The Formation of a Pious Soul: Theology and Personhood in Christian Scriver's (1629-1693) *Gottholds Zufälliger Andachten* (1667)

by

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ABSTRACT

Roger Smith has noted that theology has been overlooked within studies looking at early modern contructions of personhood. This thesis looks at the Lutheran pastor Christian Scriver's (1629-1693) *Gottholds zufälliger Andachten* (1667), a popular seventeenth-century devotional, in order to investigate the way in which the author utilized his understanding of theology in order to help the people under his spiritual care refashion a sense of both self and identity within the turbulent decades following the Thirty Years' War. This study challenges current historiographies which either marginalize the place of theology within early modern discussions of personhood and identity, or which treat theology's contribution as being nothing more than a fostering of a radical affective-interiority. It also complicates the received historiographical caricature of Scriver as an uncritical proponent of Arndtian spirituality. Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten* illustrate a rich social and interpersonal conception of what it means to be human, built upon the foundations of a Lutheran theological anthropology. Combined with Scriver's adaptation of medieval exemplarism, and set within Luther's reformation of the medieval practice of devotional reading, Scriver's *Andachten* offer a useful glimpse into the way in which early modern devotional writings contributed to the creation of confessional identities through a process of what Lance Lazar has called "devotional modeling." At the same time, I argue for a more thorough engagement with theology among historians as a formative part of early modern cultural discourse.

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List of Abbreviations

The following is a list of abbreviations which have been used throughout this dissertation.

AE	Martin Luther. *Luther's Works*. 55 volumes. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut Lehmann. St. Louis/Philadelphia: Concordia Publishing House/Fortress Press, 1955-1986.
GzA	Christian Scriver. *Gottholds zufälliger Andachten*. Leipzig: Andreas Ball, 1686.
PL	J.P. Migne, ed. *Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Latina*. 221 volumes. Paris: Migne, 1844-1864.
WA	Martin Luther. *D. Martin Luthers Werke*. 98 Bände. Weimar: Herman Böhlau, 1883-

All references to the Lutheran Confessional documents contained within the *Book of Concord* are taken from the following source:

Die Bekenntnisschriften der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche. Third edition. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956.

Chapter One:

Introduction

At four o'clock in the afternoon on April 5th 1693, Christian Scriver (b. January 2nd 1629), the Lutheran court preacher in the historic city of Quedlinburg, died following a long and distinguished career.[1] The news of his passing was announced at ten o'clock the next morning as the peals of church bells were heard throughout the city for a full half an hour. Six days later, on April 11th, the bells tolled again at eight o'clock in the evening for three quarters of an hour as Scriver's body was carried out of the city in solemn procession to Magdeburg where he was buried on April 20th under the altar of the Castle Church of St. Jacob. Seth Calvisius, Superintendent of the churches in Magdeburg, preached the funeral sermon based on Psalm 37 verses 3 and 4.[2] Samuel Schmidt, Rector of the local school board and a former colleague of Scriver's, composed the eulogy (*Letzt-schuldigst Ehren Schrifft*), a glowing tribute which he read to congregation after the closing benediction from the front of the Church, standing

[1] The *Sterberegister* of the Castle Church of St. Servatius records the following: "Den 5. April nachmittage um 4 Uhr ist der hochehrwürdige, in Gott andichtiger, großachtbare und hochgelahrte H.[err] Mag.:[ister] Christianus Scriverius fürstl.[ich] sächs:[ischer] in die drey Jahr gewesener wohlmeritierter Obershoffprediger allhier im Herrn sanft und selig entschlafen." The text of this register is taken from Holger Müller, *Seelsorge und Tröstung: Christian Scriver (1629-1693)* (Waltrop: Hartmut Spenner, 2005), 129.

[2] "Trust in the LORD and do good; dwell in the land and enjoy safe pasture. Delight yourself in the LORD and he will give you the desires of your heart." Psalm 37: 3-4 NIV.

"over Gotthold's crypt" (*über das / Grab Gottholds*) where Scriver's body would be laid to rest.[3]

Schmidt's reference here was to the fictional character named Gotthold who had served as a literary anchor throughout Scriver's collection of devotional meditations called *Gottholds zufälliger Andachten* (1663-161).[4] In the first preface to this work, Scriver introduced this Gotthold as "the Christian Pilgrim"[5] – a kind of everyman figure – who offered up devotional reflections on a variety of people, objects, and situations as he encountered them on his daily pilgrimage through life. The work is ingenious in that it brought the spiritual ideals of Scriver's own confessional Lutheran heritage into the sphere of his readers' everyday lives through the narratives of this Gotthold's own life and encounters. Through him, Scriver provided his readers with a human exemplar of an ideal spiritual individual around whom they too could build and model their own religious lives as they wandered through their own earthly pilgrimages. Scriver's Gotthold and his *zufälliger Andachten* quickly took on a life of their own as a popular resource to help people rebuild a sense of self and personhood within the turbulent social conditions left behind in the wake of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). Lamenting Scriver's passing, Schmidt encouraged those who

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[3] "über das / Grab Gottholds." Calvisius' funeral sermon and Schmidt's tribute were made available in print in 1698 for popular consumption. See Johannes Christmann, *Kurzer Lebens-Abriß des um evangelisches Christenthum hochverdienten M. Christian Scriver, ehemaligen Sächs. Oberhofpredigers, Konsistorialrathes und Schuleninspektors in Quedlinburg* (Nürnberg: Raw'schen Buchhandlung, 1829), 41-46. The text of Schmidt's tribute is also reprinted in Müller, op. cit., 131-33. All translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

[4] Throughout this dissertation, I will be referencing the seventh edition (Leipzig: Andreas Ball, 1686). Cited hereafter as *GzA*.

[5] "der Christliche Pilgersmann," *GzA*, "Erste Vorrede".

sought to hear the voice of their beloved pastor to seek it out within his devotional works where, not only "each syllable and word posseses the power and force to easily calm the afflicted soul"[6] but also, as Schmidt maintained, the strength of Scriver's spirit lived on uninterrupted by even his death.[7] By referring to Scriver as *Gotthold*, Schmidt was merely confirming the widespread opinion that Scriver, within his own life, had lived up to the very ideal of a pious Christian individual which he had so eloquently narrated within his *zufälliger Andachten*. The comment also served to illustrate the way in which this Gotthold had captured the imagination of the general population as a cultural ideal of true evangelical *personhood*.

Schmidt's comments have undoubtedly contributed to the opinion that Scriver's character of Gotthold was somehow autobiographical. Fritz Becker put forward the idea that Scriver used Gotthold as a kind of pseudonym in order to expound upon his own personal experiences.[8] An argument can certainly be made for this, especially in relation to his later work *Gottholds Siech- und Siegesbette* (1687) which was written during a period of severe illness.[9] Waltraud Tepfenhardt has pointed out, however, that Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten* was

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[6] "… jede Sylb' und Wort die Krafft und Nachdruck gibt / Daß ein bedrengter Sinn sich leicht in Ruhe setzet." Müller, 132.

[7] "Doch wird sein Geist der in den Büchern lebt | Hinfort nich kraftloß seyn | und wie im Leben Lehren | Die Wirkung so vorlängst in tausend Hertzen schwebt | Wird keine Todes-Macht mit ihrem Pfeil versehren." Müller, 132.

[8] Fritz Becker, *Christian Scriver und sein literarisches Werk (Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der religiösen Pros aim 17. Jahrh.)* Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät (I. Sektion) der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München. (Münster in Westfalia: Ferdinand Althoff, 1929), 38.

[9] See also Müller,49, 104ff.

distinctly different from this later work in that it was not written as a kind of personal diary (*Tagebuch*) but as a literary work which maintained an "objecktive Distanz" from his own persona.[10] The aim here is not, however, to tackle the question of whether one is able to find the 'historical Scriver' hidden under the form of Gotthold within his writings; rather, it is to explore the way in which Scriver, in his *zufälliger Andachten*, offered his readers a theologically-grounded pattern and image of what it means to be human – as a form of 'spiritual exercises' if you will – by which this ideal image could be instilled in the lives of his readers. Scriver's devotional writings thus provide us with a rare opportunity to study what Lance Lazar has called "the process of molding souls and inculcating new devotional habits."[11] While Lazar makes no attempt within his essay to unfold the process of how this "molding of souls" may have taken place, Scriver fortunately leaves us ample clues. This present study, as a result, proceeds as an enquiry into early modern constructions of 'selfhood' and, more

[10] Waltraud Tepfenhardt, *Emblematische Strukturen in Christian Scrivers Gottholds Zufällige Andachten* . (A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (German) at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980), 81. Müller acknowledges Tepfenhardt's distinction but makes nothing of it. See Müller, 173.

[11] Lance Lazar, "The Formation of Pious Souls: Trans-alpine Demand for Jesuit Devotional Texts, 1548-1615," *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan*, edited by John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand & Anthony J. Papalas (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 289. I use Lazar's understanding of "devotion" as a practical *habitus* through which confessional and theological perspectives are inculcated into the lives of practitioners through a process of spiritual exercises. See also Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, edited by Arnold I Davidson (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1995).

significantly, into the way in which particular theologies and devotional cultures contributed to this ongoing discussion of 'what it means to be human.'[12]

Why Christian Scriver?

I first stumbled upon Scriver's name a number of years ago while rummaging through the rare book collection at the *Lutheran Historical Institute* in Edmonton, Alberta. A large volume which had once graced the upper shelf of the pastor's study in the basement of my childhood parish church caught my attention, and I felt compelled to take a closer look. It was a beautifully preserved 1698 edition of Scriver's later devotional work called *SeelenSchatz* (1675-1692).[13] Since the author's name was unfamiliar to me, I jotted it down to see what I could find out about him. The results of this initial survey were tantalizing. Widely acclaimed as one of the most influential devotional writers within the history of Lutheranism,[14] Scriver had received remarkably little scholarly attention over the past hundred years. Even though it is not uncommon to find passing comments about him scattered throughout historical surveys of German literature, Lutheran hymnody, and historic Lutheranism, most of them amount to nothing more than caricatures built upon nineteenth-century biographies rather

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[12] Roger Smith uses this phrase to discuss the question of selfhood and identity formation within his work. See Smith, *Being Human: Historical Knowledge and the Creation of Human Nature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

[13] (Leipzig: Andreas Zeldlern, 1998), *Lutheran Historical Institute* reference number 96.64 SC04.

[14] See, for example, Frieder Schulz's comment that "Scriver compt parmi les plus significantifs des écrivains luthériens populaires" in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité et mystique*, edited by Marcel Viller, André Derville, Paul Lamarche & Aimé Solgnac (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932-1995), s.v. "Scriver (Christian), luthérien, 1629-1693."

than new or original contributions to our understanding of his life and legacy. This lacuna called for redress.

Known as a Lutheran clergyman and a writer of devotional works, Scriver rose to prominence out of humble surroundings. Born on January 2, 1629 in the small town of Rendsburg in Holstein, just twenty-nine kilometers west of Kiel during the height of the Thirty Years' War, Scriver grew up well acquainted with the turbulent social conditions of his age.[15] His birth-father, a merchant also named Christian, died of the plague within the first year of Scriver's life leaving him to be raised by his widowed mother. Several years later, Abigail chose to remarry, her new husband being Gerhard Kulemann, pastor and superintendent of the churches in Rendsburg, but this too was not to last. Kuhlemann likewise died before Scriver could reach the age of seven. Despite their hardships, Abigail never stopped encouraging her son to be diligent in his prayers, attentive in his studies, and always ready receive to receive instruction with great eagerness.[16] It was during this time that Scriver caught the attention of the school rector, Johann Namerich, who took him under his care and started Scriver down the path toward a formal education. Abigail prevailed upon Thomas Hebbers, a wealthy merchant in Lübeck and the brother of Scriver's grandmother, to make provisions for his

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[15] This biographical information is assembled from the following sources: Christmann, op. cit.; Schulz, op. cit.; *The Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, edited by George William Gilmore et al. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1964), s.v. "Scriver, Christian"; *Encyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, edited by John M'Clinktock & James Strong, volume IX (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1894), s.v. "Scriver, Christian"; *A Dictionary of Hymnody*, edited by John Julian (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1892), s.v. "Scriver, Christian."

[16] Christmann, 17-19.

needs while he continued his schooling. Scriver was only nine years old at the time, but Hebbers agreed to provide him with an annual stipend of 50 Gulden for as long as he remained in school.[17] In 1645, however, Scriver was forced to leave his preparatory studies behind and flee from Rendsburg to Lübeck on account of the war. Without a stipend in place, he found work for two years as a private tutor.

At eighteen years of age in the fall of 1647, Scriver entered the University of Rostock where he undertook a broad liberal arts education with a particular focus on Lutheran theology. While there, Scriver boarded with M. Kaspar Mauritius (d. 1677),[18] professor of logic and divinity, from whom he learned theology, comparative symbolics, and confessional polemics.[19] Among his various other professors, he also came under the influence of Joachim Lütkemann (1608-1655), professor of philosophy, whom biographers relate had a particular hand in Scriver's religious formation. A proponent of Arndtian pietism, Lütkemann expressed his religious outlook saying: "I would rather make one

[17] Scriver relates that, over the years, he received a total of 900 Gulden from Hebbers toward his early education. Müller, 43. Christmann (p. 18) writes Thaler. Due to high fluctuations within German currency at this time, it is difficult to provide an accurate assessment as to what the valuation of this support may have been. Using English wages as a point of comparision, with an average wage of 1 shilling/day assuming 50 working weeks of six days each, it is possible to suggest an annual income of 300 shillings or £15/year. Assuming a conversion rate of £2.4 to 1 Gulden, Hebber's support appears to have been the rough equivalent of £120/year. It must be remembered, however, that the value of German currency fluctuated greatly as a part of the economic crisis of the Thirty Years' War and as a result, the actual valuation of Scriver's support may have been much smaller.

[18] Mauritius later became Archdeason of St. Mary's Church. Christmann, 21.

[19] "Polemicis contra Pontificios, Reformatos, Arminianos et Socinianos." Christmann, 21.

person holy than [simply] educate a hundred." [20] As Scriver's father-confessor, Lütkemann impressed upon him the view that faith was to be more than a mere exercise of precision in academic theology; it needed to become part of the very fabric of a person's daily life and livelihood – an influence which is evident later on in the corpus of his devotional works. Scriver later acknowledged his appreciation for Arndt's writings as a formative influence within his own piety.[21] Scriver concluded his university training in May of 1649 with a public lecture entitled *De Coena Domini* in which he defended the Lutheran understanding of the Lord's Supper over and against Calvinist views. In April of 1650, just two years after the close of the Thirty Years' War, the University awarded him the degree of *Magister* for this defense. Following his studies, Scriver again found work in the small neighbouring town of Segeberg in Saxony-Anhalt as a *Hauslehrer* for Joachim Radeband.

It was three years later in 1653 that Scriver embarked upon his pastoral career. Called to the city of Stendal,[22] he was ordained at the church of St.

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[20] "Ich will lieber Eine Seele selig als hundert gelehrt machen."." See Müller, 44.
[21] "Wir erfreuen uns über die herrlichen Beth- Trust- und Danck-Psalmen des Königlichen Propheten; wir ergetzen uns im Geist in den Schriften des H. Pauli und anderer Männer Gottes; wir lessen mit inniger Lust unserer Seelen die Lehr- und Trostreichen Bücher des Herrn Lutheri, Hrn. Joh. Arnts, und anderer Gottes-gelehrter geistreicher Leute, und preisen Gott für seine Gnade, damit er seine Werckzeuge erfüllet und ausgerüstet hat." *SeelenSchatz*, IV.1 predigt §24.
[22] The call was precipitated by a sermon Scriver preached in Stendal during a visit to his married half-sister who was living there. See *Dictionary of Hymnody*, loc. cit.. Koch relates that Lucia Kuhlman, Scriver's half-sister, had married Rev. Triceus who served as ecclesiastical Co-Rector (*Conrector*) of the churches in the Altmark region where Scriver had been invited as a guest preacher on occasion. See Eduard Emil Koch, *Geschichte des Lieds und Kirchengesangs der christlichen, insbesondere der deutschen evangelichen Kirche*, volume four (Stuttgart: Chr. Belser'schen Verlagshandlung, 1868), 81.

Nicholas and immediately deployed as Archdeacon to St. Jacob's.[23] He began writing his *zufälliger Andachten* (1663) while in Stendal. He also composed a series of catechetical lectures based upon Martin Luther's *Kleiner Katechismus* which were later published under the title *Chrysologia Catechetica oder Goldpredigten über die Hauptstücke des Luther'schen Katechismus* (1659).[24] Both of these works demonstrate Scriver's keen interest in taking the theological resources of his Lutheran theological tradition and applying them to the task of fostering a strong piety among the members of his parish community. He stayed in Stendal until 1667 when he followed a call to the Castle Church of St. Jacob's in Magdeburg. From Magdeburg his reputation as a preacher and spiritual director continued to grow. In December of 1674, he was appointed to the city's ecclesiastical court as an observer; this was quickly followed with an appointment in October of 1676 to the local School Board. In the same year, Scriver entertained two separate calls: one to the parish church in Halberstadt in Saxony-Anhalt and one to the position of ministerial Provost in Berlin in Brandenburg – both of which he declined. Three years later, Scriver likewise received another call to the position of Queen's court preacher in Stockholm. In private correspondence, Jacob Philipp Spener (1635-1705) encouraged him to accept the appointment as a way to further the spread of Lutheran pietism, but again, Scriver chose to decline this call and remain in Magdeburg where he was appointed

[23] English sources translate the name of Scriver's parishes in Stendal & Magdeburg as "St. James" whereas the German source texts refer to them as St. Jakob's. I have used the anglicised German names throughout.

[24] The following edition will be referenced throughout this work: Scriver, *Chrysologia Catechetica oder Goldpredigten über die Hauptstücke des Luther'schen Katechismus* (Stuttgart: J.F. Steinkpft'schenn Buchhandlung, 1848).

Senior of the local ministerium. Later in 1685, he was further promoted to the position of Inspector over the churches of the *Holzkreise* region. While in Magdeburg, he published the complete edition of his *zufälliger Andachten* (1671) as well as wrote the bulk of his larger work *SeelenSchatz* (1675-1692), both of which would later capture a wide popular circulation in both Germany and in other lands. Scriver stayed there for a total of twenty three years, moving only in his old age, in 1690, to accept his penultimate call to the position of court preacher at the castle church of St. Severitus within the city of Quedlinburg,[25] the same city where Johann Gerhard (1582-1637) was born and Johann Arndt (1555-1621) had once served as a preacher. Scriver retained this position until the day that he died.

Throughout his life and pastoral career, Scriver's world was framed by the turbulent social conditions which had been left behind within the wake of the Thirty Years' War. The stability of German society was turned upside down under the relentless onslaught of economic crisis, famine, disease, death and war.[26] Having lost siblings, his father and a step-father to the plague, Scriver was certainly not immune to these social realities. He was raised by a twice-widowed mother who was forced to rely on the kindness of patrons in order to make ends meet. In his younger years, he witnessed both Danish and Swedish troops as they

[25] Scriver's responsibility also included serving as the private chaplain to the princess Anna Dorothea (1657-1704), Duchess of Saxony and Abbess of the Quedlinburg Abbey. *Dictionary of Hymnology*, loc. cit..

[26] John Theibault writes that this "image of death and destruction … has defined the social history of the Thirty Years War to a greater extent than almost any other event in early modern European history." Theibault, "The Rhetoric of Death and Destruction in the Thirty Years War," *Journal of Social History* 27:2 (1993): 271.

marched through Rendsburg on their way to the battle front, drafting able-bodied men along the way. Johann Namerich, the school rector who had taken an interest in the education of Scriver in his youth, was one of these individuals who was likewise drafted into military service. In 1645 at the age of sixteen, Scriver likewise fled to Lübeck on account of the war – possibly to evade conscription into military service – as the Swedish army, lead by Lennart Torstenson (1603-1651), marched through Schleswig-Holstein in pursuit of Imperial forces. His own family life was likewise filled with tragedy. Nicholas Hope describes him as "one of life's unluckier husbands and fathers" who "married four times and was survived by only one of his fourteen children."[27] During old age, Scriver's health likewise became a matter of growing concern for him. Beginning in 1685, he suffered bouts of severe illness so much that he feared that his own death was near.[28] As horrible as these events sound to the modern reader, however, Scriver's experience was not an unusual one for his day as death and tragedy were common domestic concerns throughout the seventeenth century.

