper, *Deutsche Lyrik der frühen Neuzeit. Band 2: Konfessionalismus* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1987), 266–90.

¹¹ Johann Gerhard (fn. 7), loc. XXI, §§ 80–102; Daniel Cramer, *Tractatus de sublimi corporis beatorum spiritualis mysterio* (Mühlhausen, 1615); Areteugina. *Fabula ficta et comice descripta* (Leipzig, 1602); Balthasar Meisner: *Philosophia sobria* I, Gießen 1611, ²1615, sectio III (Quaestiones physicae), cap. II: De natura et affectionibus corporis gloriosi (365–495).

¹² Johann Gerhard (fn. 7), loc. XXXI, § 11, §§ 23f: Gerhard also refers to secondary parables like the creation of heaven and earth in seven days, the Sabbath, paradise, the tree of life, etc. §§ 25–27.

¹³ Ibid. §§ 103–113; §§ 173–176.

The Chiliastic Storyworld: Building New Jerusalem

New Orders of Space and Time

The shift of early modern thought and life from the traditional apocalyptic storyworld to that of modern chiliasm/millennialism did not occur suddenly or incidentally, and nobody planned or produced a comprehensive new storyworld. Ex post, we can say that in the eighteenth century the basically passive relation of Christian apocalypticism to Christ's Second Advent was left behind in favor of an active relation, by many, though not continual steps. Theologians and lay people ascribing themselves to Pietism and Enlightenment were main propagators of that change to the assumption of an open future; the field of serious hope and labor for the moral and religious progress of humankind. It was a radically new shape of the Christian obligation to perform "good works," honoring Christ and helping the neighbor, and it implied the firm will to transform the aims and structures of religious and social improvement.

Some of these steps had little to do with the order of time and history; rather, they had more to do with the spatial structure of the world. For centuries Jerusalem was believed to be *umbilicus mundi* [the navel of the world], i.e. the scene of decisive events of salvation history. Therefore, the Christian worldview in terms of space was oriented, materialized e.g. in church buildings or in maps centering the *imago mundi* [the image of the world] explicitly around the ascension of Christ in Jerusalem.¹⁴ Since the fifteenth century this has changed – as portolan maps and nautical globes show – and has turned to "occidentation" as it were. This became visible (a bit paradoxically) in the expeditions to the East going West and finding a "New World." Even more telling is the emblematic device of Emperor Charles V: it shows ships sailing through the Columns of Hercules (Gibraltar), and the motto *plus ultra* which expressed the intent: *further beyond*. Furthermore, heliocentric cosmology and the discovery of an infinite universe¹⁵ implied the loss of absolute spatial positions, both horizontally and vertically, e.g. the site of Gehenna (the Hell) beneath the Valley Josaphat in Jerusalem. The (soon Middle) East was overshadowed by the Ottoman threat between 1529 and 1683, and by 1700 the geographical and cosmological uniqueness of Jerusalem was dissolved. Only the religious or

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¹⁴ An example is the Ebstorf wheel map of 3.50 m diameter: Hartmut Kugler, Sonja Glauch, Antje Willing and Thomas Zapf, eds., *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte. Kommentierte Neuauflage in zwei Bänden* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag 2007).

¹⁵ It is still worth reading Alexandre Koyré, *From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press 1957); present discussion e.g. Jürgen Hübner, Ion-Olimpiu Stamatescu and Dieter Weber, eds., *Theologie und Kosmologie* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2004).

cultural metaphor *ex oriente lux* [out of the east, light] remained (and was later orientalized again).¹⁶