The war left deep scars across the face of Europe as cities were razed to the ground and rural areas pillaged for supplies. Mary Fulbrook writes that "some areas of Germany lost between one-third and two-thirds of their population" pointing out that "the greatest killer was undoubtedly epidemics (typhoid, the

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[27] Nicholas Hope, *German and Scandinavian Protestantism 1700-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 29. Koch suggests that he was survived by two of his children. He mentions one son from his second marriage who later became a merchant Kiel but unfortunately does not provide a name. He also relates that Scriver was survived by one daughter from his last marriage, Catharine Elisabethe, who later married Polycarp Leyser, the ecclesiastical superintendent in Merseburg. See Koch, 90.

[28] Christmann, 42.

plague, veneral [sic] disease), often spread by armies on the move" as well as common illnesses like influenza which took hold of an already malnourished population. Food and livestock were commonly 'foraged' by advancing armies who in turn left both buildings and lands devastated under a 'scorched earth' policy to "prevent the enemy's armies [from] living off the land."[29] This, combined with a series of crop failures, amounted to an economic crisis that exacerbated the already devastating human losses. Stories of rape, mutilation, torture and even cannibalism further heightened the sense of fear and devastation that gripped the general population.[30] All this gave rise to widespread internal migrations as people fled the war-front in order to seek out places of safety and refuge as they wandered the countryside as beggars and strangers, itinerant pilgims within their own native land.[31]

One particularly brutal event was the Sack of Magdeburg, the city where Scriver would later spend the bulk of his pastoral career, which took place on May 20, 1631.[32] With the entrance of King Gustavus II Adolphus (1594-1632) and the Swedish army into the battlefield, the counsellors of the protestant city of

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[29] Mary Fulbrook, *A Concise History of Germany*, revised edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 64; Peter Wilson similarly notes that casualty rates across German lands was between thirty and fifty percent. See Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2009), 786ff & 801ff.

[30] Wilson, 780.

[31] See Fulbrook, 64 and Douglas H. Shantz, "Homeless Minds: The Migration of Radical Pietists, their Writings, and Ideas in Early Modern Europe," *Pietism in Germany and North America 1680-1820*, edited by Jonathan Strom, Hartmut Lehmann, and James Van Horn Melton (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 88.

[32] For the details of the siege, see: Wilson, 467-470 and Tryntje Helfferich ed. and trans., *The Thirty Years War: A Documentary History* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2009), 107-113.

Magdeburg seized upon the opportunity to rebel against the Catholic Emperor Ferdinand II (1578-1637) with the hope that Sweden would be able to ensure their defense. Ferdinand's armies converged on the city of Magdeburg in the opening months of 1631 and began taking the outlying areas at the beginning of May. Sorely outnumbered, and with the Swedish army still several days away, the city council agreed to come to terms with General Tilley of Ferdinand's army by the morning of May 20, 1631. Deliberations within the city council went on for too long, however, and before they had the chance to surrender, Tilley had breached the city walls and began his attack. "Tilley's troops—hungry, lacking pay, and angry at the long resistance of the city—looted with abandon. They carted off every valuable they could carry and destroyed everything else. Fire, which either sprang up accidentally or was purposely set by one side or the other, swept through the entire city,"[33] pushed forward by a wind-storm which whipped the flames into a fury. By the end of the day, the city had burned to the ground, more than 20,000 people were dead, only 5,000 remained, and those who fled were intercepted by imperial troops and forced to pay a ransom for their freedom. Magdeburg had been reduced to ashes.

Following the attack, Otto von Guericke (1602-1686), a citizen of Magdeburg who had survived the firestorm, provided a chronicle in which he outlined the events surrounding the destruction of the city. In it he offered a haunting description of the clean-up that took place in the aftermath of the holocaust. He described how General Tilley sent wagons throughout the city to

[33] Helfferich, 107.

collect the charred bodies and other corpses in order to have them carted out to the Water Gate on Elbe River where they were deposited for disposal. "For almost a year afterwards, one could still find bodies, five, six, eight, ten at a time, in ruined cellars where [they] had suffocated and died; and those [bodies] which had lain in the streets were so charred and smashed to pieces by collapsing buildings, one had to load the pieces [onto the wagons] using pitchforks." Unfortunately, the river could not keep up with the volume of corpses which were committed to it. Von Guericke describes: "because of the eddies or ripples [in the water] at that place, [the bodies] were either unable or unwilling to float way, so that many [simply stayed and] circulated around [in the water], some with their heads sticking out of the water, others with their hands stretched out to heaven offering the onlooker a horrific sight which gave rise to much talk about how these dead people were praying and singing and crying out to God for vengeance." This constant reminder of the holocaust further sparked "many rumours of faces and spirits and other such things. But," as von Guericke relates, "no one was willing to actually confirm [these stories]."[34]

[34] "General Tilly die verbrannten Leichname und sonst erschlagenen von den Gassen, Wällen und andern Plätzen auf Wagen laden und in's Wasser der Elbe fahren lassen, sondern man hat auch fast ein ganzes Jahr lang nach der Zeit in den verfallenen Kellern viel tote Körper zu 5, 6, 8, 10 und mehr, die darin erstickt und befallen gewesen, gefunden, und weil die, so auf den Gassen gelegen, sehr vom Feuer verzehrt und von den einfallenen Gebäuden zerschmettert gewesen, also daß man oft die Stücken mit Mistgabeln aufladen müssen… Die abgestorbenen Leichname, so vor das Wassertor hinaus in die Elbe geführt worden, haben, weil an dem Orte alle Wege ein Kräusel oder Wirbel ist, nicht bald hinwegfließen können oder wollen, also daß viele da lange herumgeschwommen, die teils die Köpfe aus dem Wasser gehabt, teils die Hände gleichsam gen Himmel gereckt und dem Anschauer ein fast grausam Spektakel gegeben haben, davon den viel Geschwätzes gemacht worden, gleich also hätten solche tote Leute noch gebetet,

As haunting as these images are, Magdeburg was not the only city to suffer such losses. Geoffrey Parker indicates that "there was nothing special about the level of brutality at Magdeburg." Even though he admits that the "scale of slaughter was unusual," he points out that "to sack a town … was standard practice."[35] John Theibault has written about how these various narratives of death and destruction sparked a significant body of "social historical literature" which served to imprint the recollection of this social trauma upon the collective memory of the German population so that "the rhetoric of death and destruction was not, therefore, simply a symptom of the war, [but] became a part of the impact of the war."[36] "No less than 20 newspapers, 205 pamphlets and 41 illustrated broadsheets" were produced, offering a description of Magdeburg's destruction as a way to illustrate how the Emperor treated his protestant subjects. These were circulated all over Europe "so that observers in London, Paris, Amsterdam, Stockholm, Rome and Madrid, as well as in the princely courts of Germany, were made aware" of the brutality which had been inflicted upon the citizens of Magdeburg.[37]

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gesungen und zu Gott um Rache geschrieen, wie den ebenermaßen man von vielen Gesichtern, Gespenstern und der gleichen Dingern zwar sagen, aber von niemand im Grunde der Wahrheit bejahet warden wollen." Otto von Guericke, *Die Belagerung, Eroberung und Zerstörung der Stadt Magdeburg am 10./20. Mai 1631*, edited by Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann & Horst Kohl (Leipzig: R. Voigtländers Verlag, 1912), 78-79.

[35] Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, edited by Geoffrey Parker, second edition (New York: Routledge, 1997), 112.

[36] Theibault, 285 also 271.

[37] Parker, 112. For examples of these broadsheets, see Willam A. Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century: Historical and Iconographical Studies*, volume one (Baden-Baden: Verlag Librairie Heitz GMBH, 1966). For a discussion of the way in which the Thirty Years' War

In a sonnet from 1636 entitled "Threnen des Vatterlandes,"[38] Andreas Gryphius (1616-1664) offered a haunting description of the impact that these events had upon the morale of the German population:

We are now utterly | no, more than that, cut down.
The insolent throng of [army hosts] | the frenzied trumpet
The blood soaked sword | the thundering drum
Has lapped up every drop of sweat | all [our] labours | and every well laid plan
The steeples lie in ashes | the Church is overthrown
The town hall stands in horror | as the strong men are cut down
Young Maidens have been raped | and where-ever we [turn our eyes]
Fire | plague | and death pierce us through to our very hearts and minds
Fresh blood continuously flows | through town and street
So that for three times six years now, our rivers have been flooded
Stopped up with corpses | as [the water] pushes them slowly through.
But now I still must speak | of something worse than death
Grimmer than the plague | than flame and hunger's woe
That wrested [even from our hearts] |
is the treasure of our soul [*Selen Schatz*].[39]

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impacted the shape of German literature from this period, see Michael M. Metzger & Erika A. Metzger, "The Thirty Years War and Its Impact on Literature," *German Baroque Literature: The European Perspective*, edited by Gerhart Hoffmeister (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1983).

[38] "Tears of the Fatherland", Sonet XXVII in Andreas Gryphius, *Frühe Sonette*, edited by Marian Szyrocki (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1964), 48.

[39] "Wir sindt doch nuhmer gantz | ja mehr den gantz verheret!
Der frechen vo̊lcker schaar | die rasende posaun
Das vom blutt fette schwerdt | die donnernde Carthaun
Hatt aller schweis | und fleis | und vorraht auff gezehret
Die tůrme stehn in glutt | die Kirch ist umbgekehret
Das Rahthause ligt im graus | die starcken sind zerhawn
Die Jungfawn sindt geschä̊ndt; und wo wir hin nur schawn
Ist fewer | pest | und todt der hertz undt geist durchfehret
Hier durch die schantz und Stadt | rint alzeit frisches blutt
Dreymall sindt schon sechs jahr als unser stro̊me flutt
Von so viel leichen schwer | sich langsam fortgedrungen.
Doch schweig ich noch von dem was årger als der todt.
Was grimmer den die pest | undt glutt undt hungers noth
Das nun der Selen schatz | so vielen abgezwungen."

The opening lines of Gryphius' sonnet harken back to the vision of the apocalyptic horsemen from the book of Revelation.[40] He built this biblical association into a horrific description of the destruction that had been unleashed upon the whole of Europe. Two items stand out within this sonnet. The first is the way in which Gryphius described the Church as being *umbgekehret*. At first glance, this might appear to be simply a reference to the destruction of church buildings as a part of the casualties of war. The word for church *Kirch* is in the singular, however, and not in the plural which suggests that he is referring to the whole of Christendom. Gryphius here offered a commentary on how the Church as a whole within central Europe had become turned upside-down, both with its dissolution into competing confessional factions, but also in the way in which the various confessional States that populated the face of Europe had turned upon each other within the politics of the war. Combined with his apocalyptic imagery of destruction and the bloody fields of war, Gryphius intimated the possibility that they were indeed living within the last times. The second key element is Gryphius' description of the sense of utter futility and emptiness that had gripped the *common man*[41] where he writes how even their *Selen Schatz* – the very treasure of their soul – had been forcibly removed from them.

It is certainly tempting to read Scriver's devotional writings, and especially his *SeelenSchatz*, as a kind of extended pastoral response to Gryphius' poem. Such a thing is not beyond the realm of possibility as Scriver could easily

[40] Marian Szyrocki, *Andreas Gryphius: Sein Leben und Werk* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1964), 60.
[41] See Peter Blickle, *From the Communal Reformation to the Revolution of the Common Man* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) for the origin of this term.

have encountered Gryphius' writings as well as these other descriptions of the war while he was a student at the University of Rostock. Scriver wrote his devotional writings within the very same social historical context. It is not surprising, as a result, that we find him addressing many of the same human conditions we find described within Gryphius' poem. As such, Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten* as well as his *SeelenSchatz* could rightly be read and interpreted as a part of this body of 'social historical' writings that Theibault has described.

What we can glean from historians is that Scriver's writings did fill a critical niche among the people of his day. F. Ernst Stoeffler described his *SeelenSchatz* as "one of the most outstanding of Lutheran edificatory works."[42] Winfried Zeller likewise called it one of the greatest devotional books to have arisen within evangelical Christendom.[43] Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten* were likewise met with an immediate popular response going through over twenty eight different German editions alone.[44] His writings were widely translated and published in countries such as Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Holland,

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[42] F. Ernst Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), 225.

[43] "mit Recht einst under die großen Erbauungsbücher der evangelischen Christenheit gezählt wurde." Winfried Zeller, "Protestantische Frömmigkeit im 17. Jahrhundert," *Theologie und Frömmigkeit: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, edited by Bernd Jaspert (Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1971), 108.

[44] *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, loc. cit.; GzA was also translated into a variety of different languages including Swedish, English and French. See, for example Christian Scriver, *Gottholds' Emblems: or Invisible Things Understood by Things that are Made*, translated from the 28th German edition by Robert Menzies (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1860) as well as Scriver, *Paraboles ou Réflections Édifiantes de Théophile*, translated from the 1837 German edition (Toulouse: Société des livres religieux, 1859).

England, France and even the United States.[45] Scriver was particularly well received throughout Sweden where, Nicholas Hope relates, his "warm, home-spun Bible teaching on nature, grace, and learning from everyday experience—especially that contained in his daily meditations [*zufälliger Andachten*]—appealed in a rural parish landscape and everyday word so that they were "lent out farm by farm" and became a source of inspiration for many a pastor as he carried out his parish responsibilities.[46] "His influence upon Lutheran piety," as Stoeffler observed, "was of major importance."[47] Hope places him alongside Johann Arndt as one of the two chief architects of popular devotional life as it spread throughout German and Scandinavian Protestantism.[48] Indeed, the imprint of Scriver's legacy is present within the works of such celebrated figures as Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705),[49] Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750), [50] the renowned

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[45] Jussi Talasniemi, *Sielun Pelastus: Christian Scriverin teologia [Seelen Seligkeit: Die Theologie Christian Scrivers]* (Helsinki, 1975), 155; see also Müller, 187-96.
[46] Hope, 196-97.
[47] Stoeffler, 227.
[48] Hope, 29; also Knut Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), 325.
[49] See Eric Lund, "The Problem of Religious Complacency in Seventeenth Century Lutheran Spirituality," *Modern Christian Spirituality: Methodological and Historical Essays*, edited by Bradley Hanson (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 153; Müller, 189 also Hope, 131 as well as page 144 where he points out that Scriver's writings formed part of the staple of the early Halle Pietism.
[50] Winfried Zeller, "Vom Abbild zom Sinnbild: Johann Sebastian Bach und das Symbol," *Theologie und Frömmigkeit*, 165-77; see, for example, the text from Bach's Aria for Sexagesima BWV 18: "Mein Seelenschatz ist Gottes Wort; | Außer dem sind alle Schätze | Solche Netze, | Welche Welt und Satan Stricken, | Schnöde Seelen zu berücken. | Fort mit allen, fort, nur fort! | Mein Seelenschatz ist Gottes Wort." Translated: "My soul's treasure is God's word; | beyond this are all [worldly] treasures | such webs | woven by the world and Satan, | to entice poor souls. | Away with them all! Away! Away! | My soul's treasure is God's

Swedish botanist Carl von Linné (1707-1778),[51] as well as Søren Kierkegaard (1813-1855).[52] This influence dominated the form of Lutheran devotional literature for well over two hundred years[53] only to be eclipsed in the twentieth century. For this reason, it is not uncommon to find comments like Johannes Christmann's, who described him, in a biography written for the bicentennial of Scriver's birth, as "a most important individual of our evangelical Church,"[54] or W.L. Ergenzinger's, who dubbed him "a true German Chrysostom … [and] a salutary example for all times."[55] Hermann Beck, in his historical overview of popular German devotional literature, likewise considered Scriver's contribution and influence upon German piety to be of the highest importance. "He far surpasses all others," he wrote, "who had laboured in this field before him."[56]

Word." See Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J.S. Bach*, revised and translated by Richard D. P. Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 232-233.

[51] Hope, 151, 197.

[52] See Müller, 211; also Leo Stan, "Chrysostom: Between the Hermitage and the City," *Kierkegaard and the Patristic and Medieval Traditions*, edited by Jon Stewart (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 52. Stan points out that Kierkegaad became acquainted with the writings of John Chrysostom (c.347-407) through his reading Scriver's writings. See also Marie Mikulová Thulstrup, "Pietism," *Kierkegaard and Great Traditions*, edited by Niels Thulstrup & Marie Mikulová Thulstrup (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels Boghandel, 1981), 192-94. Thulstrup points out that Kierkegaard owned a 1723 edition of Scriver's *SeelenSchatz* which he likely read in 1850 and 1851.

[53] Hans Leube, *Die Reformideen in der deutschen lutherischen Kirche zur Zeit der Orthodoxie* (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1924) and Leube, *Orthodoxie und Pietismus: Gesammelte Studien* (Bielefeld: Luther-Verlag, 1975).

[54] "eines hochwichtigen Mannes unserer evangelischen Kirche" Christmann, 3.

[55] "ein echter deutscher Chrysostomus … für alle Zeiten ein herrliches Vorbild." W.L. Ergenzinger, *Zehn Kasual- und Festpredigten von M. Christian Scriver* (Stuttgart, 1862), vi.

[56] "Weit überragt er alle welche vor ihm auf diesem Felde gearbeitet haben." Hermann Beck, *Die religiöse Volkslitterature der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands in einem Abriß ihrer Geschichte* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1891), 141.

This opinion was so ingrained by the end of the nineteenth century that Constantin Große ushered in the 1900s with the assertion that "Scriver is the most important popular Lutheran author of all time."[57] As the twentieth century rolled on, however, scholarly interest in Scriver's writings waned to the point that he appears to have been all but forgotten.[58]

Overview of the Literature

The past hundred years have seen only a handful of studies which have looked at Scriver and his writings. Though it is not uncommon to find entries and passing reference to Scriver, the number of new and original works focused on him and his devotional writings produced during this period amounts to nothing more than a slow stymied trickle. I suspect that this fall into obscurity is owing to a number of different factors. One is the sheer size of his devotional works. His *SeelenSchatz* is a massive work of 3196 folio pages of text alone, not counting the generous indices; his smaller *zufälliger Andachten* likewise offers to its readers 1072 octavo pages of gothic script. This, combined with the late nineteenth and early twentieth century preoccupation with demythologization, made Scriver's devotional vision, built upon medieval notions of an enchanted universe (exemplarism), academically nonsensical to the modern world.[59] To a greater extent, however, I suspect that Scriver's fall into obscurity is due to the way in

[57] "Scriver ist der bedeutendst lutherische Volksschriftssteller aller Zeit." Constantin Große, *De Alten Tröster* (Herrmannsburg, 1900), 257.
[58] Martin Brecht, "Ein 'Gastmahl' an Predigten. Christian Scrivers *SeelenSchatz* (1675-1692)," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 28 (2002): 72.
[59] This was brought into theological vogue during the course of the twentieth century through the work of Rudolf Bultmann (1884-1976).

which seventeenth century Lutheranism came to be caricatured following Albrecht Ritschl's (1822-1889) critical assessment of pietism within his *Geschichte des Pietismus*.[60] In addition to bringing the historiographical distinction between 'orthodox' and 'pietistic' expressions of earlier Lutheranism into sharper relief, Ritschl effectively defined and isolated the development of the latter around the figures of Johann Arndt, Philipp Jakob Spener, and August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), an influence which can be seen in the way in which Lutheran pietism has been approached since then. Writers such as Scriver, who did not fall neatly into either camp, simply fell between the cracks and were either overlooked or forgotten.[61]

Indeed, this is not all that dissimilar from the way in which Reformation scholarship, throughout the bulk of the twentieth century, was dominated by an

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[60] Published in three volumes (Marcus Bonn, 1882-1886).

[61] See, for example, Stoeffler, 203; also Garry R. Sattler, *Nobler than the Angels, Lower than a Worm: The Pietist View of the Individual in the Writings of Heinrich Müller and August Hermann Francke* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1989); Scriver was not mentioned within either Heinrich Schmid's *The Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, edited by Charles A. Hay and Henry E. Jacobs, second English edition (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Soceity, 1889) or *The History of Pietism*, translated by James L Langebartels (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 2007). Robert D. Preus briefly mentions him as a representative of an 'orthodox' Lutheran devotional writer but provides no further discussion in *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism*, two volumes (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1970), volume one, page 2. Peter Erb makes no mention of him at all in his introduction to *Piestists: Selected Writings*, edited by Peter C. Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), neither is he discussed anywhere throughout this work. The same is true for Carter Lindberg ed., *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005). See also Hermann Hettner, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, volume one *Vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zur Thronbesteigung Friedrichs des Großen (1648-1740)*, seventh printing (Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg & Sohn, 1925).

almost exclusive devotion to primary Reformation figures like Martin Luther, Jean Calvin, and Huldrych Zwingli. Little attention was given to lesser-known figures or "reformers in the wings," as David Steinmetz called them,[62] until the 1970s when research into the cultural changes of sixteenth century went through a reformation of its own. Since that time, there has been a notable trend to fill in the gaps within our understanding of the sixteenth-century Reformations from within a variety of different historical perspectives. The religious landscape of the seventeenth century, however, has not benefited from the same degree of scholarly interest. Little has been done to fill in the gaps within Ritschl's historiography and, as a result, the seventeenth century remains a kind of "no man's land," as Johannes Wallmann has called it, still waiting to be explored.[63] Robert Kolb has rightly pointed out that much work still needs to be done.[64]

Over the past century, there have been only six book-length studies devoted to a study of Scriver and his writings. The earliest was Else Eichler's unpublished doctoral dissertation (1926) which she completed at the University of

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[62] David C. Steinmetz, *Reformers in the Wings* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971).