Other steps had to do directly with the orientation in time on the basis of a time order (*ordo temporum*). Some of them, however, had been thought of since long, by Origen in the third century and by radical Franciscans in the thirteenth century, following the modified salvation history of Joachim of Fiore.¹⁷ Anyway, the separation of chiliasm from accepted forms of apocalypticism never was perfect – simply because Revelation 20:1–6 – the resurrection of the Christian martyrs and their reign for 1.000 years together with Christ – was part of the canonical apocalyptic narrative.¹⁸ However, this was heretic, because since Constantine's turn to Christianity the Church had rejected the hope of a thousand years' reign of the pious on earth; perceiving it as "Jewish," i.e. as a negation of the Church's own claim to anticipate the Kingdom of God through "one thousand years"; meaning allegorically the whole time of the church. In this respect, all Protestant Churches followed this doctrine formulated explicitly by St. Augustin. In addition, the Protestant churches felt warned by the failure of attempts to realize such a third kingdom: such as the collapse of Savonarola's Florence (c.1490). The Church was vexed by spiritualists' critique of the ecclesial institution as such, and also by the Protestant churches evolving as legalistic state-churches. Threatened by Thomas Müntzer's fatal commitment in the Peasant's War (1525), and by the terror-regime in Anabaptist Münster (1534/5), the Church damned chiliasm as heretic as testified by the *Augsburg Confession* (1530) art. 17; the Anglican *42 Articles* (1552) art. 41; and the *Confessio Helvetica* (1566) ch. 11.¹⁹ Nevertheless, chiliastic motives and hopes continued to be attractive in pro and contra. The turbulence caused by the Reformation gave more occasions to academic commentaries and public debates on the Revelation of St. John than ever before, including chapter 20. In addition, two elements of traditional apocalypticism could also be used in chiliastic understanding: the hope for the conversion of the Jews "before" Christ's coming, founded in Romans 11:25f., and the final call of the Antichrist after a period of the worst tribulation, founded in Revelation 18f. Protestants since Martin Luther felt threatened by a double Antichrist, the Turks and the Papal "Babylon" (the opposite of "Jerusalem").

¹⁶ Cf. Hans-Joachim König, "Orientalismus," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* IX, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2009), 494–508.

¹⁷ Joachim of Fiore, a visionary Italian abbot (d.1202) was the first to imagine a third age within salvation history, the kingdom of the Holy Spirit (after the first age of the Father, i.e. of the law, and the second age of the Son, i.e. of grace and of the Church). The third empire, which has already begun secretly, will bring about full freedom and full knowledge, i.e. real progress of mankind in history.

¹⁸ Klaus Berger (fn. 5), 1299–1344, parallels and types of Christian reception, e.g. premillennialism and postmillennialism: Abhandlung 79: Millenarismus (1306–1334).

¹⁹ Overview in Hans-Peter Großhans, "Chiliasmus," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* II, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2005), 681–87.

Small surviving spiritualist groups, and also pastors of the state church disappointed by merely institutional piety, secretly spread the hope for religious betterment by moving from flesh, from letter respectively, to spirit; e.g. Valentin Weigel (1533–1588), a Lutheran pastor, whose clandestine spiritualism, critical against the Church as an institution, was adopted by reform-oriented Lutherans after 1600. Increasing religious-political frictions in the new century intensified the widespread apocalyptic disposition; in particular chiliastic speculations of all sort. Chiliastic sources, like the apocryphal 3 Esdras and 4 Esdras, were published even in Daniel Cramer's edition of the Luther-Bible (Straßburg 1620), which already included the canonical book of Daniel; the apocalypticism which was now interpreted in terms of chiliasm. Cramer himself applied this to the "Evangelisches Reich" since the Reformation.²⁰ At that time, none of the chiliastic ideas were put into official effect under established church government; only nonconformist, informal groups of intellectuals at the fringe of church and academy nurtured ideas and proposals that were more concrete and aimed at a new society. Such groups and conventicles, not visible in the *cultus publicus* were, however a spiritualist threat for officials, and these groups and conventicles faced suspicion, investigation, and even suppression. Therefore, a first step toward chiliasm focused on the individual prerequisite of a New Jerusalem; i.e. individual agents who embodied and personified it in themselves.