[63] Johannes Wallmann's evaluation of the scholarship on this time period where Wallmann writes: "It would be wonderful if we got so far as to have gaps in the research on church history and the history of theology in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. For the time being a few edifices tower over a large field on which every once in a while something is erected. In between: no gaps, but rather no man's land." Wallmann, "Lutherische Konfessionalisierung – eine Überblick," *Die lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland, Wissenschaftliches Symposion des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, edited by Hans-Christoph Rublack, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 197 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1992), 47-48. Translated by Robert Kolb in his recent article "Lutheran Theology in Seventeenth Century Germany," *Lutheran Quarterly* 20:4 (2006): 429-456.

[64] Kolb (*op. cit.*) provides an excellent overview of recent work that has been done on sixteenth and seventeenth-century Lutheranism.

Halle-Wittenberg.[65] Eichler focused her attention on Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten* in which she unfolded the literary structure of the work both in relationship to its sources as well as the way in which his writings inspired later devotional writers to create a kind of literary genre within their works. Her study was important because it brought the influence of Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten* into focus as a literary form within the German devotional tradition. This was followed quickly by Fritz Becker's doctoral work (1929) at Ludwig-Maximillian University.[66] Becker's study appears to have been sparked independently since there is no reference to Eichler's study within his work. Rather than focusing on Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten*, however, Becker chose ambitiously to look at the whole of Scriver's devotional corpus and draw conclusions about its place within the context of seventeenth-century religious prose. Becker's conclusions, however, were framed by his interest in literary forms and the way in which they were used to express Romantic conceptions of religion as something which arises out of the well-spring of human emotions. Focused on literary structures, neither Eichler nor Becker spent any time investigating how Scriver's spirituality fit historically within the context of the seventeenth century.

It was not until forty years later that Scriver and hist works started to come back into focus again. Eichler's and Becker's dissertations were followed by two additional studies which looked at the literary structures of Scriver's works. The one was prepared by Dietmar Piel (1978) who included a chapter devoted to

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[65] Else Eichler, *Christian Scrivers "Zufällige Andachten": Ein Geistes- und Formgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Halle: Vereinigten Friedriches-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1926).
[66] Becker, *op. cit.*.

Scriver's writings within his study of emblematic structures within Protestant devotional literature.[67] Two years later, Piel's study was followed by Waltraud Tepfenhardt's unpublished dissertation (1980) from the University of Wisconsin in which she focused her attention specifically on emblematic structures within the *zufälliger Andachten*.[68] Here again, however, the historical component within these works revolved around a literary *Formgeschichte* rather than connecting Scriver's writings to their historical or theological contexts.

At roughly the same time, there emerged a new interest in Scriver's writing from an historical perspective. In 1969, Martin Schmidt published an essay in which he pointed to Scriver's *SeelenSchatz* as a source text for understanding what he called *vorpietistischer Predigtweise*.[69] This theme was later picked up by Martin Brecht in an article he wrote for *Pietismus and Neuzeit* in 2002 entitled "Ein 'Gastmahl' an Predigten. Christian Scrivers *SeelenSchatz* (1675-1692)."[70] Axel Simonsson likewise produced two articles in the early '70s, the first in 1971 in which he looked at the way Scriver's devotional works influenced the growth of Swedish pietism through a study of their reception and

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[67] Dietmar Piel, *Zur »angewandten Emblematik« in protestantischen Erbauungsbüchern: Dilherr – Arndt – Francisci – Scriver* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1978).
[68] Tepfenhardt, *op. cit*..
[69] *Vorpietist* is an awkward term to translate. Sometimes stated as "early pietist", the term refers to those writers who were considered to be forerunners of the pietist movement. Schmidt is interested in Scriver as an exemplarly source-text for pre-pietist homiletics. See Martin Schmidt, "Christian Scrivers Seelenschatz-ein Beispiel vorpietistischr Predigtweise," *Wiedergeburt und neuer Mensch* (Witten: Luther Verlag, 1969). Thulstrup likewise comments that Scriver's works should be considered as being pre-pietistic because of the way in which he stays close to the confessional theology of sixteenth-century Lutheranism. See Thulstrup, 192.
[70] Brecht, *op. cit*..

transmission.[71] His second piece, published one year later, examined Scriver's use of the English bishop Joseph Hall's (1574-1656) *Occastional Meditations* (1630) as a compositional source for the *zufälliger Andachten*.[72] Over one decade later, Udo Sträter also explored this English-connection in his landmark study of the way in which English devotional writings were transmitted and used by German writers throughout seventeenth century.[73] Most recently, Peter Damrau also briefly mentions Scriver in his own study in which he has uses this connection in order to argue that the subjective *self* of later German pietism had had been drawn from within the literature of English Puritanism.[74]

Only two studies made an attempt to examine Scriver's theology. The first came out of Finland in the 1970s. Jussi Talasniemi's book *Sielun Pelastus: Christian Scriverin teologia*[75] provided an important argument that not all devotional writers from the seventeenth century fell into the trap of theological synergism – the mixing together of justification and sanctification (faith and works) – which characterized later German pietism. He pointed specifically to Scriver as an example of a Lutheran writer who managed to maintain an

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[71] Axel Simonsson, "Christian Scriver och hans uppbyggliga skrifters betydelse, huvudsakligen med hänsyn till Sverige," *Kyrkohistorik årsskrift Föreningen* 71 (1971): 142-165.
[72] Axel Simonsson, "Christian Scrivers Naturskildring och hans relationer til Joseph Hall," *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift* 48:2 (1972): 69-83.
[73] Udo Sträter, *Sonthom, Bayly, Dyke und Hall: Studien zur Rezeption der englischen Erbauungsliteratur in Deutschland im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1987).
[74] See Peter Damrau has acknowledged this connection within his dissertation looking at *The Reception of English Puritan Literature in Germany*, Modern Humanities Research Association (Texts and Dissertations) volume 66 & Institute of Germanic and Romance Studies (University of London) Bithell Series of Dissertations volume 29 (London: Maney Publishing, 2006).
[75] Talasniemi, *op. cit*..

'orthodox' focus on justification or salvation as a gift by grace through faith in Christ alone. Talasniemi's work is significant in that it distinguishes Scriver theologically from the Arndt-Spener-Francke trajectory of Lutheran pietism which Ritschl had introduced into the historiography of this time period. Since Talasniemi's study is only available in Finnish, his insights have had little impact on the way in which Scriver has been viewed by historians.

The other book is Holger Müller's rambling dissertation (2005) from the University of Heidelberg in which he undertook to explore Scriver's contribution as a spiritual director.[76] Müller was inspired by the practical theologian, Rudolf Bohren, who had written an essay over ten years earlier in which he pointed to Scriver as an exceptional example of a Lutheran spiritual writer. He quipped: "you've just got to read Scriver."[77] Within his work, Müller brings together a lot of information but unfortunately gets lost within the details along the way. In the center of his study, he extracts from Scriver's writings a system of pastoral practice which he had around the 'hermeneutical bridge' of Scriver's *theological anthropology*. Müller concluded that Scriver had built his work as a *Seelsorger* around a unique relational view of the individual. This is perhaps Müller's greatest contribution to our understanding of Scriver's thought. He fell short, however, in that he did not investigate the actual shape and content of Scriver's theology; neither did he make any attempt to interpret Scriver's work as a spiritual

[76] Müller, *op. cit*..
[77] "… den Scriver muß man lessen." See Rudolf Bohren, "Barock Therapie – Christian Scriver," *In Der Tiefe der Zisterne. Erfahrung mit der Schwermut* (Münschen: Kaiser, 1990), 186.

director in relationship to the social-historical context in which he lived. As a result, Müller leaves the door wide open for further work to be done.

With the exception of Talasniemi's work, it is generally assumed that Scriver's theology reflected the patterns of Johann Arndt's devotional piety. Scriver did, after all, study under the tutelage of Joachim Lütkemann, a known proponent of Arndtian spirituality, during his time at the University of Rostock. His writings likewise reflected many of the same social and religious themes as advocated by Arndt and his circle of followers.[78] But because Talasniemi's book is available in Finnish only, it is not readily accessible to the average reader. Because of this, Scriver's theology has never been truly distinguished from that of Arndt's or, for that matter, the overarching caricature of later Spenerian Pietism.[79] Yet, as both Talasniemi's and Müller's works point out, a careful reading of Scriver's writings reveals a distinctly different texture within both his pastoral piety as well as the overall structure of his theological thought. This difference has not been adequately recognized for it is precisely here that Scriver stood apart from Arndt and the rest of his contemporaries.

The Question of Personhood

My interest, however, goes beyond that of a simple comparative study of Arndt's and Scriver's respective theologies. What interests me is way in which Scriver used the theological resources of his Lutheran confessional heritage within the context of his *zufälliger Andachten* in order to provide his readers with

[78] Stoeffler, 224.
[79] Talasniemi, 160-161 and Tepfenhardt, 16-25.

a devotional model through which they could rebuild a renewed sense of *self* or identity during a time in which the very integrity of *self*-identity had fallen under attack by political, religious, and military forces. This is a facet of Scriver's work as a devotional writer that has never been considered. Indeed, Peter Wilson commented that the Thirty Years' War was perhaps "the most destructive conflict in European history."[80] The sheer scope and violence of the destruction combined with heavy inflation and the lingering fear of death and the plague had left the surviving population both demoralized and dehumanized as they fled the war front in order to find safety for their souls. Torn from familiar surroundings, these exiles undoubtedly shared stories of their experiences which became pooled into a collective narrative memory of loss and devastation not unlike that which Gryphius had captured within his sonnet. Gerhard Benecke has suggested that it is precisely this "question of 'Exile'" which "could well be the clue to understanding the psychological factors that always elude the cruder tax-register and rent-roll centered approaches to the damage, population loss and war-horrors of the more traditional demographic, economic, and social historians."[81] While seeking to interpret the psychological states of historical persons is always a daunting exercise, it is worth noting that it is during this difficult period within European history that the image of the pilgrim gained wide-spread currency within both devotional literature and art.

[80] Wilson, 787.
[81] Gerhard Benecke, "The Thirty Years' War and its Place in the General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of European Economic History* 9:2 (1980): 497.

David Warren Sabean broached the question of personhood within his study of popular culture and village discourse within early modern Germany, and suggested that it was during the course of the 1600s that "the ideological construct of the person began to undergo significant revision." [82] Sabean offered a fascinating glimpse into the dynamics of village life based on a selection of stories of difficult or disruptive behaviours that had been extracted from parish and village registers. He suggested that these historical episodes illustrated a growing tension between a communally-oriented sense of identity and an emerging impulse toward individuality.[83] Unfortunately, Sabean did not engage the larger question of the impact of the war, opting to focus instead on the dynamics of village discourse.

Sabean's conclusion did little more than echo the established historiographical caricature of the evolution of the modern Western ideal of the subjectively-defined individual *self*. This periodization was inherited from the Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897) who had divided the evolution of the modern notion of the self as an *individual* into two distinct stages of cultural development. The earliest stage he described in terms of a pre-modern awareness in which personal identity had come to be "defined first and foremost by the external communal dimensions of life."[84] This was an identity which was

[82] David Warren Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular culture & village discourse in early modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 209.
[83] Sabean, 210. Sabean echoed the opinion that it was during the early seventeenth century that "the split between subjective life and objective behavior was reconsidered and programmatic elements involving a notion of a consistent personality structure began to emerge" (page 209) .
[84] David B. Perrin, *Studying Christian Spirituality* (Routledge: 2007), 128.

intimately interwoven into the ritual structures and experiences of daily existence as it was lived within a stable network of social relations, circumscribed by a geographical rootedness to both family and place[85] so much so that in Burckhardt's description, this pre-modern individual was seen as being "unreflective"[86] or conscious of himself only as a member of a group or "some general category, dreaming or half awake beneath a common veil."[87] The second stage which Burckhardt suggested emerged out of the cultural developments which marked the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He described this new sense of self as the subjectively oriented "*spiritual* individual," who became increasingly independent from the "various external spheres of influence" which had previously defined her.[88] He understood this individual as someone who built her identity *self-referentially* beginning with the resources of her own interiority.[89]

Indeed, we see this impulse expressed throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which witness the emergence of new forms of expression in both art, religion, and philosophy. Thus we see Albrecht Dürer's (1471-1528) experimentation with self-portraiture, a form which was echoed by other artists

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[85] Meic Pearse, "Problem? what problem? Personhood, late modern/postmodern rootlessness and contemporary identity crises," *Evangelical Quarterly* 77:1 (2005): 7.
[86] Perrin, 7.
[87] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, translated by S.G.C. Middlemore (London: Penguin, 1990 [originally published in 1860]), 98ff.
[88] Burckhardt, ibid..
[89] See, for example, Louis Dumont, *Essays on Individualism: Modern Ideology in Anthropological Perspective* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Perrin, 78 & 128; also Pearse, 8.

from this period, including the celebrated Rembrandt (1606-1669).[90] The emergence of new schools of spirituality throughout both Catholic and Protestant territories can also be seen to be a part of this changing cultural landscape in which people sought to find new ways to define themselves in relationship to the new world in which they lived. It is usually René Descartes (1596-1650), however, who is credited with being the originator of the modern notion of the subjectively defined *self*.[91] Even though the roots of the Western preoccupation with interiority can be traced all the way back to Augustine of Hippo (354-430)[92] and even Plato (427-347 BCE), it is Descartes' bold assertion – *cogito ergo sum* – from his *Discourse on Method* (1637) that philosophers have used to demarcate the dawning of modernity.

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[90] See Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993).

[91] Robert C. Solomon refers to this as Descartes's "epochal change" which led to the "modern philosophical obsession with the self." Solomon, *Continental Philosophy since 1750: The Rise and Fall of the Self* (Oxford University Press, 1988), 5. See also Alain Renaut, *L'ère de l'individu* (Éditions Gallimard, 1989), Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), Jerrold Seigel, *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe since the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), and Raymond Martin & John Barresi, *The Rise and Fall of Soul and Self: An Intellectual History of Personal Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); also Roy Porter, "Introduction," *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, edited by Roy Porter (Routledge, 1997) among many others.

[92] See, for example, Paul Henry, *St. Augustine on Personality* (New York: Macmillan, 1960), 1 where he writes: "In the history of thought and civilization, Saint Augustine appears to me to be the first thinker who brought into prominence and undertook an analysis of the philosophical and psychological concepts of person and personality"; also Mary T. Clark, "Introduction," *Augustine of Hippo: Selected Writings*, edited & translated by Mary T. Clark (Ramsey: Paulist Press, 1984), 15-16; Tim Dutcher-Walls, "The Self and Spirituality: A Variation," *Toronto Journal of Theology* 15:1 (1999): 20; E. Edward Hackmann, "Augustine and the Concept of Person," *Lutheran Theological Review* 3:2 (1991):13-26.

Since the 1970s, however, this periodization has become increasingly criticized by scholars from within a variety of different historical disciplines. Colin Grant, for example, observed that although "the distinction between the 'medieval' and the 'modern' world is a fixed part of the historian's terminology … it probably obscures the truth rather than clarifies it."[93] He observed that "individualism ... has taken many forms in the course of our cultural history" and rather than anchoring the 'discovery of the individual' within the Reformation age, Morris suggested that it could already be found in the push towards self-discovery which characterized the ethics and devotional movements of the twelfth-century.[94] These conclusions were criticized by Carolyn Walker Bynum who suggested that the twelfth-century discovery was not so much that of the individual "in the modern meaning of expression of unique personality and isolation of the person from group membership" as it was a discovery of the self, "the inner mystery, the inner man, the inner landscape," as well as a discovery of "the group."[95] Christine Peters, within her own investigations into the lives and experiences of women within the early modern world, has likewise argued against a sharp demarcation between the Middle Ages and the Reformation period.[96]

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[93] Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press/Medieval Academy of America, 1987; first published in 1972), xiii.
[94] Morris, 158-159.
[95] Carolyn Walker Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual," *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 106.
[96] See Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender, and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); also *Women in Early Modern Britain, 1450-1640* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

Through these various studies, the very definition of the term *self* has also come under closer scrutiny. Both Bynum, as well as Roger Smith and Timothy J. Reiss, have noted the tendency among historians to read contemporary definitions of selfhood and identity into their studies of the past with little recognition that past societies may well have used different parameters to accomplish similar goals.[97] Jyotsna Singh has criticized this dependence upon contemporary notions of subjectivity and individuality as a "dominant western fantasy of a singular, unified identity."[98] The result is that within much of the research into historical representations of the past, we find little more than, what Joan Scott has termed, a "fantasy echo" or a reading of the present into the pages of the past.[99] It is little wonder that Sabean wrestled with his conclusion regarding the emergence of individuality when he observed: "How far the concept of the individual entered into village discourse and remained a continuing element of it is difficult to

[97] Roger Smith, "Self-Reflection and the Self," *Rewriting the Self*, 50, 56-57; also Timothy J. Reiss, *Mirages of the Selfe: Patterns of Personhood in Ancient and Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 3.

[98] Jyotsna Singh "Othello's Identity, Postcolonial Theory, and Contemporary Rewritings of *Othello*," *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, edited by Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (New York: Routledge, 1994), 288.

[99] See Joan Scott, "Fantasy Echo: History and the Construction of Identity," *Critical Inquiry* 27:2 (2001): 284-304. Scott writes: "Fantasy echo is not a label that, once applied, explains identity. It is rather the designation of a set of psychic operations by which certain categories of identity are mode to elide historical differences and create apparent continuities. Fantasy echo is a tool for analysts of political and social movements as they read historical materials in their specificity and particularity. It does not presume to know the substance of identity, the resonance of its appeal, or the transformations it has undergone. It presumes only that where there is evidence of what seems enduring and unchanging identity, there is a history that needs to be explored" (page 304).

see."[100] It may very well be that other defining factors were in play within the social fabric of seventeenth-century German village life which Sabean had not adequately considered.

Another difficulty which we encounter in defining the personhood within the context of the seventeenth century is the way in which the contribution of theology has been effectively bracketed out of serious consideration. In the places where theology has been discussed, it has usually been brought in as a precursor leading up to the Cartesian 'discovery' of the subjective self or simply dismissed as a clumsy vestige of an earlier age. Consider, for example, Robert C. Solomon's assessment of "the clumsy language of German theology"[101] or Klára Erdei's argument that the sole contribution of theology within the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was nothing more than to foster a strong sense of inward subjectivity among the common man.[102] Damrau has likewise argued the same point, only tracing the roots of this interiority back to Puritan sources rather than through Luther's Reformation ideals. These kinds of conclusion have driven comments like that of Niklas Luhmann: "Amid religious schism, political wars,

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[100] Sabean, 211.
[101] Solomon, *Continental Philosophy*, 4.
[102] Klára Erdei, *Auf dem Wege zu sich selbst: Die Meditation im 16. Jahrhundert. Eine funktionsanalytische Gattungsbeschreibung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990). See also Frédéric Conrod's description of Luther's piety in terms of a radical turn to the authority of the individual as the hermeneutical arbiter of Scripture. Conrod, *Loyola's Greater Narrative: The Architecture of the* Spiritual Exercises *in Golden Age and Enlightenment Literature* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 2-3. Jacques Maritain, *Three Reformers: Luther-Descartes-Rousseau* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970) described Luther's evangelical breakthrough in terms of Luther's discovery of the self. His emphasis on individualism, however, reflects both Roman Catholic criticisms of Luther's theological claims as well as a twentieth-century preoccupation with individualization as the defining character of the *self*.

emerging sovereign states, and economic progress and decline, self-reference, which reconstructs the individual on the basis of its own problems and resources, must have seemed an attractive refuge. One of the most interesting results was the devotional movements of the seventeenth century, which privatized the attempt to achieve salvation… religious care was no longer care for others. It did not require praying for others, monastic conditions, or supererogatory works. Instead, it was care for one's own sole salvation."[103] Indeed, the general contribution of religion as it is reflected within these writers is summed up within Dale Brown's description of pietism as consisting of "subjectivism, individualism, and otherworldliness."[104] While exemplars of this kind of subjectivism can most certainly be found, such sweeping judgments do not do justice to the breadth of devotional forms which populated the landscape of seventeenth-century Europe.

Roger Smith has called this limited evaluation of theology's significance within the seventeenth-century discussions of the self as being "badly ahistorical"[105] for, on the one hand, it is built upon the eighteenth and nineteenth-century philosophical caricature of religion as being something that is essentially private, subjective, and fundamentally irrational, holding limited value for the

[103] Niklas Luhmann, "The Individuality of the Individual: Historical Meanings and Contemporary Problems," *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought*, edited by Thomas C. Heller, Morton Sosna, and David E. Wellbery (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 315.
[104] Dale W. Brown, *Understanding Pietism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 7.
[105] "Most modern people, when they use the category of the 'person,' especially in the context of the human sciences, ignore the theological dimension. This is badly ahistorical when projected back on to the seventeenth century." Smith, "Self-Reflection," 50.

structuring of public life;[106] on the other, it reflects the twentieth-century tendency to read contemporary definitions of the self into the narratives of the past. Neither of these adequately captures the way in which theology and devotionalism contributed to the structuring of public life. As Sherrin Marshall observed "religion was not so private a matter in the age of Reformation and Counter Reformation as it is today. Religion was intermingled with familial concerns and has sometimes therefore been erroneously identified as a private concern."[107] Indeed, this facet of early modern village life is neatly illustrated throughout Sabean's work, so much so that it drives home August Closs' and William Mainland's observation that "the fire of religious zeal was aglow throughout the century."[108]

Fortunately, there have been significant strides aimed at integrating the theology's contribution within the history of the self. Over the past several decades, a growing body of literature has emerged in which scholars from a variety of historical disciplines have begun to wrestle with the question of how women and men from the past used religion to help them to navigate their own

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[106] See chapter one of Hans G. Kippenberg, *Discovering Religious History in the Modern Age*, translated by Barbara Harshaw (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002) for an excellent overview of the development of the way in which religion came to be viewed within philosophical circles.

[107] Sherrin Marshall, "Introduction," *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Private and Public Worlds*, edited by Sherrin Marshal (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2989), 2. Throughout this paper, I follow Marshall's usage of the term religion as coterminous with Christian belief and practice.

[108] August Closs & William Faulkner Mainland eds., *German Lyrics of the Seventeenth Century: A Miscellany* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1947), xv.

sense of *self* within the historical settings in which they lived.[109] Bynum and Peters, for example, make ample use of theological material within their studies of women's religious lives in medieval and early modern Europe.[110] Lee Palmer Wandel has similarly looked at Luther and Zwingli's 1529 Marburg debate regarding the nature of the of Christ's presence within the elements of the Eucharist as a starting point for her own speculations about the implications their views held regarding human presence and corporeality.[111] Similarly, Walter S. Melion has contributed a number of studies looking at the way in which Dutch meditative art functioned to help cultivate a religious identity within those who viewed it.[112]

The difficulty throughout all of these studies is, however, that religion is brought in more as a pretext than a text within the overall analysis, and where

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[109] See, for example, Caroline Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York: Zone Books, 2001); Roy Porter ed., *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*; Raymond Martin & John Barresi, *op. cit.*; and Reindert L. Falkenburg, Walter S. Melion, & Todd M. Richardson eds., *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); as well as the recently published study by David George Mullan, *Narratives of the Religious Self in Early-Modern Scotland* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010) to name just a few.

[110] Bynum, *Jesus as Mother* as well as her *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); also Christine Peters, *opera cit.*.

[111] Lee Palmer Wandel, "The Body of Christ at Marburg, 1529," *Image and Imagination*. Jonathan Sawday likewise tackles the problem of selfhood and corporeality, only from an art historian's perspective in "Self and Selfhood in the Seventeenth Century," *Rewritings the Self*; likewise Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, sexuality and religion in early modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

[112] See Walter S. Melion, "The Meditative Function of Hendrick Goltzius's *Life of the Virgin* of 1593-94," *Image and Imagination*; also his recent work *The Meditative Art: Studies in Northern Devotional Print 1550-1625* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2009).

theology is directly engaged, it is often misunderstood. Peters, for example, built her argument about the changing patterns of women's religious identities around the late medieval shift away from Marian forms of devotion to increased christocentric pieties but never acknowledged or explored the diversity of Marian or christological views that existed through England within the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Bynum likewise offered a fascinating study of high medieval spirituality, but her use of theology tends to be superficial, often taking second place to the social-historical conclusions which she has already made. And while Wandel's essay did indeed present a provocative thesis about the way in which corporeality and presence were understood within the Reformation Eucharistic controversies, she misunderstood the purpose behind Luther's doctrine of ubiquity and so failed to grasp the anthropological significance behind his statements. Like the automaton from Walter Benjamin's chess game, the contribution of theology within these historical discussions about what it means to be human still remains hidden and tucked out of sight.[113]

The challenges in giving definition to *personhood* have led some scholars to acknowledge that there is more work that needs to be done in order for us to

[113] Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), thesis I. For the purpose of this paper, I have chosen to define theology, following Roger Smith, as an historical form of cultural discourse. Sandra M. Schneiders has also provided a useful definition, calling it a "second-order reflection" on both Scripture and history. "The Study of Christian Spirituality: Contours and dynamics of a Discipline," in *Minding The Spirit: The Study of Christian Spirituality*, edited by Elizabeth A. Dreyer & mark S. Burrows (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 205), 10. He notes that theology has three different faces or personae as (1) a *body of discourse*, (2) an *analytical and critical discourse*, as well as a (3) *denominational discourse* (p. 12).

grasp a deeper understanding of the various ways in which selfhood and personal identity have been historically defined. Smith has suggested a useful approach within his recent volume *Being Human*. "Rather than laying down formulas," he writes, "perhaps we may look for understanding from the history of what we say about what people are."[114] Smith draws our attention away from monolithic definitions and invites us to engage in a study of the way in which people have historically constructed their sense of self through a variety of different forms of historical knowledge.[115] Through the very act of writing, he suggests, humanity has engaged in a self-reflexive process through which human identity is given shape and defined. "Human nature," as he writes, "is not some 'thing' waiting discovery but active in understanding itself."[116] He directs our attention toward the way in which historical *narratives* functioned as a way in which people sought to give order and meaning to their various experiences and, in the process, give definition and meaning to their lives. "Narratives," he writes, "are always for a purpose, and which stories we tell about an event or action constructs the world, as it exists for us, in one way rather than another. Writing about being human therefore constructs what it is to be human."[117]

Given that Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten* were written as a manual of spiritual edification within a period which, as Kolb has so aptly described it, might well be called "the last era in which Christian thought forms held

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[114] Smith, *Being Human*, 5-6.
[115] Smith, *Being Human*, 12.
[116] Smith, *Being Human*, 1. Reiss has tried to articulate this by opting to define personhood in terms of a dynamic contextualized "*who*-ness." See Reiss, 1.
[117] Smith, *Being Human*, 14.

something halfway close to a preponderate mastery in European culture,"[118] it is perhaps time that we turn our attention to investigate the way in which such a popular work of Christian devotion contributed to the process of helping individuals negotiate their sense of *self*. Indeed, this is part of Lazar's overall argument as he drew attention to the value of devotional texts as cultural documents which, through a process of what he calls "devotional modelling," contributed towards the refashioning and renewal of confessional identities throughout seventeenth-century Europe.[119] Chapter two begins with an overview of the literary structure of Scriver`s *Andachten* with particular emphasis on his use of the emblem as the central device within his spirituality. Chapter three then continues by looking at the way in which Scriver envisioned his devotional piety to be lived within the context of community in order to help us situate where his *zufälliger Andachten* 'fit' within it. Scriver, fortunately, provides us with a discussion of this dynamic within his earlier *Chrysologia catechetica* which will form the basis for the discussion within this chapter. Chapter four then proceeds with a comparative analysis of Scriver`s and Arndt`s respective *theological anthropologies*, both in order to distinguish the two from one another, but also in order to consider the way in which Scriver`s theology undergirded both the structure of his devotional piety as well as his unique theological understanding of *personhood*. Chapters five and six then consider how the *zufälliger Andachten* functioned as a work of spiritual formation. Correlating insights from studies into the devotional reading practices that developed within the Christian west

[118] Kolb, 451.
[119] Lazar, 290.

throughout the Middle Ages, as well as Rom Harré`s social-psychology and elements of classical Lutheran spiritual theology, I will explore the way in which the reading of Scriver's text contributed toward a dynamic process of self-formation. Chapter five looks specifically at the way in which Gotthold, as a literary character, functioned as a spiritual guide within the context of this work. Chapter six then goes on to examine the way in which various images of the *Other* then helped the reader negotiate a new sense of personal-identity within themselves. The results of this study are then presented in chapter seven where further avenues of research will likewise be considered.

As David Perrin has observed, however, "when people from the past are studied, their stories need to be appreciated from within their own self-understanding and their own cultural definition of selfhood."[120] As a result, I have tried to anchor my analysis of Scriver's theological understanding of personhood within both the context of his own theological commitments as well as the social-historical context in which he lived. At the same time, it is my hope that this study will contribute towards a deeper appreciation of Scriver's work as a devotional writer as well as the way in which theology did indeed function as in important formative part of seventeenth-century discourse concerning what it means to be human.

[120] David B. Perrin, *Studying Christian Spirituality* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 129.

Chapter Two:

An Overview of *Gottholds zufälliger Andachten*

Among Scriver's writings, *zufälliger Andachten* is considered to be the most historically significant. Udo Sträter has described it as "one of the best known Lutheran devotional books of the seventeenth century"[1] and Eric Lund calls it one of Scriver's "most imaginative books."[2] Presented as a collection of four hundred vignettes built around the character Gotthold, this work was published successively over a period of eight years. The first hundred vignettes were published in Magdeburg in 1663; the second and third followed quickly, being published only one year later in 1664. The final century was published seven years later in 1671.[3] It proved to be an immediate success. Already by 1686, it had seen its seventh edition and in 1737, just fifty-one years later, the 21st German language edition was put to press. Even before the full collection was committed to print, the *zufälliger Andachten* had already sparked a devotional-literary genre which came to be imitated by others within their own output as

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[1] Udo Sträter, *Sonthom, Bayly, Dyke un Hall: Studien zuzr Rezeption der englischen Erbauungsliterartur in Deutschland im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1987, 99.

[2] Eric Lund, "The Problem of Religious Complacency in Seventeenth century Lutheran Spirituality," *Modern Christian Spirituality: Methodological and Historical Essays*, edited by Bradley Hanson (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 154.

[3] See Holger Müller, *Seelsorge und Tröstung: Christian Scriver (1629-1693)* (Walttrop: Hartmut Spener, 2005), 168; Cf. also Frieder Schulz's comment that "Scriver compt parmi les plus significantifs des écrivains luthériens populaires" in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité et mystique*, edited by Marcel Viller, André Derville, Paul Lamarche & Aimé Solgnac (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932-1995), s.v. "Scriver (Christian), luthérien, 1629-1693." Schulz mistakenly cites 1669 as the publication date for the second and third centuries.

writers of devotional works.[4] Indeed, the enduring impact of Scriver's *Andachten* has been identified as one of the inspirations behind the daily devotional (*Kurzandachten*), a popular devotional genre still very much used throughout Lutheran and evangelical piety even today.[5] The *zufälliger Andachten* were likewise translated into a host of different languages including Swedish (1727), English (1857), French (1859), and Norwegian (1864) to name just a few,[6] some of which have become available as reprints within the popular book market. Scriver's text saw its final German edition in 1893 (the 28th) as a collection of 365 selected *Andachten* – one for each day of the year – prepared in order to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Scriver's death.[7] Within North America, Eric Lund, professor of religion at St. Olaf College, has recently begun translating selections from Scriver's works within his own study of the history of Lutheran devotional writers.[8] Beyond this, however, Scriver's writings have received very little attention within contemporary scholarship.

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[4] Hermann Beck cites the following examples: Erasmus (Francisci) Finx's "Christiliches Spazierbüchlein," Nürnberg 1668; Johann Georg Pritius' (1662-1732) 1723 Preface written for Scriver's SeelenSchatz; a work by Amadeus Creutzberg (alias Philipp Balthasar Sinold, 1657-1733); as well as Christian Philipp Leutwein (1652-1728) and Joseph Schaitberger's (1658-1733) devotion books built around the meditations of a certain *Gottlieb*. See Beck, *Die religiöe Volkslitterature der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands in einem Abriß ihrer Geschichte* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1891), 205, 229f, 265f, 274f, 253. See also Müller, 189-190.

[5] Wolfgang Ratzmann, *Der kleine Gottesdienst im Alltag: Theorie und Praxis evangelischer Andacht* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999), 57f.

[6] Neither the English and French editions reproduced the entire German text but only offered an abbreviated selection. See Müller, 169; also Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, s.v. "Scriver, Christian."

[7] Müller 169. See also *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Scriver, Christian."

[8] Lund provides a translation of six *Andachten* in *Documents from the History of Lutheranism 1517-1750,* edited by Eric Lund (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002),

If, as Mary Patterson suggests, religious best sellers are useful "barometers of popular devotional tastes,"[9] Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten* are certainly deserving of a closer look. The difficulty is that the scholarship which has attempted to crack open the contours of Scriver's thought-world has tended to approach his writings from within a literary perspective, giving only limited attention to the theological scaffolding which frames his work. This trend was already evident in the 1920s with both Eichler's (1926) and Becker's (1929) dissertations which sought to place Scriver's writings within the broader history of seventeenth-century German literature. In both cases, they did not engage an investigation of Scriver's theology and opted instead for an approach in which they traced broad themes and structures as they appear within his works. In the process, they likewise excised Scriver from the particulars of his Lutheran doctrinal heritage, choosing instead to interpret him in relationship to Arndtian and later pietism as an expression of Baroque subjective-affectivity. Gotthold, in particular, came to be interpreted as exemplifying this mystical ideal, thereby furthering the view that Scriver's theological views were essentially undifferentiated from those of Arndt's.[10] This conclusion, however, was built

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267-270. He offers translations of thirty *Andachten* (pages 228-257), a sermon on "The Necessity of a Godly and Holy Life" from *SeelenSchatz* III.i (pages 258-273), as well as one hymn text ("Der lieben Sonne Licht und Pracht" pages 345-347) in *Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Meditations and Hymns*, edited by Eric Lund (New York: Paulist Press, 2011).

[9] Mary Hampson Patterson, *Domesticating the Reformation: Protestant Best Sellers, Private Devotion, and the Revolution of English Piety* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2007), 39.

[10] See Fritz Becker, *Christian Scriver und sein literarisches Werk (Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der religiösen Pros am 17. Jahrh.)* Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlaangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät (I. Sektion) der

upon generalities rather than on a close investigation of Scriver's theological views. In drawing these conclusions, both Eichler and Becker mirrored the prevailing view of religion which came out of the nineteenth century – as something fundamentally rooted within the individual's subjective emotional response and beyond the particulars of dogmatic formulae.

Two distinct streams of inquiry emerged out of their work. The one, represented by Simonsson and Sträter, highlighted the way in which Scriver modeled the structure for his own *zufälliger Andachten* upon the pattern established by the English bishop Joseph Hall, in his 'Occasional Meditations.' Scriver came to know Hall's work through a German translation which was prepared by Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607-1658).[11] While Simonsson focused particularly on the relationship between Hall's meditations and Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten*, Sträter's work took a broader approach looking more generally at the way in which English devotional materials were transmitted and used by German contemporaries throughout the seventeenth century. Within Sträter's work, Scriver is mentioned only briefly,[12] and in his later work on

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Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu Münschen (Münster in Westfalia: Ferdinand Althoff, 1929), Haupteil I; also Else Eichler, *Christian Scrivers "Zufällige Andachten": Ein Geistes- und Formgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Halle: Vereinigten Friederiches-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1926), 7-8.

[11] Scriver himself points out this connection within the "Erste Vorrede" of his *zufälliger Andachten*. See also Axel Simonsson, "Christian Scrivers Naturskildring och hans relationer till Joseph Hall," *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift* 48:2 (1972):70.

[12] See Sträter, *Studien zur Rezeption*, 98-101. He gives a brief mention on Scriver on pages 10 & 14. Damrau also mentions this point but criticized Tepfenhardt for having missed Harsdörffer's contribution within the transmission of Hall's work to Scriver (page 81). Damrau drew this conclusion based on a reading of Tepfenhardt's article ("Emblematisches in Christian Scrivers 'Gottholds Zufällige

devotional traditions and church reform within seventeenth-century German protestantism, Scriver's name was relegated to the realm of caricature and that of footnotes.[13] Both works highlighted what Scriver himself acknowledged within the preface to his work, all the while illustrating the trend within German protestant culture to look to English sources to find models of literary inspiration for the creation of its own devotional life. Whether this trend was borne out of a dissatisfaction with the *status quo* within the life of German ecclesiastical culture or out of a growing sense of affinity between German and English forms of evangelicalism, it is difficult to know; but the impact of this borrowing upon the landscape of German pietism is indisputable.[14]

The second stream of inquiry to come out of these early explorations built upon Eichler's interest in Scriver's use of *Sinnbildern* or emblems. Dietmar Peil devoted a chapter to Scriver within his study of the way in which German devotional authors made use of emblematic structures within their writings. He provides a useful analysis and comparison of Scriver's work with that of Dilherr, Arndt, and Francisci.[15] It is Tepfenhardt, however, who has provided us with the

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Andachten,'" *Jahrbuch für international Germanistik* 1 (1982):111-124) wherein she focused her discussion on Scriver's work rather than providing a detailed discussion of his sources. She does, however, acknowledge this connection within her doctoral dissertation which apparently Damrau had not looked at.

[13] Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform*, 58, 112, 114.

[14] See Peter Damrau , *The Reception of English Puritan Literature in Germany*, Modern Humanities Research Association (Texts and Dissertations) volume 66 & Institute of Germanic and Romance Studies (University of London) Bithell Series of Dissertations volume 29 (London: Maney Publishing, 2006).

[15] Dietmar Peil, *Zur »angewandten Emblematik«im protestantischen Erbauungsbüchern: Dilherr – Arndt – Francisci – Scriver* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1978).

most detailed analysis of the literary structure of Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten*.[16] With these works, however, we again run into the same caricatures and limitations that we have already encountered within Eichler's and Beck's earlier work. Tepfenhardt's discussion is representative: *zufälliger Andachten* is recognized as a devotional piece, Scriver is listed as a representative of the Arndtian stream of *Vorpietistischer* writers, key historical references and literary forms are then used to illustrate this point, but nothing is done to investigate the particulars of Scriver's theology in order to test and see whether this association can be sustained.[17]

The oversight is significant in that the very notion of a devotional piece – the German *Erbauungsbuch* – is oriented towards the pastoral goal of edifying the reader within a theologically framed outlook on life. As a result, any attempt to read such a work without examining the theological presuppositions within which the documents were composed results in an incomplete grasp of the material at hand. Scriver's pastoral aims and theological commitments form an integral part, not only of the writings themselves, but also the cultural landscape in which they were written. As a result, Scriver's devotional goals as well as the theological foundations within his work both need to be taken into consideration in order to make our analysis complete. To overlook this dimension, forces the text out of its cultural-historical context into the realm of abstraction. Any study of the

[16] Waltraud Tepfenhardt, *Emblematische STrukturen in Christian Scrivers Gottholds Zufälliger Andachten* (A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (German) at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980).
[17] Tepfenhardt, *Emblematische Strukturen*, 16-25.

contribution of Scriver's devotional writings to the cultural history of the self must therefore take the details of Scriver's theology into deliberate consideration.