The Will to Change: Inner Jerusalem

The Reformation was concerned primarily with religious reform, but nevertheless, the reformers strove for social, economic, and political improvements in the Christian society according to Christ's example and commandments. The successes of a better Christian practice were evident in many societal fields already in the sixteenth century (even if "better" was controversial). The Protestants, however, were in principle confined to a stable and deliberately static ethical and political framework, accepted by the state-churches that had been established since 1555. According to Luther's doctrine of God's two regiments, moral concerns had to be realized within the possibilities either of individual motivation and betterment, or of the respective ecclesial and political institutions; there was no intermediate agency. Social betterment was a task for all Christians within the institutional framework provided by the respective government and by the territorial church; e.g. schools, hospitals, orphanages, etc. Both institutions participated in the societal paradigm of the three states, *status politicus*, *status ecclesiasticus*, and *status oeconomicus*. The Reformers, in particular Martin Luther, gave this (traditional) paradigm a basic function, which was allegedly founded already by God's

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²⁰ An analysis of Cramer's fifty *Emblemata sacra* (German 1622, Latin 1624) and eighty *Emblemata moralia nova* (1630) could also be useful here.

creation; *i.e.* before salvation history began.²¹ Consequently, in the first period after the Reformation the regulation of contemporary socio-political practice, even of devote Christians, did not sufficiently receive motivation and orientation from the normative concept of the “New Jerusalem.”

The stabilization of early modern states and state-churches in the decades around 1600 intensified religious consciousness and social discipline, on one hand; on the other hand, the process of religious, political, and cultural “confessionalization” produced Christians only in name. Lutherans focusing on serious and successful pious practices developed the idea of the extension of the Reformation of *faith* to a Reformation of *life*, and hoped for a thoroughly Christian society.²² In Germany, in particular within the Palatinate, the Reformed (Calvinist) Churches had since 1563 claimed to bring the Reformation to perfection in terms of cult and of church discipline. To exercise effective church discipline also became an objective for Lutherans. However, the Lutherans did not rely on public in preaching and catechizing alone. Their will to morally change the society took the way of renovating the inner affects, *i.e.* the emotions of the individual soul, and to minimize the bad; respectively optimize the constructive affects. The presence of God in the soul (according to Rev. 21:3, and of Luke 17:21, Luther’s translation) would enable Christians to build the Kingdom of God inwardly, receiving help from other Christians and reversely reinforcing others; the result of such communication would be an informal but nearly-perfect Christian society. The most influential attempt to build an “Inner Jerusalem” was Johann Arndt’s *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum*, first published 1605–1610, followed by more than one hundred editions in the seventeenth- and eighteenth centuries which also included translations into Scandinavian languages.²³

Although Johann Arndt (1555–1621) was a member of Church Government, officials in Church and Academy did not easily accept his book. First, his theology was consciously a programmatic spiritualist and paracelsian hermeticism; he was, like Jakob Böhme, influenced by V. Weigel. Second, his methodology was not scientific in the sense of the new Neo-Aristotelianism taken over by mainstream Concordist Lutheranism since 1600; it was sapiential, merging experienced faith and rational knowledge of nature in divine, non-scholastic wisdom; originally donated to Adam and lost for centuries. Christians whose divine image has been restored (Book of the Scripture), are able in faith and prayer (Book of Life, Christ), to build God’s

²¹ The best interpretation of this structure is in Oswald Bayer, *Martin Luther’s theology: a contemporary interpretation* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 2008), chapter XIV. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2003, 2007.)

²² The former interpretation of the situation as a “crisis of piety,” respectively as a “second reformation,” has been corrected by the paradigm of an analogous “confessionalization” of all three confessions and their political and cultural contexts, cf. Thomas Kaufmann, “Konfessionalisierung,” in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* VI, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2007), 1053–70.

²³ See Chapter 8 (Jostein Garcia de Presno), 148–49.