Devotional Goals

Scriver introduces us to the purpose and goal of his devotional vision within the forward (*Zuschrifft*) and prefaces of his *Zufälliger Andachten* which he had composed for the publication of the complete edition of this work in August of 1671 within the city of Magdeburg. In the first preface (*Erste Vorrede*) he offers a concise summary of what this goal entails: "I seek no other honour than this / such as a Christian preacher strives for / namely to diligently handle the honour of the divine Name / and [contribute] towards the betterment of his neighbour."[18] Even though his stated purpose is two-fold – to give honor to God and to contribute to the betterment of his neighbour, for Scriver, these stand as two sides of a singular purpose. Within his *Zuschrifft* he goes on to provide us with important clues as to what shape this *Besserung* should take as he tackles the topic of death and mortality. He writes the *Zuschrifft* in the first person, recounting his own struggle with illness but also the tears (*Thränen*) and fervent prayers (*Seuffsen*) of the people on his behalf which he credits for his recovery. Scriver comments that the completion of the last hundred *Andachten* which were published in 1671 was a kind of offering of thanks to God for preserving him among the church militant within the land of the living. He goes on, however, to

[18] "Ich such hier keine Ehre als die / so einem Christlichen Prediger zu suchen wol anstehet / nemlich in getreu-fleissiger Befoderung des Ruhms göttliches Namens / und Besserung seines Nechsten." *GzA*, "Erste Vorrede."

build upon this theme of death – an image with a living memory for many of his parishioners – by discussing his own bout with illness; but he does so in order to transform their understanding of death and of those who had died by pointing them toward the church triumphant which "is snatched out of fear/ her soul [saved] from death / her eyes [saved] from tears / her feet saved from slipping / [as] she wanders before you in the land of the living,"[19] inviting them to join him saying: "Lord, If I possess you / then there is nothing in heaven and earth [that I need]."[20]

There is a method to his madness which Scriver himself acknowledges. He sets forth his devotions as a way to lead his readers into a new way of seeing, understanding and interpreting both themselves and the world around them.[21] He explains: "I wanted / my [dear] Christian / to make all creatures speak with you / or even better / I wanted to unfold and interpret the created words of God / and to you / following my example / show / how you for yourself [can interpret] all kinds of contexts and situations / [so that you might] meditate upon your God / for comfort and the bettering of your Christian faith."[22] This can be seen in the way

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[19] "… ist auß der Angst gerissen / ihre Seele ist vom Tode / ihre Augen sind von den Thrånen / ihre Fůsse vom Gleiten erretet / sie wandelt vor dir im Lande der Lebendigen." *GzA*, "Zuschrifft."

[20] "Herr! wenn ich nur dich habe / so frage ich nichts nach Himmel und Erden." Ibid..

[21] This fits neatly with John Drury's description of prayer as a "school of seeing." Drury, *Angels and Dirt: An Enquiry into Theology and Prayer* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1972), see chapter one.

[22] "Ich wolte gern / mein Christ / alle Creaturen mit dir redden machen / oder vielmehr / ich wolte dir gern der Geschǒpffe Gottes Rede außlegen und verdolmetschen / und dir / nach meiner Einfalt / zeigen / wie du dir allerhand Fůgniß und Begebenheit / zum Andencken deines Gottes / zum Trost und Besserung deines Christenthums zu Nutz machen kanst." *GzA*, "Erste Vorrede."

in which he traces the theme of tears (*Thrånen*) and sighing (*Seuffsen*) throughout his *Zuschrifft*. The first reference in which he speaks of them refers to the tears and prayers as the people agonized in prayer on his behalf during his time of severe illness. He transforms this understanding as he applied them to himself, as he considered both his own brush with death, but also the love and the care afforded him through the people of his congregation. In the third mention, the sighing (*Seuffsen*) is no longer there, neither tears of sorrow for those who have died, but only tears of joy as Scriver thinks on the blessedness of those who have already gone into heaven. "Why do I sorrow," he asks "for those / who no longer know sorrow?"[23] inviting his readers to join him in rejoicing together with the angels in heaven for the eternal blessings which God affords.[24]

To be certain, death is not the only theme that Scriver tackles throughout his many *Andachten*. It is telling, however, that Scriver would choose to preface his completed work with an introduction in which he drew upon key terms and emotional themes which people had encountered throughout War in order to transform their perception of life and of death and the fragility of human existence into a cause for doxological hope and joy. Scriver reminded his readers that the fullness of this joy, however, could not be fully apprehended within this life but

[23] "Warum betraur ich die welche von keiner Traurigkeit mehr weiß?" *GzA*, "Zuschrifft."

[24] "Warum surffze ich ůber das Andencken der / welche ein heiliges und gesegnetes Gedåchtnůß in der Welt hinterlassend / nunmehr ein neues Lied mit deinen Außerwehlten singet / und in dem Mittel der Engel ůber deiner Seligkeit jauchzet? " *GzA*, ibid..

was stored up for them in heaven "never to be lost again";[25] in the meantime, he pointed his readers to the constant help and presence of God to comfort them and give them strength: "However, I have *you* my God! And [have] encountered your grace / with which have I found [both] comfort / aid / care / love / steadfastness / and everything that my soul could wish for."[26] His *Zuschrifft* reads like a carefully crafted response to Gryphius' sonnet; and while he does not specifically use the term *SeelenSchatz* to refer to God or to Jesus, he does end with the exclamation that with God, he need ask for nothing more.[27]

Scriver was well aware of the mental struggle involved in this battle to transform his readers' outlook upon life and he cautioned them against fixating on evil or troubling thoughts. He himself had lived through many of the same trials throughout his childhood and adult life. As a result, his insights into the inner battle which his parishioners wrestled with spoke directly to their hearts as he counselled them with words of spiritual direction. "I would also hope / that someone would / not allow himself to fall into the misfortune / [of] harkening to evil thoughts / contrary to a good and holy contemplation of God and [other] godly things … at the very least / if he should have the foresight / to meditate as illustrated here / some or another good thought and prayer would catch him / and

[25] "nimmermehr zu verlieren" *GzA*, ibid.. "Ich habe diß Kleinod in der Zeit verlohren / weiß aber / daß es im himmel auffbehalten ist und hoffe es bald nach deinem heiligen Willen / in der seligen Ewigkeit wieder zu finden / und nimmermehr zu verlieren."
[26] "Indessen hab ich dich / mein Gott! und deine Gnade behalten / an die hab ich Trost / Hůlffe / Pflege / Liebe / Treue und alles was meine Seele wůdschet gefunden." *GzA*, ibid..
[27] See footnote 20.

lead him into a more godly devotion."[28] He directed his readers to look, instead, for reflections of divine care and providence within even the messiest of circumstances. In a moment of humour, he used the example that even a hen could find a grain of goodness hidden upon a manure pile.[29] Scriver refered to these moments of insight and revelation as "blossoms under the bramblebush"[30] which hold the "singular fragrance of Life / the singular power of [God's] Spirit / and the singular honey of [God's] goodness (for the believing Souls / who search it out like famished bees)"[31] – something which his readers most certainly did as they read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested the various images that Scriver offered them throughout his *zufälliger Andachten*.

Having been taught by his mother never to loose hope but to search out a glimmer of God's goodness within every circumstance, Scriver offered his many meditations as a fist-full of "cross-flowers" (*Creutz-Blumen*)[32] in order to serve as a model and example of the kind of worldview which he was trying to inculcate. Scriver wanted to help his readers to view every facet of their lives in relationship to the redemptive work of Christ on the cross so that regardless of the situation,

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[28] "Ich will also nich hoffen / daß iemand syn wird / der es ihm wird mißfallen lassen / wenn man bo̊se Gedancken zu verhůten / hergegen das gute und gottselige Andencken an Gott un go̊ttliche Dinge ... Zum wenigsten warden manchem / wenn er kůnfftig deß etwas / so wie hierin betrachtet / ansichtig wird / eine und andere gut Gedancken und Seufzer wieder beyfallen / und ihm zu mehrerm gottseligem Nachdencken veranlassen." *GzA*, "Erste Vorrede."
[29] "Es gehet mir offt als einem Huhn / welches auff einem Mist-Hauffen ein Ko̊rnlein findet." *GzA*, ibid..
[30] "Blumen unter den Dorn-Hecken." *GzA*, "Zuschrifft."
[31] "… einigen Geruch des Lebens /einige Kraft deines Geistes / und eingies Honig deiner Gůte (fůr die glůbaigen Seelen / die es als die hungriege Bienen emsig suchen/)." GzA, ibid..
[32] *GzA, ibid*..

they could perceive the presence of that cross hidden within every one of their own experiences.[33] The home-spun character of his various images likewise made his devotional reflections more accessible to his parishioners as he took the intricacies of Lutheran theology and applied them to the commonplaces of their daily lives. The simplicity and familiary of his rhetoric further helped to drive home to his readers that Scriver truly understood their trials and was not speaking to them from a priviledged position of dispassionate concern. He drew upon common scenes from everyday life, transforming them into emblems of deeper spiritual meaning, so as to lead his readers "into meditation / into prayer / into consolation / into spiritual joy and sadness / into an awakening of faith / of love / of patience / [and] to a contempt of the temporal as well as a longing for the eternal."[34] In this way, he also transformed the very fabric of his readers' lives into the context in which their devotion and spiritual formation took place.

Emblematik & Sinnbilder

Eichler, Piel, and Tepfenhardt have all noted this earthy realism which characterizes the various emblems within Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten*.[35] Eichler even went so far as to posit a possible connection between the realism of the Dutch genre paintings of Pieter Brueghel, presumably the Younger (1564-

[33] In *GzA* II.xxxvi, for example, Scriver argues that it is simply impossible for a Christian to exist within this world without a cross as long as they are still journeying on their earthly pilgrimage.

[34] "… zur Andacht / zum Gebet / zum Trost / zur geistlichen Freude und Traurigkeit / zu Erweckung deß Glaubens / der Liebe / der Gedult / zur Verachtung deß Zeitlichen und Verlange nach dem Ewigen." *GzA*, "Ander Vorbericht."

[35] Eichler, 52-59; Piel, 77; Tepfenhardt, *Emblematische Strukturen*, 40.

1636),[36] as well as Rembrandt to that of Scriver's own work. While she did observe similarlities between them, she was unable to trace a firm connection and, in the end, was forced to conclude that these were parallel developments at best.[37] What can be said, however, is that the vivid realism captured within Scriver's rhetorical style and the way in which he built his emblems around his observations of nature and human activities did capture the same spirit of what Ruth Bernard Yeazel has called an "art of the everyday."[38] It is precisely this realism which Tepfenhardt set out to examine. The difficulty is that both Piel and Tepfenhardt stood within the tradition of form analysis (*Formgeschichte*) which both Eichler and Becker had introduced within their own work nearly half a century before. As a result, the conclusions regarding Scriver's use of emblematic structures remained focused on the emblem as a literary *Kunstform* (artistic convention) rather than, as Dietrich Walter Jöns has called it, a theological *Denkform* (worldview).[39]

The early modern history of the emblem as a *Kunstform* can be traced back to the influence of Andreus Alciati and the publication of his *Emblematum liber* in Augsburg in 1531. In this collection, which began with ninety-eight

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[36] Eichler does not indicate whether she is referring to the Elder Brueghel or the Younger. Based on her reference to the seventeenth century, however, I presume she means the latter. See Eichler, 116.
[37] Eichler, 116-126. See also Tepfenhardt, *Emblematische Strukturen,* 50-51.
[38] Ruth Bernard Yeazell, *Art of the Everyday: Dutch Painting and the Realist Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008). See also Christopher Brown, *Scenes of Everyday Life: Dutch Genre Painting of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1984).
[39] Dietrich Walter Jöns has pointed out this distinction within his discussion of Gryphius' use of emblems. See Jöns, 56. See also Tepfenhardt, *Emblematische Strukturen,* 27 and Piel, 85.

emblems but quickly grew to include over 200, Alciati drew upon earlier medieval and Greco-Roman descriptions of objects and their allegorical significance[40] and presented them to the European literati of his day. The work became widely influential,[41] especially in German-speaking areas which, by the 1650s, had produced nearly one-third of all the emblem books in print.[42] By the seventeenth century, it was not uncommon to find Alciati's *liber* as a part of the required reading within divinity schools.[43] The structure of the work was very simple. For each emblem, Alciati offered an image or *pictura* that was identified in a Latin *inscriptio* which was printed above the image. Below the image was an epigrammatic *subscriptio* wherein he offered a summary which was taken from classical sources of the object's allegorical significance.[44] Unlike medieval encyclopaedias, lapidaries, herbals and bestiaries which offered only a written description of the object being discussed, Alciati's liber benefited from the new printing technologies which allowed both the *pictura* with its *inscriptio* and

[40] Alciati writes that he had drawn the emblematic *signifans* "ex historia, vel ex rebus naturalibus aliquid elegans significant." See Tepfenhardt, *Emblematische Strukturen*, 26; also Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery*, volume one (London: The Warburg Institute, 1939), 20-22.
[41] See Tepfenhardt, 25 where she states that Alciati's *Emblematum liber* continued to be used throughouth Europe well into the eighteenth century. "Die neue Kinstgattung verbreitet sich schnell über ganz Europa: von Italien gelangt sie über die Schweiz nach Deutschland und Frankreich, über Spanien in die Niederlande, nach England und nach Skandinavien" (page 27). See also Albrecht Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock,* second edition (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968), 17.
[42] Schöne, 51.
[43] Jöns, 26.
[44] Tepfenhardt, *Emblematische Strukturen*, 25-26.

subscriptio to be printed together thereby creating a new synthesis between the image and its *significans*.[45]

It is with Harsdörffer, however, that we find the theory of the emblem developed to encompass a specifically Christian worldview. In his *Frauenzimmer Gesprechspielen* (1643), Harsdörffer has six characters discussing the nature of emblems as an artform (*Kunstform*). In addition to the word *emblema*, he also added the term *Sinnbild* as a synonym for the same. Within the conversation, as it unfolded, he had a character named Raymund ask the question:

> Which is the art / that can lay hold of the ungraspable thoughts of man's understanding of divinity? Which is the awesome cleverness / that can trace the invisible / explain the unknowable / [and] jot down that which is unspeakable? Which is that high working / [which takes] incomparable thoughts / greater than an earthly mind [can grasp] / as well as the greatest reasoning of humanity [and] is able to subdue it / bind it / and nail it down?[46]

The question is, of course, rhetorical in that the intended answer is *Die Sinnbildkunst* as Tepfenhardt so aptly pointed out.[47] Harsdörffer went on to have him explain that it is God himself who is the creator of this art form[48] thereby grounding it specifically within a Judeo-Christian world view. He explained this point further by stating that the relationship between the emblematic image and its

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[45] See Tepfenhardt, *Emblematische Strukturen*, 26-28.

[46] "Welches ist die Kunst / so die unbegreiffliche Gedanken des fast Göttlchen Verstandes des Menschen belangen kan? Welches ist die Wundervolle Klugheit / die das Unsichtbare entwerffen / das Unbekante vorstellen / das unaussprechliche verabfassen kan? Wleches ist die hochweißliche Wirkung / so die unvergleichliche Gedächtniß / das mehr als irdische Gemüht / und die höchstfahrende Vernunft des Menschen beherrschen / verpflichten / und ausfündig machen mag?" Harsdörffer, *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, edited by Irmgard Böttcher (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1968), Part IV, page 220.

[47] Tepfenhardt, 33.

[48] "Das erste Sinnbild is von dem Allmögenden Schöpfer in dem Paradis erhaben worden…" Harsdörffer, 221.

allegorical meaning can be likened to the relationship between the body (*Leib*) and the soul (*Seele*)[49] so much so that the nature of an emblem is one that it cannot be rightly understood without reference to the latter.[50] According to Harsdörffer, moreover, he considered that this relationship between the emblematic *pictura* and its *subscriptio* no longer lay within the arbitrary hands of the writer, but was something fixed by God through the very act of creation. As a result, he was able to forge a new relationship between the emblem as a literary device and the medieval view of creation as the divinely authored book of nature.[51]

It is here that the *Kunstform* and the *Denkform* become joined into one. As Jöns has discussed, the baroque emblem was far more than just a formal artistic convention (*Kunstform*); it embodied an entire "spiritual worldview" which was built upon the foundations of medieval allegorism (*Denkform*).[52] Umberto Eco has described this medieval worldview. "The Medievals," he wrote, "inhabited a world filled with references, reminders and overtones of Divinity, manifestations of God in things. Nature spoke to them heraldically: lions or nut-trees were more than they seemed; griffins were just as real as lions because, like them, they were signs of a higher truth."[53] Harkening back to the semiology of

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[49] Harsdörffer, 81.
[50] Harsdörffer, 81.
[51] Ingrid Höpel provides a detailed discussion of Harsdörffer's theory of the emblem in Höpel, "Harsdörffers Theorie und Praxis des dreiständigen Emblems," *Georg Philipp Harsdörffer: Ein deutscher Dichter und europäischer Gelehrter*, edited by Italo Michele Battafarano (New York: Peter Lang, 1991).
[52] "spirituellen Weltverständniss." Jöns, 56.
[53] Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*, translated by Hugh Bredin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 53.

both Augustine and Pseudo-Dionysius, every object, every colour, every situation, and every sound represented an individual *res* which was, at the same time, a *res significans* through which the individual could be lead into an anagogical contemplation of the divine.[54] One need only consider Abbot Suger's (1081-1151) lavish descriptions of the architecture at St. Denis or Hildegaard of Bingen's (1098-1179) *Scivias*. One sees this expressed throughout Albert Magnus's (1193-1280) scientific writings, Thomas Aquinas's (1225-1274) *Summa Theologica* as well as the many encyclopediæ, lapidaries, bestiaries, and biblical commentaries which circulated throughout universities libraries well into the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries.[55] As Hugh of St. Victor had written: "The entire sense-perceptible world is like a sort of book which is written by the finger of God."[56] Indeed, the world was perceived as an "explicit theophany"[57] which could, in turn, be read for its literal, allegorical, tropological and anagogical

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[54] See chapter three "The Symbolist Mentality" in Marie-Dominique Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, edited & translated by Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997; originally published by The University of Chicago Press, 1968). Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy traces the roots of this worldview back to Plato and Aristotle in his "Literary Symbolism," *Figures of Speech or Figures of Thought* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharal Publishers, 1981).

[55] See Praz, 20; also Richard A. Beinert, *Windows on a Medieval World: medieval Piety as Reflected in the Lapidary Literature of the Middle Ages*, a thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, Department of Religious Studies (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2003).

[56] "Universus enim mundus iste sensibilis quasi quidam liber est scriptus digito Dei…" *De tribus diebus iii*, PL CLXXVI, 814A. Hugh had taken this from Augustine. See *Ennarratio in Ps 45:7*, PL XXXXVI, 518. See Chenu, 117.

[57] Coomaraswamy, 115. Ellen T. Charry has referred to this as a "sacred canopy." See Charry, "Augustine of Hippo: Father of Christian Psychology," *Anglican Theological Review* 88:4 (2006): 580.

sense in precisely the same was as the Christian scriptures.[58] A proper engagement with this *Book of Nature* was thus understood to include a component of spiritual formation with it, much in the same way as did the monastic practice of *lectio divina*.[59]

Harsdörffer came into contact with this form of meditation through the writings of Joseph Hall. An English bishop of a Puritan persuasion, Hall was particularly concerned with fostering a protestant practice of meditation that could counter the influence of the Jesuit order within England.[60] In 1607, he wrote a treatise called the *Arte of Divine Meditation* in which he offered the first systematic outline for a Puritan form of meditation. Hall's work became widely influential throughout protestant lands.[61] In it, he described two different forms of meditation. The one, which he called "meditation deliberate," was a kind of

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[58] "Interpreting the world allegorically meant interpreting it like the Bible, for the theory of Biblical exegesis was thought to be valid also for nature. Superimposed on the literal meaning of the Bible there was an allegorical meaning, a moral or tropological meaning, and an anagogical meaning." Eco, 59.

[59] Chenu points out that this dimension of anagoge was more than just "some pleasant addition" to the medieval engagement with the world but an integral component of it. Without contemplation, this reading was understood to be incomplete. Chenu, 123. We see this contemplative thrust neatly expressed within Alan of Lille's (c.1116-c.1202) oft-quoted verse: "Every creature in the world / is a book and picture / in which we are reflected / our life, our fate / our [worldly] status, our death / as a faithful little sign." See "Omnis mundi creatura / quasi liber et picture/ nobis est in speculum, / nostræ vitæ, nostræ sortis, / nostræ status, nostræ mortis, / fidele signaculum." *Rhythmus alter*, PL CCX, 579A. Rosemary Freeman observed that the baroque emblem was more than just an oddity of historical perspective but described it as a "unified allegorical conception of the meaning of life." Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1948; reprinted 1967), 20.

[60] See Frank Livingstone Huntley, *Bishop Joseph Hall and Protestant Meditation in Seventeenth Century England: A Study of the Texts of* The Art of Divine Meditation *(1606) and* Occasional Meditations *(1633)* (Binghampton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1981), 18.

[61] Damrau, 74.

edifying reflection upon passages of scripture or some article of faith taken therefrom. Hall gave examples of this kind of meditation in his *Contemplations upon the Principal Passages of Holy Story* which was published in eight volumes over a period of more than twenty years (1612-1634). The other, which he called "meditation extemporal," were devotions built, not upon passages of scripture, but upon created things as encountered within the daily routines of everyday life.[62] Hall explained the rationale behind his method, saying: "The creatures are halfe lost, if we only employ them, not learne something of them. God is wronged, if his creatures be vnregarded; ourselues most of all, if we reade this great volume of the creatures, and take out no lesson for our instruction."[63] Hall developed this second form of Christian devotion within his *Occasional meditations* (1630).[64] The piece proved to be quite popular.[65] The first edition came into print in 1630 and was quickly followed by a second (1631) and third edition (1633). His work spread to the continent first, through a French translation by Théodore Jaquemot

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[62] See Sträter, *Studien*, 97. Damrau has suggested that this shift from Scripture to created things is evidence of a movement towards secularization within both English and German protestanism. See Damrau, 79 as well as Freeman, 20 and Daly, 33. While the eighteenth century did witness the unraveling of a unified Christian cosmology, I believe this judgment to be both misguided and premature. Misguided, in the sense that the practice of meditating upon the things of nature was not new to the seventeenth century but represented a continuity with medieval forms contemplation. Premature, in that the influence of these devotional writers upon protestant devotional culture continued to be felt well into the nineteenth and even twentieth-centuries. See Daly, 33.

[63] Josphe Hall, "Arte of Divine Meditation," *The Works of Joseph Hall* (London: Nathan Butter, 1625), 106.

[64] It is not certain that Hall had intended to have these put into print, but it was his son Robert who later convinced his father to allow him to edit and publish them as a collection of 140 meditations. See T.F. Kinloch, *The Life and Works of Joseph Hall 1574-1656* (London: Staples Press, 1951), 81.

[65] Leonard D. Tourney describes it as more moralizing that theological. See Tourney, *Joseph Hall* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), 85.

which was published in 1632 and then later, through a Latin translation in 1635 which appeared under the title "Josephi Halli … Αυτοσχεδιασματα vel Meditatiunculae Subitaneae."[66]

Harsdörffer likewise prepared a German translation which was published by Endter in Nürnberg under the title of *Nathan und Jotham* in 1651.[67] "These devotions," he wrote, "are nearly all taken from Josph Hall's *Meditations occasinelles* or *Occasional meditations*."[68] *Nathan und Jotham* was not, however, a pedantic translation of Hall's *Meditations*. Harsdörffer took great liberties, expounding on some points, deleting entire sentences in others, converting some of his meditations into pieces of poetry, while leaving other sections largely intact as he experimented with his new understanding of the emblem form. In order to add both interest and continuity to his own devotional writings, Harsdörffer also introduced the narrative character of Gotthold "as [a kind of] Christian pilgrim"[69] as the anchor of this work. This introduction, as Peter Damrau has explained, served to further transform Hall's meditations into a string of short stories which engaged its readers within a "new and more realistic context."[70] Harsdörffer's experimentation with the emblematic form, moreover, elevated the baroque *Sinnbild* from being a simple *Kunstform* and transformed it into a dynamic *Denkform* as a model for Christian meditation.

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[66] Sträter, *Studien*, 98.
[67] Sträter, *Studien*, 98.
[68] "Diese Betrachtungen sind fast alle genomen aus Josephs Halls Meditations occasinelles oder zufälligen Andachten." See Sträter, *Studien*, 99.
[69] "als ob ein Christlicher Pilgram" See Sträter, *Studien*, 99.
[70] Damrau, 80.

It is through Harsdörffer that Scriver became acquainted with both Hall and the genre he employed for the *zufälliger Andacht*.[71] But rather than focusing on the emblem as a literary *Kunstform*, Scriver adopted it for its devotional value. We see this in the way in which he explained the theological foundations for his devotional method within the "Erste Vorrede" of his work.

"The Book of Nature," Scriver explained, "has many thousand pages / upon which the Finger of God has written [concerning] his love / which he scatters to-and-fro by means of many situations / that he might offer us his high / deep / wide / and broad goodness / to meditate upon. How blessed is the one / who reads this Book with pious attention."[72] As would be expected from a Lutheran pastor from the seventeenth-century, Scriver began with an explanation of his biblical foundations. Thus he started with the story of Balaam and the talking ass from Numbers 22-24 to illustrate that God can use even a dumb animal to communicate his Word "if only we had ears / to understand their

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[71] In his "Erste Vorrede," Scriver admits that he first came to know Hall's work through Harsdörffer's writings but only second hand. "Zu unser Zeit haben dergleichen gethan Joseph Hall in seinen *Meditations occasinelles* die Hr. Harßdo̊rffer sell. Im andern Theil sines *Nathans* oder geistlichen Lehr-Gedichten in 60. Anzeucht / und etliche unterschiedliche daraus ůbersezet / die mir aber sonst nie zu Gesichte kommen." In a footnote, however, he goes on to comment that by the time of publication for his *GzA*, he had had a chance to read Hall's meditations in Latin translation. "Siethero aber habe ich sie gesehen / wie sie von ihm selbst in die Lateinische Sprache ůberssezet / und zu Ko̊nigsberg gedruckt sind." *GzA*, "Erst Vorrede."

[72] "Das Buch der Natur hat viel tausend Blåtter / darauff der Finger Gottes seine Liebe beschreiben / die er durch mancherley Begebenheit herum wirfft / und uns seine hohe / tieffe / weite / breite Gůte / zu betrachten auffgiebt." *GzA*, "Erste Vorrede."

speaking / and hearts / to understand the same."[73] He then went on to consider Job (12:7-8) as well as David (Psalm 29:2) to further buttress his argument. "What is it then," he writes, "that Job says: Ask the beasts / they will teach you / and the birds under the heavenes / [and] they will tell you / or speak with the ground and it will instruct you / and [even] the fish of the sea will explain [it] to you … [likewise] David: The heavens recount the glory of God / and skies above proclaim his handiwork."[74] Even David, in the 24th psalm was led to a contemplation of God through a reflection on creation.

These Old Testament references, however, remained only a partial witness. Even Jesus and Paul used examples from their natural surroundings in order to spur people on to a contemplation of divine things. Scriver mentions Paul only briefly, pointing to his encounter with a group of Athenian philosophers in Acts 17:23[75] where he took advantage of an altar "to the unknown god" which he had discovered while wandering the Areopagus. Paul then used this altar to preach the Gospel message to those who had gathered to hear him. Scriver, however, devoted greater attention to Jesus whom he considered "the distinguished Teacher among all teachers,"[76] especially the way in which he used

[73] "… wenn wir nur Ohren hȁtten / ihre Sprache zu hȍren / und Hertzen / dieselbe zu verstehen." *GzA*, "Erste Vorrede."
[74] "Was ists sonst / daß Hiob sagt: Frage doch das Vieh / das wird dichs lehren / und die Vȍgel under dem Himmel / die werden dirs sagen / oder rede mit der Erden / die wird dichs lehren / und die Fisch im Meer Werden dir erzehlen… und David: Die Himmel erzehlen die Ehre Gottes / und die Veste verkȕndigen seiner Hȁnde Werck." *GzA*, ibid..
[75] The *Vorrede* mistakenly cites Acts 15:23. It is not certain whether this was Scriver's error or that of his printer. *GzA*, ibid..
[76] "der vornehmer Lehrer unter allen Lehrer." *GzA*, ibid..

parables in order to draw lessons out of ordinary objects to teach his disciples concerning heavenly matters.[77]

Scriver's pedigree did not end there, however. He went on to include a litany of patristic authorities, both ancient and modern, in order to demonstrate to his readers that this devotional method was continued throughout the history of the church. Basil, John Chrysostom, Augustine, Gregory Nazianzus and Jerome all populate his list as well as Luther and Johann Gerhardt. He especially cites Augustine with approval, quoting from Book III of his *De libro arbitrio*: "in reality, if you pay close and pious attention, the movement of every kind of creature which falls into consideration within the human mind, speaks of various motions and affections for our instruction, as if by a diversity of languages, crying out repeatedly on every side some knowledge of the Creator."[78] "Truly," Scriver writes, "he says [this] / so that, with piety and diligence, one [would] pay great attention / to every created form and movement / which present themselves for the human mind to contemplate / and to meditate upon it for one's own edification / their various operations and properties are various languages [tongues] / by which they cry out to us in order to earnestly remind us / to remember their Creator."[79]

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[77] Scriver cites examples from John 4:6, John chapter 15, John 7:37, and Luke 14:16.

[78] "revera, si piè ac diligenter attendas, omnis creaturæ species ac motus, qvi in animi humani considerationem cadit, eruditionem nostrum loqvitur diversis motibus & affectionibus, quasi quâdam varietate lingvarum, undiqve clamans atqve increpans, cognoscendum esse Creatorem." *De libro arbitrio* III.xxiii.70, PL 32, 1305A. Quoted by Scriver in *GzA*, "Erste Vorrede."

[79] "Wahrlich will er sagen / so man in Gottseligkeit und mit Fleiß drauff acht hat / aller Geschöpff Gestalt und Bewegung / welche dem menschlichen Gemüth zu betrachten vorkommen / und zu dessen Erbauung angesehen / ihre mancherley Verrichtungen und Eigenschafften sind mancherley Zungen / damit sie uns

In his *Ander Vorbericht*, he calls these created things "living emblems"[80] drawing attention to the way in which Augustine refered to worldly objects as well as the sacraments as *verba visibilia*.[81] Throughout his introductions, he is careful not to allow his discussion to turn into an exercise of scholastic theology. Instead, he always returns back to his devotional goals for the purpose of this work. He quotes Johann Gerhard's comments regarding Jesus encounter with the fig tree from Luke 21:29: "We should diligently observe within nature, that it is made for spiritual use and our instruction, that we might [taste] spiritual fruit from a contemplation of [earthly] things"[82] as well as Basil, whom he paraphrases: "the world is nothing other than a grand school / within which the reasonable individual / is instructed in godly ways of thinking and through what is seen / to contemplate upon that which is unseen."[83] Scriver concludes his list of reference with Hall's *Occasional meditations* as well as Harsdörffer's *Nathan und Jotham* and a brief mention of another Anglican writer, Joseph Henshaw (1608-1679), who had likewise published a popular collection of *Meditations* in 1637.[84] It is interesting that Scriver mentions neither Arndt nor Alciate within his opening commentary.

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anschreyen und ernstlich anmahnen / ihren Schöpffer zu erkenen." *GzA*, "Erste Vorrede."

[80] "lebendige Sinnbilder" *GzA*, "Erste Vorrede."

[81] *GzA*, "Erste Vorrede."

[82] "In natura diligenter observandum, qvid ad spiritualem usum ac nostril informationem faciat, ut ex contemplation rerum naturalium fructum spiritualiem hauriamus." *GzA*, "Erste Vorrede."

[83] "… die Welst sey nichts anders als eine grosse Schule / darinnen die vernünfftige Menschen zum göttlichen Erkäntniß unterricht und durchs Sichtbare / das Unsichtbahre zu betrachten angewiesen werden." *GzA*, "Erste Vorrede."

[84] See Joseph Henshaw, *Meditations Miscellaneous, Holy & Humane*, second edition (London, 1639).

What we do find, however, is an express concern within Scriver's purpose to reshape the way in which his readers thought. "Blessed is he / who reads this Book [of Nature] with pious intent!"[85] This point is significant for the way in which we deal with Scriver's texts – particularly his *zufälliger Andachten*. This work was written, not as an exercise of literary prowess, but with a view towards inculcating a new hermeneutical outlook within the hearts and minds of his readership as is seen in his concern with *gottseligem Nachdencken*. Thus, while we see within the studies that have focused upon the structure of this work, an emphasis on emblems as a kind of *Kunstform*, Scriver himself is more engaged with nurturing a transformative *Denkform* within the lives of his readers. This is something which has not been adequately grasped within any of Scriver's earlier commentators; and while Tepfenhardt does indeed point out that the baroque emblem was more than just a *Kunstform*, she did very little to move beyond it to step into Scriver's world of thought.[86]

Structure of the *Andacht*

Scriver's *Andachten* were written over a period of a dozen years. Composed in four separate centuries, his earlier *Andachten* have a tendency to be shorter than the meditations contained within the last. This could be influenced in part by Scriver's bout with illness that he described within his *Zuschrifft* and to the outpouring of love and support which he received from his parishioners during

[85] "Wohl dem / der dieses Buch mit gottseligem Nachdencken leset!" *GzA*, "Erste Vorrede."
[86] Tepfenhardt, *Emblematische Strukturen*, 30.

that difficult time. This may have spurred him on to devote more time to expounding his thoughts. Typically, however, each *Andacht* from the first three centuries is roughly two octavo pages in length whereas the *Andachten* of the fourth century extend in page-length to four. Tepfhenhardt notes that, while there are exceptions, throughout the whole collection the basic structure of each of Scriver's devotions remains essentially the same.[87]

Each meditation was presented as a narrative constructed around Gotthold as he wandered on his pilgrimage through life. There is rarely an indication of physical movement on the part of Gotthold within the individual *Andacht.* Instead, Scriver framed each vignette as a momentary pause wherein Gotthold stops to reflect upon the particular object or situation in front of him in light of its deeper spiritual meaning. Thus, even though the objects and encounters within the larger narrative continuously change, it is by means of Gotthold's constant presence as well as the repeated narrative structure of the *Andacht* that Scriver was able to create an aura of continuity which informed the entire collection. This was undoubtedly a source of comfort for his readers who struggled with the lingering trauma of dislocation on account of the war. The sense of narrative continuity undoubtedly provided both a model and a means through which they could reconstruct a sense of stability for themselves within the context of their own lives.

This point was further driven home by the way in which Scriver drew upon examples from everyday encounters as the objective cause for Gotthold's

[87] Tepfenhardt discusses this at length in Part III of her *Emblematische Strukturen*.

meditations. The broad and varied spectrum together with his attention to detail suggests that Scriver was a keen observer of the movement of human passions as well as the wonders of both nature and the cultural and scientific knowledge of his day. We see this in the way in which he paused to consider a wide array of different scenarios from observing the wondrous movement of ringlets rippling in the water[88] to the beauty and fragrance of flowers in bloom;[89] or the challenges of gardening[90] and the problems presented by both brambles and weeds.[91] His observation of nature was combined with a keen sense of learning as he sometimes used Latin names for various plants that he encountered.[92] His treatment of objects like mirrors,[93] clocks,[94] books,[95] and paintings,[96] the sun and the moon[97] and the stars in the nighttime sky[98]and magnifying glasses,[99] as well

[88] *GzA* II.xix "Die Wasserkreise".
[89] *GzA* I. xiii "Die weisse Lilien", I. xxiv "Die Tulipen", II.viii "Die Rose", II.xc "Die welcke Blumen", II.xcix "Die blůende Baume", III.x "die blůende Rocken-Aehre", III.lxxxiv "die doppelte Blume".
[90] *GzA* I.ii "Die Kohl-Pflantze", I.xx "Der Weinstock", IV.vii "die Erndte".
[91] *GzA* I.xix "Die Kletten-Půche", I.xxvi "Das Unkraut", IV.xxxix "Das Winde-Kraut".
[92] See *GzA* I.xvii "Der Fliderbaum. *Sambucus*."; I.xliv "*Caryophyllata*. Benedicten-Wurrtzel."
[93] *GzA* I.lxxviii "der Brenn-Spiegel", II.xliv "der Spiegel".
[94] *GzA* I.xxxii "Die Schlag-Uhr", II.xx "Die verletzte Glocke", III.xc "die Sonnen-Uhr".
[95] *GzA* I.xxxiv "Die Bůcher", I.xxxix "das verhefftete Buch", IV.i "des Buch Papier", IV.lxiii "Die Bibliotheck".
[96] *GzA* I.lxxvii "das Gemåhld", I.c "die Bilder", II.lxxxvii "Das Kunst-Bild", III.lxxxv "die Bilder", IV.xxiv "der Mahler", IV.lxv "Das schőeste Bild"
[97] *GzA* I. lxxxi "die Grősse der Hintlischen Cőrper", IV.lxviii "Die Sonne".
[98] *GzA* II.lxxvii "der gestirnte Himmel".
[99] *GzA* II.lxii "das Großglass".

as his awareness of human physiology[100] all point to the significant breadth of his own interests and learning. He showed a particular fascination with the life of animals and the lessons that could be learned from them.[101] He likewise drew upon the stuff of common domestic concerns such as sprouting produce in the cellar,[102] knotted balls of yarn,[103] broken clocks[104] and medicines,[105] simmering pots,[106] a slice of lemon cake,[107] and the annoyance that comes with 'ringing in the ears.'[108] Human emotions and behaviors likewise gave him pause to think and comment about the deeper meaning of life as he considered both life and death, faith and impiety, and everything in between. Children especially captured Scriver's attention as he took the time to ponder the special relationship between

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[100] *GzA* II.v "der Krancke", II.xxxv "Das Klingen der Ohren", II.lx "die Schmertzen", III.xxi "das Hertzklopffen", III.lxxxix "das Aderlaße", IV.li "Das Hertzklopffen".
[101] *GzA* I.xxiii "Die Raupen", I.xxviii "Die Krȍte", I.xxix "Der Hecht", I.xli "Die geraubte Biene", I. lxvii "Der Holtzwurm", I.xlix "Die Katze", I.lix "Die Maden im Bienenstock", I.lxix, Die Schnecke", I. lxxii "Der Hund", I.lxxv "der Hamster", I.lxxxvi "die Fliegen", II.iv "der geblendete Vogel", II.x "Der Hund", II.xxiv "Das Vieh", II.xl "Der Maulwurff", II.lii "die Rȍthe", II.lxvii "die Schaafe", II.lxix "die Spinne", II.lxxv "die Mȕcke", II.lxxvii "das Huhn", II.lxxix "die Schwalbe", II.lxxx "die Schlangenhaut", II.lxxxi "die Lerche", "II.lxxxii "der Seiden-Wurm", II.lxxxvi "Die Nachtigall", II.lxxxviii "Die Nacht-Eule",II.lxxxix "Die Sommer-Fliegen", II.xcii "Der Vogel in der Kinder Hȁnde", II.xciii "Die Fische", II.xcv "Das Vogelnest", II.xcvi "Die gatzende Henne", II.xcvii "Der Indanische Hahn", III.viii "der Hund", III.xxiii "die Eule", III.xxvi "die Hirsche", III.xl "die Hȕner", III.xlvi "der Wolff". III.lx "das Hirsch-Kalb",III.lxxi "die Lerche", III.lxxiv "die Schlange," III.lxxvii "die Kuh", III.xcvii "die Wespe", IV.xxviii "der Vogel", IV.xxxii "die Frȍsche", IV.xxxvi "Der Storch", IV.lxx "Die Biene", IV.lxxix "Das Raupen-Nest", IV.xci "Der Kefer", IV.scii "Der Bienenschwarm", IV.xcvi "Der Hund".
[102] *GzA* II.xxvii "Das gewȁchs im Keller".
[103] *GzA* II.xxiii "Das vorworrene Garn".
[104] *GzA* II.xx "Die verletzte Glocke".
[105] *GzA* I.xciii "die Pillen".
[106] *GzA* II.xxix "Der siedede Topf".
[107] *GzA* II.liv "die Citronenschnitte".
[108] *GzA* II.xxxv "Das Klingen der Ohren".