Kingdom inwardly (Book of Conscience), to restore insight and optimize the use of nature (Book of nature).²⁴

Arndt held on to orthodox apocalypticism, but his theology was open to chiliastic ideas: the will for effective change, the theosophic turn, the vision of Christian agents of change, and the inclusion of Non-Christians into the change; in particular Jews, whose conversion, for theologians like Arndt or Philipp Nicolai, became a task of pacifist Christian example and wisdom. These features also characterized a group of young intellectuals in Tübingen around 1610, who supported Arndt, criticized state-churches and absolutist politics, discussed the failures of Florence and Münster, and developed alternative reform-concepts based on theosophical-mystic piety and chiliastic assumptions; some of them even expected the Last Judgment and a following age of the spirit (Joachim of Fiore's third empire) already by 1620. Out of a deep "contempt of the world," a member of this semi-clandestine group, Johann Valentin Andreae,²⁵ projected a general reform toward a perfect society. From 1614 he anonymously published (fictive) news of a Rosicrucian Brotherhood; a secret order building such a society apart from given societies. The addressees were all scholars and politicians in Europe; indeed, Andreae triggered a positive debate nurtured by almost 1,000 publications.²⁶ Soon Andreae himself, however, dispraised the project as arrogantly omniscient and useless for societal reform. He wrote an "Invitation to a Christian Society" (1617) followed by, *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio* (1619), the model of a possibly real "elected society."²⁷ This political utopia (the term does not occur in the text itself) is not a chiliastic project in the sense of shaping a longer future; Andreae rejected political-religious prophecies and mocked an allegedly revealed "Fifth Monarchy" after the four monarchies of world-history envisioned in the Book of Daniel. *Christianopolis* is an alternative to floating chiliastic interpretations of the religio-political situation. It stages a Christian elite on its "pilgrimage to Heaven"; their society is the present place or "prelude" of Jerusalem to come. The narrative "I" stands for every true Christian pilgrim striving for the Kingdom of God.

The dedication declares that the new society of the book is a "colony" deduced from the "great Jerusalem" constructed by J. Arndt. In fact, Andreae turns Arndt's inner Jerusalem inside out, into a possibly existing society nearly perfect in terms of religion, education, and morals; only human "flesh" causes some problems, which are solved by consent of all within the structure of an aristocratic theocracy.

²⁴ Contextualized analysis in Hermann Geyer, *Johann Arndts "Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum" als Programm einer spiritualistisch-hermetischen Theologie* III (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2001).

²⁵ For a detailed biographical and doxographical account of the person and the group, see Martin Brecht, *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586–1657: Eine Biographie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008).

²⁶ Cf. Brecht, *Johann Valentin Andreae 1586–1657*, fn. 22, 65–92; Renko Geffarth, "Rosenkreuzer," in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* XI, ed. Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2010), 395–8.

²⁷ See Chapter 22 (Walter Sparr), vol. 2, 441–58.

With respect to the ideal of an authoritarian theocracy *Christianopolis* resembles Tommaso Campanella's *Civitas Solis*, published 1623 by one of his friends, but known to Andreae already in 1619. Furthermore, the relation between the island Christianopolis and other societies is not an active or, if need be, a defensive one; an apt visitor may invite others or stay there, if he is a sincere Christian (confessional, but not exclusivist Lutheran) and fully accepts social discipline according to the constitution of the city. Implicitly, Andreae presents further perfection only in the case of family; he does not give advice on how to come from a given society to Christianopolis; he gives jurisprudence the least place in this "colony" of inner Jerusalem, which resembles something in between a monastery and a (small) imperial city. Explicitly, he characterizes *Christianopolis* as a kind of comforting play (like Thomas Moore's *Utopia*), but not a fooling one (like Rosicrucian ideas); in other words, as an "example for Christian freedom and security."²⁸

The Will to Change: Heterotopic Jerusalem

Cultural Progress Before the Second Advent

Readers of today can say that Andreae's *Christianopolis* constructed a heterotopy; however, a virtual one maintaining possible reality. It does not refer to a chiliastic time-order, but it conveys a chiliastic dynamic. This dynamic is the *cultura ingenii* of Christianopolis: a perfectly organized educational project, run by highly motivated and fully competent pedagogues, and effectively equipped with didactic measures and abundant material for visualization. Not to forget that formation includes a non-scholastic, empirically oriented knowledge of nature, and the methodic practice of exploring; purging and intensifying the powers of nature. The type of knowledge cultivated by Andreae and all reform-oriented intellectuals, merging 'science' and 'humanities,' included already the category of progress; as it expected a significant and ongoing increase of knowledge. In a way, they imagined to reach anew the situation of Adam before the fall; much more confident than Neo-Aristotelian Orthodoxy to decipher the secrets of the *liber naturae*. In addition, their use of natural wisdom was targeted at general societal reform; i.e. substantial restitution and betterment (*emendatio*) in all human concerns. Such a general progress can be realized best by an advancement of learning and education. This feature of Christianopolis stands in one line with Johannes Kepler – a supraconfessional Christian – and his vision of the "dawn of a new era," or stands in line with Francis