God as loving father and humanity as his dear children – a relationship which he desired all of his readers to relish and enjoy.[109]

In order to illustrate this last point as well as to unfold the literary structure of Scriver's *Andachten*, let us take a brief look at the last meditation from the second century of his *zufälliger Andachten*. Scriver typically follows the four-fold pattern of medieval biblical exegesis, dividing the significance of the literal *res* into three layers of deeper meaning: the *sensus mysticus* or *allegoricus*, the *sensus moralis* or *tropologicus*, and the *sensus anagogicus*.[110] Each meditation begins with a title which serves as an *inscriptio* for the verbal image forms the basis of the meditation. This *inscriptio* identifies the *sensus literalis* which he then goes on to speak about. In the case of *Andacht* II.c, Scriver decided to develop this meditation around a gustative encounter between a child and some sweet wine. He offers the title "Der sůsse Wein"[111] and then proceeds immediately to describe the encounter. This description corresponds to the *pictura* or emblematic image. "Gotthold had resolved to [sit down] and pour himself a drink of sweet wine / [just then] as children [often] do / his toddler son / came, wanting to taste some too / and so he gave him a little bit in his cup [to

[109] *GzA* I.xvi "das spielende Kind", I.lxii "Das Kind", I.lxv "Das Auffziehen", I.xcv "die Wåisen", II.xvii "Die Schul-Knaben", II.xxx "Das Kinder-Geschrey im Mutterleibe", II.xxxiv "Das gottseliges Kind", II.xlvi "de Stecken-Reuter", II.lxxiv "der Kinder-Becher", II.xcii "Der Vogel in der Kinder-Hånde", III.i "das ietzgeborne Kind", III.vi "das Kind", III.xxxiv "das Spielhůltzlein", III.xxxvii "die betende Kinder", III.lvii "das eineige Kind", IV.xviii "das Kind", IV.xliv "Der Kinder-Garten", IV.xvix "Das schlaffende Kind".
[110] See Daly, 32; also Schöne, 48.
[111] "Sweet Wine"

drink]."[112] This scene is one which may very well have been enacted within the homes of many of his readers. The warmth and tenderness with which Scriver describes the exchange is remarkable. The use of the diminutive, as a way of writing about the child, suggests not only a sense of tenderness in youth but also a tenderness within the relationship between the two. Even the way in which Scriver shifts from *Sŏhnlein* (toddler son) to *Knăblein* (little rascal) as the scene unfolds carries with it an endearing quality as Gotthold literally gifts (*schenckte*) to his son some sweet wine for him to taste, Gotthold looking on with joyful anticipation. The *Andacht* then addressed the exchange between Gotthold and the child that ensues when the father asked his son how it tastes. The child responds simply saying "sweet" (*sŭsse*). Evidently not enough of a reply to quench Gotthold's curiosity, he pressed further in order to tease out a fuller response, only to have his son double his answer saying "sŭsse / sŭsse" emphasizing the child's great pleasure in sampling his taste of the wine. This answer is also intended to draw a laugh from the readers as Scriver described Gotthold's own reaction: "Gotthold chuckled and said: Is that really all you can say / just that it is sweet?"[113]

Here we can see how Scriver's use of his literary emblems differs from the way in which Alciati conceived of them within his work. Scriver does not begin

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[112] "Gottholden hatte ein wohlthåtiges Hertz einen Trunck sŭssen Weins gesandt / als nun sein Sŏhnlein / nach Kinder Art / denselben auch gern kosten wolte / und er ihm ein weniges in sein Becherlein schenckte."

[113] "…und zu trincken darreichte / fragte er: Wie schmecket das? Das Kind antwortet: sŭsse. Er fuhr fort: Wie sŭsse? Das Knăblein antwortet: sŭsse / sŭsse. Gotthold lachte und sagte: So weist du den nicht anders zu sage / als daß es sŭsse sey."

with a bare encounter with an object as a thing in-and-of itself – in this case, the *sweet wine*. Instead, he builds the object into the context of a social setting within which he proceeds to unfold his devotional thoughts. He thereby engages his readers in a living dialog with life itself through which they were drawn to reflect not only on an allegorical interpretation of the thing itself but upon their own relationships and social interactions as well. The basic story, however, does not contain the story of the whole. Instead, Scriver embarks upon his emblematic *subscriptio* by unfolding the *sensus allegoricus* which, for him, is conventionally wrapped up within a catechetical reflection on some point of Christian doctrinal teaching. He goes on to describe this movement within this particular *Andacht*: "Ah my God / thought [Gotthold] within himself / How sweet is your grace? How tender are the drops of your goodness? I feel and taste it within my soul and belief / but should I be asked by another / how sweet your love is / and how savory your grace be? I do not know how to say more than this child 'Sweet / sweet is your goodness.'"[114] Scriver uses this episode to reflect upon the goodness of God and the delight of encountering his grace. In the process, he uses the example of the child in order to reflect upon the ideal stance of the individual believer as she reflects upon this divine goodness – and when asked by another to describe its sweetness, he defers to the child's answer saying "sweet sweet" in reply. During an age of scholastic orthodoxy, such a simple answer

[114] "Ach mein Gott / fuhr er fort bey ihm selbst: Wie sůß ist deine Ganade? Wie lieblich sind die Tropfen deiner Gůtte? Ich fůhle und schmeck es im Geist und Glauben / solte mich aber ein ander fragen / wie sůß deine Liebe / und wie schmackhafft deine Gnade sey? So weiß ich eben so wenig als diß Kind es zu sagen Sůsse / sůsse ist deine Gůte."

would have found a great appeal among his readers. Within these few lines, he brought the grandeur of this touchstone of Lutheran teaching into the daily lives of the people, simplifying it into something which they could readily understand.

Scriver went on, however, to build upon this doctrinal insight in order to encourage his readers to engage and experience it for themselves. "But how sweet / it is better experienced than simply spoken: I discover something within my heart / I can savour it within my soul / [something] which runs right through me / it is lovely beyond all Loveliness / and sweet beyond all Sweetness: It is so sweet / that it tears through all bitterness / so sweet / that I do not know / and cannot tell / how sweet it is."[115] At this point, Scriver has transformed the basic emblem into a reflection upon the believer's relationship with God and the way in which he desires his readers to experience that love and goodness within their daily lives. "And what is it / my sweet God! but only droplets of your goodness / whose sweetness my understanding cannot fathom / nor my tongue speak of / and what will become [of me] / when I get to heaven with all of your grace and love / which will flow like a river for me to drink from! What [after all] is this [thing called] eternal life? The sweet grace, love, and goodness of God. How sweet are these?" Scriver asks, and echoing the child's response he answers simply "sweet / sweet are they. I do not know how to say more."[116]

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[115] "Wie aber sůß / daß lǎsset sich besser erfahren als sagen: Ich empfinde ja etwas in meinem Hertzen / ich koste etwas in meiner Seelen / das duchgehet mir Marck und Bein / es ist lieblich ůber alle Liebligkeit / sůsse ůber alle Sůßigkeit; Es ist so sůsse / daß es alle Bitterkeit verzehret / so sůsse / daß ichs nicht weiß / und es nicht sagen kan / wie sůß es ist."

[116] "Und was sind / mein sůsser Gott! nur etliche Tropffen deiner Gůte / deren Sůßigkeit kan mein Verstand nicht erreichen / und meine Zunge nicht aussprechen

The sweetness and savoring of the wine has been transformed into an exemplar of the way in which he desires his readers to experience God's love and goodness within their daily lives. He built this association by repeating key words and concepts – *sůß, kosten, Liebe* – from the initial emblematic encounter and transferring them to the reader's own relationship with God. He did not rest on this point, however, but built upon this concept of divine grace in order to reflect even further upon the joys to be encountered within heaven as well – comparing the droplets of sweetness encountered within this world to the torrent (*Strom*) that they will encounter there. Scriver explained, however, that this is something which cannot be captured in human words of understanding, but can only be spoken of simply saying "sweet sweet," commenting that this sweetness is one which tears asunder (*verzehret*) all human bitterness.[117]

Throughout the description of this emblem, Scriver built towards an exposition of its anagogical sense. We saw the seeds of this expressed already with the description of the rapture that is to be encountered as a part of the heavenly joys that await the believer in Christ. In the meantime, he was fully aware that his readers remained on this side of eternity and so he offers them an example in Gotthold of how this joy might be expressed while still *en route* upon their earthly pilgrimage. This part of the *Andacht* is always framed subjectively,

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/ was wird alsdenn warden / wann du mich in Himmel mit deiner Liebe und Gnade / als mit einem Strom trånckеn wirst! Was ist das ewige Leben? Die sůsse Gnade / Liebe und Gůte Gottes. Wie sůß ist den die? Sůsse / sůsse ist sie. Mehr weiß ich nicht zu sagen."

[117] *Verzehren*, as a verb, carries with it a sense of violent and utter destruction. It is interesting to note that this is the same word Gryphius uses within his poem *Threnen des Vatterlandes* to describe the sheer violence which was inflicted upon the German countryside by the invading armies.

in the form of a prayer offered in the first person, where Gotthold takes the stuff of his allegorical reflection and allows it to erupt into doxology. "O (You) infinite God, your sweetness and holiness are infinite / for you are the sweetness and holiness of [those who believe in you]; When will I come there / so that I can see your face / and taste your sweetness in its fullness! If you were to change every ocean / all rivers / lakes / puddles / fountains and wells into bitter [herbs] / bile / and bitter aloe / and were to pour it all upon me alone / [your grace] would make it all both sweet and lovely!"[118] Couched within this prayer we also find a reflection of a tropological sense which is directed toward the fostering of a proper attitude of piety. "Grant me / my God / as much of your grace within this life / as it pleases you / and is right for me: Within this life, I [want only] to gather the little crumbs of your grace / and the droplets of your goodness / [that fall] beneath the table of your chosen ones / and [so] desire for more in eternity."[119]

Scriver did not overlook the moral or tropological sense within the structure of his *Andachten*. He choose instead to mingle it throughout the whole – not as a specific section in which he directly describes what the proper response

[118] "Du unendlicher Gott / deine Sůßigkeit und Seligkeit ist unendlich / denn du bist die Sůßigkeit und Seligkeit deiner Glåubigen; Wenn werd ich dahinn kommen / daß ich dein Angesicht schaue / und deine Sůßigkeit vǒllig schmecke! Wenn du alle Meer / alle Strǒme / Seen / Pfǔtzen / Brunnen und Qvellen zu Wermuth / Gallen / und Aloen machtest / und gǒssest es alles in und ůber mich allein / so kǒnten doch etlich wenige Trǒpfflein deiner sůssen Liebe und Gůte / dieses alles sůsse und lieblich machen!"

[119] "Gǒnne mir / mein Gott / so viel von deiner Liebligkeit in diesem Leben / als dir gefǎllt / und mir dienlich ist: In jenem Leben will ich die Krůmlein deiner Gnade / und die Tropffen deine Gůte / unter dem Tisch deiner Außerwehlten gern auffsammlen / und den noch in Ewigkeit nich mehr begehren."

of the reader should be – but more passively, as the reader was made party to Gotthold's response and reaction. As a result, not only did Gotthold function as the hermeneuting muse who gives voice to the *Sinn* that stands behind the various *Bildern*; Scriver also presents him as a model and exemplar of an individual in whom life and faith are integrated into one. Gotthold therefore embodied Scriver's devotional ideal of what it meant to be fully human. Scriver thereby wove together his catechetical aims with his concern for religious formation into a seamless garment in which both life, doctrine, belief, and identity all flowed into one another to become intimately integrated in, what Freeman has called, a "unified allegorical conception of the meaning of life."[120]

[120] Freeman, 20.

Chapter Three:

Gottholds zufälliger Andachten within
the Structure of Scriver's Devotional Piety

The religious life of the seventeenth century has been characterized in terms of an affective devotionalism with particular emphasis placed upon introspective subjectivity and individualism. We have already seen this caricature reflected within the judgments of Erdei, Luhmann, Damrau and several others. Indeed, Udo Sträter framed his overview of meditation forms within seventeenth-century Lutheranism in terms of the Spenerian preoccupation of 'drawing the head into the heart' as a way of fostering strong affective engagement with the faith within the Christian community one person at a time.[1] Both Damrau and Sträter credited English Puritanism as the immediate source of this emphasis within German pietism. This dimension can also be seen, however, within Roman Catholic spirituality which, since the time of the Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584) and the Council of Trent (1545-1563), had emphasized the sensual-emotional dimension of both contemplation and invidual prayer.[2] This was further emphasized within the movement of Ignatian spirituality which drew the individual out of the world and into retreat where, through the *spiritual exercises*, they were expected to explore both the character of their own sin through a

[1] "Wie bringen wir den Kopff in das Hertz?" Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform in der lutherischen Kirche des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995), 1 & 121. See also Carter Lindberg ed., *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeeth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 6.

[2] See H.J. Schroeder ed., *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent: Original Text with English Translation* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1941), Session XXV "De invocatio, veneratio et reliquiis sanctorum et sacris imaginibus."

rigorous examination of conscience while, at the same time, engaging the life of Christ through an imaginative and prayerful engagement with the Gospel narratives.[3] Indeed, this same dynamic can be seen within German pietism with its emphasis on the *Bußkampf* as the beginning point for true piety and the individual's rebirth (*Wiedergeburt*).[4] It is not surprising that historians have perceived the roots of modern individualism expressed within the devotional movements of this century.

It would be far too easy to read Scriver's Gotthold as well as his *zufälliger Andachten* as just another example of nascent individualism borne upon the waves of seventeenth-century devotional fervour, although both Eichler and Becker proceded with this very assumption within their own study of Scriver's writings. Instead, we need to be careful that we do not indiscriminately impose caricatures of later pietism upon the various devotional writers which populated the seventeenth century. While it is true that Scriver did present Gotthold as a model and exemplar of this religiously-defined self, there are elements within his broader corpus of writings that suggest there is more to Scriver's conception of humanity than what the broad-stroked depictions of seventeenth-century devotionalism have allowed.

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[3] See George E. Ganss, "General Introduction", *Ignatius of Loyola: Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works*, edited by George E. Ganss (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 52.

[4] Lindberg, 9; also Peter Erb, "Introduction," *Pietists: Selected Writings*, edited by Peter Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 9. See, for example, *GzA* II.lxxx where Scriver reflects upon the need for re-birth (*Wiederguburt*) by means of an encounter with a snake's skin.

The difficulty is that the *zufälliger Andachten* have traditionally been read as an autonomous work against the backdrop of seventeenth-century literary culture. Connections between the *zufälliger Andachten* and Scriver's later *SeelenSchatz* have been made but these have been drawn in a linear fashion, tracing individual themes and doctrines, rather than taking the time to ask what the intended relationship between these two works might be. While there most certainly needs to be a recognition of the distinction between authorial intention and historical reception, to date, no one has bothered to ask where Scriver intended his *Andachten* to fit within the context of his devotional piety. In part, this is due to the way in which Scriver's *Andachten* have been studied, not as a devotional piece, but as an example of seventeenth-century German literature. In part, also, it is due to the fact that there has been limited attention paid to historical studies of Protestant spiritual traditions. As a result, the work which has been done on Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten* has failed to grasp the broader devotional context within which this document was written.

Fortunately, Scriver leaves more than just hints about where his *zufälliger Andachten* fit within his devotional vision. In fact, he outlined the broader framework of his spirituality within his earlier catechetical lectures which were published by Johann Müllern in Magdegburg in 1659 under the title *Chrysologia Catechetica: Goldpredigten über die Hauptstücke des lutherischen Katechismus*. It was the custom of the churches in Stendal to host sermons on Luther's *Small Catechism* for the instruction and edification of the people four times throughout the year. These would be rotated among the various churches

throughout the city. The responsibility for preaching these catechetical sermons at Sanct Jakobskirche had normally fallen to Scriver's superior, Petrus Beklovius, but in 1658 Belkovius died and the responsibility was passed on to him. Scriver's sermons must have made quite the impression for, as Scriver himself relates, he was pressed by popular demand, despite his own reluctance, to have these sermons put into print the very same year.[5]

These sermons illustrate both Scriver's eloquence as a preacher, and also introduce us to the shape of his devotional piety as he had conceived of it within the early years of his pastoral ministry. With the confessional bravado of a young Lutheran pastor, Scriver made it clear that his goal was to "transplant" the treasures of his Lutheran confessional heritage into the context of his parishioners' lives;[6] and while one can certainly find gaps within the breadth of doctrinal topics which Scriver could have covered while preaching on Luther's *Small Catechism*, what he did say provides us with invaluable insights into the larger practical and conceptual scaffolding which he used to frame his devotional vision. As a result, it is worth spending some time with these early sermons in order to help us situate both his *zufälliger Andachten* as well as the narrative figure of Gotthold within the broader structure of his devotional piety.

A Spirituality of the Word

Rather than focusing upon a quest to bring the head and the heart of his parishioners into some kind of new alignment, Scriver framed his piety in terms

[5] *Chrysologia Catechetica*, vi-vii.
[6] See *Chrysologia Catechetica*, viii.

of a bringing of Jesus into the heart. He began by describing this task of spiritual formation in terms of an architect's work of constructing a building. "That which is laid as the ground and foundation of a structure, [as everyone knows], if it is not good, can result in the fall and destruction of an entire building." He went on to point out, however, that "the Christian Church" which he describes as "the very house of God (1 Tim 3:15) has no need to fear for any danger, for that ground upon which she stands is none other than Christ Jesus" who is "the rock upon which the congregation of God is so firmly established that the gates of hell cannot overturn it (Matth 16:19); that no rainstorm, no flood, no wind[storm] can knock it down (7:25)."[7] Scriver here began with a familiar christological understanding of the Church expounded by the apostle Paul in 1 Corinthians 3:11-15[8] in which the faith and life – even their very salvation – of the believer is established upon the foundation laid by God within the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.[9] Scriver explained: "He is the one of whom his heavenly Father speaks: Behold I lay a foundaiton stone in Zion, a veritable

[7] "Was in Gebåuden am Grund und Fundament gelegen sei, ist Niemanden unbewußt, welches, wenn es nicht gut ist, den Fall und das Verderben des ganzen Oberhauses verursachen kann. Es hat aber die christliche Kirche, das Haus Gottes (1 Tim. 3,15.) hierinen keine Gefahr zu befůrchten, weil ihr Grund, darauf sie bestehet, Niemand ist, als Christus Jesus: der ist der Fels, darauf die Gemeinde Gottes so fest gegrůndet ist, daß sie der Hőlle Pforten nich ůberwåltigen kőnen (Matth. 16,19.), daß sie kein Platzregen, kein Gewåsser, keine Winde unstoßen kőnnen (7,25.)." *Chrysologia*, 4.

[8] "For no one can lay any foundation other than the one already laid, which is Jesus Christ. If any man builds on this foundation using gold, silver, costly stones, wood, hay or straw, this work will be shown for what it is, because the Day will bring it to light. It will be revealed with fire, and the fire will test the quality of each man's work. If what he has built survives, he will receive his reward. If it is burned up, he will suffer loss; he himself will be saved, but only as one escaping through the flames" (NIV).

[9] See *Chrysologia*, 3.

cornerstone, a precious stone, which is well laid (Is. 28:16) as both Peter and Paul also write concerning him (see 1 Peter 2:6, Eph. 2:20)."[10] He echoed Paul by reminding his hearers that it is important to build upon this foundation, not with silver and gold and the stuff of earthly riches which, in themselves, do not lead one to a holy acquaintance with Jesus; he rather spured them on to a diligent engagement with the Word of God in order to not neglect their call to repentance and living in charity toward their neighbour but to seek out hope and comfort for themselves in every time of cross and trial.[11]

Scriver then went on to elaborate upon this theme of *Anfechtungen* or trials, reminding his hearers that a Christian cannot exist without them. He wrote that even these crosses are set in place according to God's own will in order to serve as a kind of refiners-fire through which one's faith is both tested and purified.[12] Scriver here built upon Luther's revision of the medieval pattern of

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[10] "Er ist's, von dem Sein himmlischer Vater spricht: Siehe ich lege in Zion einen Grundstein, einen bewåhrten Eckstein, einen kőstlichen Stein, der wohl gegrűndet ist (Jesij. 28,16.) wie auch Petrus und Paulus von ihm auslegen (vergl. 1 Petr. 2,6. Eph. 2,20.)." *Chrysologia*, 4.

[11] "Paulus sagt, daß Gold, Silber und Edelstein, Etliche aber Holz, Heu, Stopplen auf den vorgedachten Grund bauen. Die nemlich fűhren auf enn Gebåude von Gold, Silber und Edelstein, welche nich allein ihre Schåflein in der seligen Erkenntniß des Herrn Jesu wohl und beståndig unterrichten, sondern auch im Uebringen űber die heilsame Lehre und das Wort Gottes halten, alles ihr Lehren, Ermahnen, Warnen, Trősten aufs Genaueste darnach richten, von der Buße und seligen Reu űber die Sűnden, von dem Werken christlicher Liebe, von Geduld in Kreuz und Trűbsal und von der Hoffnung des ewigen Lebens nach dem Vorbild, das sie in der Schrift haben, richtig lehren, fűr ihre Gemeine aufs Fleißigste beten, und Alles mit ihrem gottseligen und unstråflichen Wandel beståtigen." *Chrysologia*, 5-6.

[12] "Andere legen es aus von dem Prűfe-Feuer des lieben Gottes, das Er durch Kreuz und åuserliche Trűbsal oder durch die ineerliche Gewissensunruhe deim Menschen anzűndet; und dasselbe entweder bei gesunden Tagen oder in Krankheiten und der Todesnoth und wird also ein solcher Mensch selig als durchs

lectio divina as presented within his *Preface to the Wittenberg Edition of Luther's German Writings* (1539). *Tentatio* or *Anfechtung*, as Luther called it, played a central role within his own devotional program. "This is the touchstone which teaches you not only to know and understand, but also to experience how right, how true, how sweet, how lovely, how mighty, how comforting God's Word [truly] is … For as soon as God's Word takes root and grows in you, the devil will harry you, and will make a real doctor of you, and by his assaults will teach you to seek and love God's Word."[13] Luther explained that it was through trials that the individual believer came both to know and experience the grace of God as it was communicated through the Word. Scriver transplanted this element from Luther's own trials and struggle with the devil into the context of the lives of his parishioners, reminding them that human effort and earthly riches provide no solace beyond the grave; rather, it is only the grace of God in Jesus Christ that can comfort the afflicted soul.