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²⁸ Johann Valentin Andreae, "Reipublicae Christianopolitanae descriptio (1619)," in *Gesammelte Schriften 14*, eds. Frank Böhling and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-holzboog Verlag, 2018), 86–429, cit. 106 (100–108).

Bacon's *Instauratio magna* (1605/1620), and his *New Atlantis* (1627). It also allowed transcending the boundaries of traditional apocalypticism to a longer time-span before the Second Advent, which according to the official doctrine was still "near." The first to do this consciously was the charismatic Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670), who had corresponded with Andreae since 1628 and regarded himself throughout his life as Andreas's disciple. Indeed, the postmillenarian *chiliasmus subtilis* of Comenius' pansophic-Christian vision of societies progressive by education (*De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*, 1645–1670) made him one of the founding fathers of modern Europe.²⁹

For Christian reformers a decisive step toward modern chiliasm became possible during the seventeenth century. Now the expectation of a "near" Second Advent was replaced more and more by efforts to prove, using the Revelation of St. John, that salvation history provides a longer time-span from the First Advent respectively now for reform and progress. After a few sporadic exegeses in the sixteenth century a number of commentaries voted openly for chiliasm; notably non-scholastic theologians in England and Germany. The Puritans Thomas Brightman in *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (1607) and Joseph Mede (among others *Clavis apocalyptica*, 1629); as well as the Reformed Johann Heinrich Alsted in his Encyclopedia, in particular *Diatribes de millis annis apocalypticis* (1627); or later the covenantal theologian Johannes Coccejus in *Cogitationes in Apocalypsi* (1668). Then (less) orthodox Lutherans followed; prominently Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, hymn writer, friend of the Cambridge Platonists and epoch-making editor of the Kabbala. Against Knorr's commentary (*Eigentliche Erklärung über die Gesichter der Offenbarung S. Johannis*, 1670),³⁰ the (more) orthodox Lutheran Superintendent Caspar Heunisch published a non-speculative, numerological, and chronotactical exegesis entitled *Haupt-Schlüssel über die hohe Offenbarung S. Johannis* (1684), against contemporary chiliasm.³¹

Both authors correlated their exegesis of the apocalyptic visions less with cosmic events, but rather with political and religious events, in order to identify the

²⁹ Walter Sparn, "'Chiliasmus crassus' und 'Chiliasmus subtilis' im Jahrhundert Comenius: eine mentalitätsgeschichtlichen Skizze," in *Johann Amos Comenius und die Genese des modernen Europa*, eds. Norbert Kotowski and Jan Laschek (Fürth: Flacius, 1992), 20–2, 122–9.

³⁰ Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, "Eigentliche Erklärung über die Gesichter der Offenbarung S. Johannis," in *Apokalypse-Kommentar*, ed. Italo Michele Battafarano (Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang, 2004).

³¹ Caspar Heunisch, *Haupt-Schlüssel über die hohe Offenbarung S. Johannis* (Schleusingen, 1684; facsimile reprint edn. Basel, 1981). Cf. Walter Sparn, "Zeit-Ordnung". Der antichiliasmische Haupt-Schlüssel über die hohe Offenbarung S. Johannis von Caspar Heunisch (1684)," *Morgen-Blantz. Zeitschrift der Christian Knorr von Rosenroth-Gesellschaft* 21 (2011), 159–87. Cf. Johannes Wallmann, "Reich Gottes und Chiliasmus in der lutherischen Orthodoxie," in *Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Zeitalter des Barock. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Johannes Wallmann (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 105–23, 390–421.

present age in God's time order and the time-span still available for humankind. Heunisch holds fast to the traditional connection of the apocalyptic scheme with the Christian Church as agent in the salvation history, but considers well the gradual fading of the "near" Second Advent in his time. Knorr expected the end of the world by 1820 C.E., Heunisch expects the end only by 2123 C.E. – even more time for "better times," he also expects chiliasm and factually argues for it. "Better times" was a keyword of Philipp Jakob Spener, the patron of Pietism (in the stricter sense), and it marked the reception of a moderate postmillenarian *chiliasmus subtilis* in the established Lutheran Churches. Spener (1635–1705) used the formula "hope for better times for the Church" in "Pia desideria," a foreword to an edition of J. Arndt's Sermons (1675; *Behauptung der Hoffnung besserer Zeiten*, 1693). However, he contradicted Heunisch's identification of the Thousand-Years-Empire with the (true) Church – for him and Pietism in general it is still to come, surely soon, and pious Christians approach it actively. Here he leaves behind the predefined apocalyptic schedule and the passivity of apocalyptic experience.³²

Heterotopy as a Socio-Political Form of Christian Chiliasm

In Spener, too, we see that the ambitious goal of a general Christian reform needed an elite group, since the given structures of ecclesial authority and political power in their mutual dependence were unable to reform the institutional system as such and tolerate a system break. After J. Arndt and J. V. Andreae Spener, too, faced the problem of how such an avant-garde could be shaped as a distinct body, both sociologically and politically. Spener's *Collegia pietatis* (since 1670) took the new form of an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, a religious-sociological "principle" of Spener.³³ By official position he was able to support the "Waisenhaus" massively; the extremely successful school projects of August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) in the not less successful new University of Halle (1694). Francke, however, had to come to terms with not only

³² Cf. Johannes Wallmann, "Pietismus und Chiliasmus. Zur Kontroverse um Phillipp Jakob Speners 'Hoffnung besseres Zeiten'," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 78, no. 2 (1981), loc. Cit. (fn 29), 390–421. For a Kabbala version of Spener's position see Anonymous [Francis M. van Helmont?]: *Seder Olam sive Ordo Seculorum. Historica enarratio doctrinae*, s.l. 1693; English translation London, 1694. The author expects the end of the Antichrist resp. the beginning of the Thousand Years Reign of Christ on Earth by 1777. Cf. Gerold Necker, "Kabbalistische Perspektiven der apokalyptischen Chronologie Seder Olam sive Ordo Seculorum (1693)," *Morgen-Glantz. Zeitschrift der Christian Knorr von Rosenroth-Gesellschaft* 27 (2017), 23–45.

³³ For comprehensive information see Martin Brecht, "Philipp Jakob Spener, sein Programm und dessen Auswirkungen," in *Geschichte des Pietismus. Band 1: Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Brecht (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 281–389.

the Lutheran-Orthodox Church government, but also with the political government represented by the Reformed Elector of Brandenburg (-Prussia). In coordination with him, Francke developed a heterotopic institution for activities of general betterment, mainly pursuing education for practical use outside of the school; experience-oriented research (laboratories, expeditions); religious and social service (e.g. cheap Bibles, pharmacies); and foreign mission (e.g. Danish Tranquebar in India). The “Waisenhaus” and many foundations that followed worked in separate places, independent from the institutional structures of state and church, and critical against the “world” in terms of morals; however, they were determined to transform the society around them thoroughly by communicating superior expertise and convincing behavior.³⁴

The heterotopy established by Francke and his followers in Protestant Europe implied a half-autonomous, still cooperative relation to the respective political powers. A pupil of Halle, however, Nikolaus Graf Zinzendorf (1700–1760), developed a different form of heterotopy. He was himself a political authority with little power, but able to plant communities; “Moravian” settlements in Herrnhut (1722/1727) and elsewhere in Europe (Dutch Genadental, 1638, Danish Christiansfeld, 1773), and overseas.³⁵ They were devoted to Christian life undisturbed from the outside, and were productive for the “world” by connection of education and missionary projects outside. However, they had to come to terms with different and far-away state authorities – an inevitable relation yet not essential. Again, an own type of heterotopy was shaped by groups of radical spiritualists tending, or forced, to move from territory to territory, or to leave political structures and power completely. If they would not resign to merely individual pilgrimage, like John Bunyan (*The Holy City*, 1665; *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, 1668) after the failure of Oliver Cromwell’s revolutionary chiliasm in England, they moved from “Babylon” either to the extreme edge or went underground³⁶ – or they emigrated to the New World which provided undisturbed freedom of faith and life; and there, on the spot, they anticipated New Jerusalem, Zion, Salem etc.³⁷ This was the option of many Pietist groups like the Labadists (Maryland 1683), the heterodox Lutherans (Germantown 1683), the Ephrata Cloister (1732), the Moravians (“Nazareth,”

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³⁴ See Martin Brecht, “August Hermann Francke und der Hallesche Pietismus in ihrer Wirkung auf Westfalen,” in *Geschichte des Pietismus. Band 2: Der Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Martin Brecht, Klaus Deppermann, Ulrich Gäßler and Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 440–539.

³⁵ See Chapter 4 (Elisabeth Engell Jessen), 86–107. Chapter 5 (Christina Petterson), 109–15. and Chapter 6 (Birgitte Hammershøj), 117–25.

³⁶ Cf. Hans Schneider, “Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Geschichte des Pietismus. Band 1: Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Brecht (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), fn. 33, 391–437; See also Chapter 7 (Arne Bugge Amundsen), 127–37.

³⁷ See Chapter 10 (Vidar L. Haanes), 189–211.

“Bethlehem,” since 1740), or Shakers (1787). In the New World itself, strong chiliastic hopes had turned up in the wake of the Great Awakening; boosted in particular by Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758). When the “American Dream” became real when the United States of America was founded, the constitution granted full religious tolerance on the basis of the separation of state and churches. The clearly chiliastic *novus ordo seclorum*, therefore, was possible in circles that were either Christian-religious, natural/civil religious, or religiously agnostic. From now on, it was an open option to refer to the “New Jerusalem” and to continue to connect it with an *adventus* from heaven, or to locate it in a dawning *futurum* to be unfolded by moral, political, and technological protagonists as “the” history of mankind.

Protestant Europe took a different way due to the close and almost completely affirmative relation between states and the respective church(es). Here, the mainstream Enlightenment (not critics like Emanuel Swedenborg³⁸) left the canonical apocalyptic time-order in favor of an open, progressive development; possible because of the perfectibility of human nature and real by human effort in cooperation with divine providence, i.e. with God’s education and perfection of humankind. This paradigm of G.W. Leibniz’ *Essais de Théodicée* (1710) was made popular by philosophy (*Popularphilosophie*) and liberal theology (*Neologie*) after 1750 and was proved in educational reform-projects like the heterotopic *Philanthropinum* schools.³⁹ The grand narrative also became part of a new philosophy of “the” history finalizing the past into present “Neuzeit.” Even a critique of Neology like G.E. Lessing refers to Joachim’s prophecy of a Third Age nurtured by the “eternal Gospel” of Spirit: *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (1777/ 1780).⁴⁰ Also the non-speculative Immanuel Kant, in his ideas concerning global human history, pleads for a “non-enthusiastic chiliasm” in philosophy; contributing to a better future.⁴¹ The liberal school of Protestant theology in the nineteenth century follows this line; in particular, Richard Rothe aims for the opposite of heterotopy: the evolutionary dissolution of particular church bodies into a ferment of a free society (*Theologische Ethik*, 1845–1848).

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³⁸ See Chapter 3 (Devin Zuber), 74–85.

³⁹ Cf. Walter Sparn, “Leibniz, Theologie,” *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts IV*, eds. Helmut Holzhey and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (Basel: Schwabe Verlag 2001), 1079–90; Walter Sparn, “Die Neologie,” in *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie. Begründet von Friedrich Ueberweg*, ed. Helmut Holzhey (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2014), § 22.

⁴⁰ Cf. Walter Sparn, “Gotthold Ephraim Lessing,” in *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie. Begründet von Friedrich Ueberweg*, ed. Helmut Holzhey (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2014), § 25; Monika Fick, *Lessing-Handbuch. Leben – Werk – Wirkung* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2014), 424–77.

⁴¹ Immanuel Kant, “Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht,” *Berlinische Monatsschrift* (November 1784), 403f. (also in other essays). Cf. Gerd Irrlitz, *Kant-Handbuch. Leben und Werk* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2002), 410–2; 425–9; 431–5.

The persistence of Pietism during the eighteenth century and the Protestant awakening in the early nineteenth century, followed by a re-confessionalization of state-churches and partially of academic theology, helped a minority to hold on to the apocalyptic schedule. This included, as before, the end of papism and the conversion of the Jews; even their return to the Holy Land seemed plausible. Here, the Second Advent was as “near” as ever and therefore was calculated again. Albrecht Bengel’s postmillenarianism (*Erklärte Offenbarung Johannis*, 1740) reckoned the end of the world and the beginning of the first (of two!) Thousand-Year-Reigns by 1836. Quite a number of German Pietists emigrated during two decades prior to that date and planted heterotopic provisional villages in South East Russia, nearer to “Jerusalem.” At home pious Christians organized Bible societies and foreign missions, which on the one hand presupposed colonial expansion and on the other tried to be, in a way, something else. Awakened pastors in Germany confronted with the destructive consequences of industrialization (rural exodus, pauperism in the cities) had, since about 1820, founded para-ecclesial, autonomous social institutions for the poor, orphaned, or disabled outcasts of turbo-capitalism; mostly supported by pious Christian bourgeois. They also began to instruct and to train personnel for such “rescue-houses”: female *Diakonissen* [deaconesses] since 1836 (Theodor Fliedner, Kaiserswerth; 1853 Wilhelm Löhe, Neuendettelsau); and male *Diakone* [deacons] since 1839 (Johann Hinrich Wichern, Hamburg). In 1833, Wichern had established a regular institution (*Anstalt*), which one could call a heterotopy in its double relation to the society. On the one hand this *Anstalt* provided communal life in its own buildings, with its own rules and pedagogical concepts, separated from the outside. On the other hand, this life, e.g. the family principle and the moral restitution of “fallen” persons, should function as an exemplary and sharp contrast to the evil surroundings, and it should be the starting point of the re-Christianization of society.

After Wichern’s program (and success in parts) had become known and had been accepted nation-wide in 1848, further heterotopies of Christian reform and social healing and betterment were founded and often extended to the size of greater villages; e.g. the Johannesstift Berlin (1858), or Bethel (Friedrich von Bodelschwingh, 1867). In Bethel, in particular, “Zion” and many other places of the Holy Land were present in the names of buildings and in the geography of the village. With early modern chiliasm’s Jerusalem code in mind, the manner in which these places reacted to the religious and social crises of their day, exhibited a defensive, rather than an optimistic disposition, in their practice of “Christian love.”

With energy (Bodelschwingh: “Not so slowly!”) these institutions provided schools and workshops, on the one hand, and a religious orientation towards the heavenly Jerusalem on the other. They offered moral rehabilitation and training for an honest job in the society for part-time clients, as well as therapeutical services and social discipline for permanent clients; both on their way to a comforted death. *Diakonische Anstalten* [diaconical institutions], however, abstained willingly

from imagining social evolution or contributing to social-political reform of civil society and state; they rather adjusted to political and ecclesiastical Governments, which after all expected support from them against socialists and revolutionary communists. Even the new nomenclature of “Diakonia” and “Inner Mission” reveals different ambitions of Christian love and hope; now and then.⁴²

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⁴² In part III, book 3 of Gerhard Uhlhorn's *Die Christliche Liebestätigkeit* (1894, ²1895, reprinted Neukirchen 1959) we find a nearly contemporary account of the development and the character of diaconical institutions in Germany in the wake of the Awakening 1817ff., p. 515–800.