Scriver illustrated this point with a story from the church fathers. He writes: "Mathesius once explained this with an example told by St. Jerome concerning a certain pious fellow named Bernard who despite being overtaken by so many sticks and straws of human teaching as well as dreamt-up and self-made worship, still became holy upon the self same ground."[14] Scriver here developed

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Feuer, d. i. er wird kaum und mit genauer Noth selig und durch sonderliche Gnade Gottes also ein Brand aus dem Feuer gerissen…" *Chrysologia*, 7.

[13] AE 34:285-288; for the German text, see WA 50, 657-661.

[14] "Dieß erklåret Mathesius mit dem Exempel des heil. Hieronymus, des frommenn Bernhard, welche, obwohl allerei Holz und Heu von Menschenlehre und selbsterdachtern und gemachtem Gottesdienst mituntergelaufen, dennoch

a distinctly Lutheran approach to the interpretation of the early church fathers in which the chief architects of monastic observance were adopted and appropriated as witnesses to salvation by grace through faith alone.[15] Scriver went on to elaborate further concerning a "renowned doctor from Vienna, who not only admonished others to be diligent in doing good works, but was also himself a pious man, who daily read his Masses, gave many alms, fasted three times a week, and in addition gave one of his own houses [as a residence] for widows from the lower classes who, on account of their evil lifestyle might otherwise have been abandoned. This man," Scriver explained, "as he prepared to die, searched his heart with great fear [*Todesanfechtung*] and agonized over what he would lean upon to counter God's righteous wrath and judgment." This fear took hold of him so much that "he began to sweat. He frantically considered all his Masses and alms, his donation and [his] many good deeds and asked himself several times: 'Will this not also help [me]?'" But finally, as he realized that

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endlich auf diesen einigen Grund bestanden und selig worden sind." *Chrysologia*, 7.

[15] See, for example, Melanchthon's discussion of the way in which the Lutherans honoured the saints as (1) examples and teachers of God's mercy, (2) which could be used to strengthen people's faith, and (3) spur them on to an imitation of their good works. "Confessio nostra probat nonores sactorum. Nam hic triplex honos porbandus est. Primus est gratiarum action. Debemus enim Deo gratias agere, quod ostenderit exempla misericordiae, quod significaverit se velle salvare homines, quod dederit doctors aut alia dona ecclesiae. Et haec dona, ut sunt maxima, amplificanda sun, et laudandi ipsi sancti, qui his donis fideliter usi sunt, sicut Cristus laudat fideles negotiators. Secundus cultus est confirmation fidei nostrae; cum videmus Petro condonari negationem, erigiumur et now, ut magis credamus, quod vere gratia exuberet supra peccatum. Tertius honos est imitatioprimum fidei, deinde ceterarum virtutum, quas imitari pro sua quisque vocatione debet. Hos verso honores non requirunt adversarii. Tantum de invcatione, quae etiamsi nihil haberet periculi, tamen non est necessaria, rixantur." *Apologie der Konfession* XXI, 317.23-318.10.

"none of them could stand up against the consuming fire of God's wrath, he drew out of the depths of his anguished heart a fervent prayer so that tender tears flowed down his cheeks, saying '*Miserere mei Deus propter Jesum Christum!*' Have mercy upon me God, for Jesus' sake. And [immediately] he was comforted and died a holy death in peace."[16] Scriver drew upon this story to illustrate his Lutheran understanding of salvation by grace through faith in Christ alone by pointing out how the doctor's many works and acts of piety were nothing more than a building built of sticks and straws. These works, Scriver showed, could not save him; only his trust in the mercy of Christ could be the proper and *güldene* (golden) ground of faith.[17]

Scriver then went on to draw a contrast between the glitz and glamour of worldly goods and the true riches which are to be found within God's Word. He again began in the same place in which Luther did within his evangelical explanation of *lectio divina,* drawing upon the words of David from Psalm 119

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[16] "und ist vornemlichdenkwürdig, was er von einem vornehmen Doktor zu Wien erzählt, der nich allein Andere zu gutn Werken fleißig vermahnet, sondern auch selber ein frommer Mann gewesen, der alle Tage Messe gelesen, viel Almosen gegeben, die Woche dreimal gafastet, und daneben ein eigen Haus gestiftet habe für arme gemeine Weiber, welche von ihrem bösen Leben ablassen wollten. Dieser, als er sterben sollte und in der Todesanfechtung in seinem Herzen suchte, was er dem göttlichen Zorn und Gericht entgegensetzen wollte, geräth darüber in große Angst, daß ihm der Angstschweiß mildiglich ausdringet; er suchet hervor seine Messen, Almosen, Kasteiung, Stifte und sämmtliche gute Werke und sagt zu verschiedenen Malen: „Will den das auch nicht helfen?" Endlich wie Nichts wider das verzehrende Feuer des göttlichen Zornes bestehen kann, holet er einen tiefen sehnlichen Seufzer aus dem Grund seines geängsteten Herzens, daß ihm auch die Thränen mildiglich über die Wangen fließen, und spricht: „Miserere mei Deus propter Jesum Christum!" Erbarme Dich mein, mein [sic] Gott, um Jesu Christi willen! Da fühlet er Trost und schläft sanft und selig ein." *Chrysologia,* 7-8.

[17] "Dieß war der rechte güldene Grudn; das Andre war Holz, Heu und Stoppeln und konnte in Gottes Prüfe-Feuer nich bestehen." *Chrysologia,* 8.

verse 72, saying "the teaching of your mouth is more lovely to me than a thousand pieces of gold and silver."[18] Scriver, however, used this verse differently from Luther in order to address the constellation of social concerns facing the people of Stendal within his own day. Whereas Luther appropriated this verse to contrast the authority of the Christian scriptures over-and-against the accumulated weight of canon law as well as the *consensus patrum* as interpreted by the Roman hierarchy, Scriver found it germane as a useful starting point in order to lead his people away from an inordinate dependence upon material surroundings in order that they might come again to value the scriptures as the place in which God could speak a renewed life in Christ into being within their lives.

Scriver spent some time unpacking his understanding of this verse for his hearers. He began by focusing on the word *Gesetz* (Law). The word in the original Hebrew is Torah which simply means "teaching, instruction and recollection,"[19] and when translated into German, Scriver explained, "signifies not the mosaic law alone but the entire message of salvation."[20] Offering an interpretive paraphrase, he highlighted the nature of this Torah as proceeding from the very mouth of God stating: "Everything which you, my God, have spoken and revealed from your mouth concerning your eternal being and gracious will regarding the generations of humanity, that is both better and more lovely to me than many thousand pieces of gold and silver, for through it, I am instructed

[18] "Das Gesetz deines Mundes ist mir lieber als viel tausend Stück Gold und Silber." See AE 34:287 as well as *Chrysologia*, 11-14, 26.
[19] "Lehre, Unterricht und Erinnerung." *Chrysologia*, 11.
[20] "… so bedeutet es nich allemal das mosaische Gesetz allein, sondern zuweilen die ganze heil." *Chrysologia*, 11.

by [this] acquaintance with you into my salvation."[21] He went on to expound this more closely to his own Lutheran understanding of the Word. God has bound (*beschlossen*) himself to that Word, he explained, in order that through it, people would be "assured that [everything] which God in his burning love and unfathomable mercy had decided in eternity, would itself be spoken and revealed [to us] through his own mouth."[22] Scriver made it very clear, moreover, that he was referring to the whole of the Christian scriptures and not simply a part. His preaching reached a climax as he pointed to Jesus himself (John 5:39 and Luke 24:45) as the fullness of this Word and message.[23]

We see here a loose presentation of the Lutheran understanding of the Word as consisting of both Law and Gospel. The Law, as Luther had explained within his *Schmalkaldische Artikel* (1537), was given to serve the Christian in two distinct ways. The first was as a curb in order to "curtail sin by means of threats and terrors of punishment"[24] in order to restrain the expression of evil within the world. All this was necessary because of the problem of sin which every human individual had inherited by birth from their first parents Adam and Eve. Within his discussion on repentance, he went on to explain that the Law also functioned

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[21] "Alles, was Du, mein Gott, von Deinem ewigen göttlichen Wesen und gnädigen Willen gegen das menschliche Geschlecht durch Deinen Mund gered't und geoffenbaret hast, das ist mir lieber und besser, als viel tausend Stück Gold and Silber, weil ich dadurch in Deiner Erkenntniß zu meiner Seligkeit vollkommentlich unterrichtet werde." *Chrysologia*, 12.

[22] "…wohl versichert, daß, was im Herzen Gottes von Ewigkeit her aus brünstiger Liebe und unbegreiflicher Barmherzigkeit beschlossen, dasselbe durch Seinen Mund geredet un geoffenbaret ist." *Chrysologia*, 12 see also page 15.

[23] *Chrysologia*, 13 & 15.

[24] "… erstlich der Sunden zu steuren mit Dräuen und Schrecken der Strafe." *Schmalkaldische Artikel* III.2 "Vom Gestze."

as a kind of mirror[25] by which the sinner was driven to a true contrition as he was confronted with the reality of his sinfulness.[26] After Luther's death, a third function was likewise clarified by the writers of the *Formula of Concord* in which the Law served as a rule of life, outlining a proper manner of conduct for both the Christian and non-Christian alike, thereby exempting no one from the call to a renewal of life within the Gospel.[27] The Law on its own, however, was not considered enough for a person's salvation. For this reason, Luther explained, there was a constant need for the "consoling promise of grace through the Gospel."[28] He explicitly defined this Gospel within Article III.3 of his *Schmalkaldische Artikel* as "the forgiveness of sins" which is offered and communicated to the sinner by means of the spoken word (absolution), through baptism, through the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, and through the Office of the Keys. Luther also included the mention of the "mutual conversation and consolation of the brethren" as an additional place wherein this treasure of forgiveness is shared, a reference which Scriver would later develop within the social structure of his own devotional piety.

While Scriver did recognize the Word as consisting of both Law and Gospel, the distinction was not meticulously drawn; but neither did he mingle them together contrary to a confessional Lutheran understanding of the Word. It is interesting to observe, however, Scriver's tendency to lean on an exposition of

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[25] Luther did not directly use this term here. It was, however, added within later Lutheranism.
[26] *Schmalkaldische Artikel*, III.3 "Von der Buße."
[27] *Konkordienformel*, Epitome & Solida Declaratio, V "De Tertio Usu Legis."
[28] "… die trostliche Verheißung der Gnaden durchs Evangelion." *Schmalkaldische Artikel* III.2.

the Law in terms of its third function – as a rule for Christian living. Notably diminished within these sermons is an emphasis on the Law in its second function – as a mirror of souls.[29] This, in itself, is a significant departure from the general tenor of the devotional culture of his age which had emphasized the individual's *Bußkampf* and the confessional as the place in which spiritual formation took place.[30] Scriver, it appears, took a gentler approach in that he allowed each individual's conscience to encounter their own *Anfechtungen* throughout the course of their daily lives. He thereby supplanted a subjectively focused discipline of individual confession with the socially grounded dynamic of daily life as the context in which spiritual formation took place. He certainly did not eliminate the practice of individual confession from the context of his spirituality[31] but he did redefine it so as to draw the individual out of isolation and into a broader social setting for the practice of their faith.

By praising the surpassing riches of the divine Word over that of earthly riches, Scriver also built upon the biblical tradition which presented the Gospel as a treasure hidden in a field which, when discovered, motivated its finder to sell everything that he had in order to purchase this treasure for himself.[32] Rather than longing for worldly goods beyond their grasp, he encouraged his readers to gather (*sammel*) for themselves riches (*Schåtze*) out of the pages of God's Word that

[29] See *Chrysologia*, 70-71.
[30] Lindberg, 9. Erb, "Introduction," 9.
[31] See, for example, *SeelenSchatz* II.iii §7 where Scriver discusses the importance and character of confession (*Busse*) as a central facet of Christian spirituality.
[32] See Matthew 6:19; also *Chrysologia*, 27; also Müller, 252.

would neither fade nor be possible to steal away.[33] Scriver suggested instead that they adorn themselves with the treasures of this Word, in the same way that women adorn themselves with costly jewelry, so that on the last day they would not be found wanting.[34] In a beautifully poetic section at the end of his *Vorbereitungs-Predigt* he exhorted his hearers to make a regular habit of memorizing verses and bits of scripture in order to store up this treasure within their hearts. "Take heed, you poor ones! You are not poor as long as you hold God's Word dear and have it tucked safely away within your heart," he explained. "Then, whatever things you lack in temporal goods, you will receive in spiritual goods! In the same way that miserly folk fritter away a penny into the moneybox every single day, so you also [ought to] lay aside a verse from God's own Word each day within the chamber of your heart! Are you not able to leave much temporal and transient gold to your children, then see to it that through your diligent labour that they be made partakers of God's heavenly spiritual gold and, through God's Word as well as their Catchism, receive instruction in piety," for as Scriver explains, "by doing this, you leave a precious inheritance and imcomparable treasure behind for them."[35]

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[33] "Sammelt aus Gottes Wort einen Vorrath fůr eure Seele, der ihr auch im Tode, wann sie alles, auch den Leib zurůcklassen muß, nicht kǒnne abgenommen und entwendet werden!" *Chrysologia,* 27.

[34] "Darum, ihr meine Liebsten, erwåhlet ja den riechten Goldschmuckk und zieret eure Seelen mit dem gǒttlichen Wort und haltet dafůr, daß ein Herz, das in Gottes Wort eingefasset ist, so schǒn und prǻchtig sei, daß Gott selbst und all Seine Engel ein herzliches Gefallen daran haben." *Chrysologia,* 20.

[35] "Nehmet es in Acht, ihr Armen! Ihr seid nicht arm, wenn ihr Gottes Wort lieb habt und dasselbe in euren Herzen verwahret und beigelegt habt. Darum was euch fehlet an zeitlichen Gůtern, dessen derholet euch in den geistlichen Gůtern! Wie die Geizhålfe tåglich einen Pfennig dem andern in ihrn Truhen beilegen, also

Scriver wrote these words fully aware of the poverty faced by his parishioners, most of whom had lived through the travesties of the Thirty Years' War.[36] His message would have left quite the impression on them as he turned their attention away from the precariousness of their lives and daily subsistence to the treasure they already possessed within the Word which could not be taken away. As such, he gave them hope within a context of hopelessness by helping them to make sense out of the chaos which had come to define their lives; and in the midst of it all, he encouraged them to see even themselves differently – as a kind of living letter upon which the very Words of God were inscribed[37] – thereby harkening back to the patterns of medieval exemplarism as they was expounded by Hugh of St. Victor. Scriver even encouraged his hearers to use the letters of

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leget ihr tåglich einen Spruch aus Gottes Wort in dem Kåstlein eures Herzens bei! Kønnet ihr euren Kindern nich Viel hinterlassen am zeitlichen und vergånglichen Golde, so sehet doch dahin, daß sie durch euren Fleiß und Dienst des gøttlichen geistlichen Goldes theilhaftig und in Gottes Wort und ihrm Katechismo zur Seligkeit wohl unterrichtet warden møgen! So habt ihr ihnen eine theure Beilage und unvergeichlichen Schatz hinterlassen." *Chrysologia*, 27-28.

[36] "Nehmet es endlich allesammt in Acht, zu eurem Trost, bei diesem großen Beschwer, da fast alles zeitliche Gold und Silber durch die langwierigen Kriegsbedrångnisse verloren und hinweggefůhret wird! Gott sei Lob, daß wir nur das geistliche theure Gold des reinen laůtern Worts Gottes behalten, und unser gůldenes Katechismums-Bůchlein ungehindert lehren, lernen, daheim und øffentlich erklåren møgen! Gott wolle uns ferner solchen Schatz gønnen und uns an Seinem Worte halten lassen; den das ist unsres Herzens Frreude und Wonne, das ist uns lieber, als viel tausend Stůck Gold und Silber!" *Chrysologia*, 28.

[37] "Katechismus habe ůber mich nehmen můssen, da weiß ich beim Anfang solcher Arbeit nichts Bessers zu wůnschen, als daß meine Rede nicht zwar in ein Buch, oder Blei oder Felsen, sondern in die Tafeln des Herzens (Sprůchw. 3,3.) aller meiner Zuhører møgen beschrieben werden, daß sie alle møgen ein Brief Christi seyn, nicht mit Tinte, sondern mit dem Geist des lebendign Gottes, nich in steinerne, sondern in fleischerne Tafeln des Herzens geschrieben (2 Kor. 3,3.) und daß also die theure Beilage der seligmachenden Katechismus-Lehre møge bei und bis ens Ende der Welt mit großem Nutzen vieler Seelen erhalten warden." *Chrysologia*, 2.

their name in order to assemble a collection of verses from the scriptures – both as a way to encourage them to commit these passages to heart – but also as a way to help them see the fingerprints of God's goodness imprinted upon their own individual identities as well.[38] In so doing, he directed them to personalize the Gospel by making it their own and so taught them to build their own identities on the basis of the Word rather than upon experiences of loss or the memories of things gone by.[39]

The Social Dimension of Scriver's Piety

This spirituality of the Word with its emphasis on the bringing of Jesus into the heart is scattered as a perennial theme throughout Scriver's catechetical sermons as well as both the *zufälliger Andachten* and his later *SeelenSchatz*. It is a mistake, however, to conclude on this basis that Scriver's piety was focused exclusively on the subjective life of the individual believer. He did not advocate the creation of a *collegium pietatis*, as a kind of marginal community within the larger context of society, as the basis for his own devotional praxis as we see within later Spenerian pietism. Scriver, instead, envisioned a spirituality in which the scriptures would be shared within a communal discipline of *lectio divina* so that it could become the warp and woof of every facet of the community's existence. Here we see one of the ways in which Scriver's spirituality differed radically from that of the later German pietists which anchored the spiritual life

[38] See *Chrysologia*, 51-52.
[39] As an additional corollary, Scriver's instructions can also be seen as an encouragement toward a wide-spread popular literacy based upon the Bible and Luther's *Catechisms*.

within the individual's isolated *Bußkampf*. It differed also from the Ignatian spirituality which required the retreatant to remove herself from the context of her daily life in order to engage in a process of spiritual formation.[40] Scriver's spirituality was built upon a distinctly different social dynamic. It was addressed, not only to the individual, but to the entire community providing a pattern of social interaction built upon a contemplation of the Word.[41] Scriver thereby set the process of individual formation into the dialogical context of community as the place in which their spiritual formation took place.

We see this dimension of Scriver's piety unfolded within his sermon on the *First Table of the Law*. Beginning with the first commandment, he reminded his hearers of what it means to have a God. "The love of God, the fear of god, and the trust of God. For these are the three most important things contained in the first commandment, as Dr. Luther's explanation likewise shows."[42] Scriver echoed Luther's explanation of the first commandment from the pages of his *Large Catechism*: "The love of God is this," Scriver wrote, "when you hold God as the highest good and meditate upon him as the eternal [and] uncreated fountain of every [good thing], to reflect upon his great love and mercy which he daily extends to humanity, and thereupon become enlivened to love him, that is, to

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[40] See Pinard de la Boullaye, *La Spiritualité Ignatienne* (Paris: Librairie PLON, 1949), xxiii-xxiv and Joseph de Guibert, *La Spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus: Esquisse Historique* (Rome: Historical Institute, 1953), especially chapters III and XIII. Also *Ignatius of Loyola*, 50-54 as well as the "Introduction" to *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, translated by George E. Ganss (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1992).

[41] See Müller, 262ff.

[42] "Die Liebe Gottes, die Furcht Gottes, das Vertrauen zu Gott. Den dieß sind die drei vornehmsten Tugenden im ersten Gebot enthalten, wie auch Dr. Luther's Erklårung bezeuget." *Chrysologia*, 34.

prefer him above all things, to lift him up and hold him higher than all things, as the greatest of what is lovely in heaven and upon the earth." Scriver further expounded: "God himself has explained the same when he says 'You should love the Lord your God from all your soul (heart), from all your mind, and from all your strength (Matth. 22:37).'"[43] Scriver used this as the basis upon which to explain that each person's words and actions ought to stand in harmony with the love of God as it is rooted in the heart, as the ground and source from which the whole of their life and being proceeds.[44] "Your will should want to do and love what God wills and loves," he explained, "all of your powers, body and soul, all [your] arteries and [every] drop of [your] blood, [your] entire life and existence, movement and inspiration, ought to be oriented towards the love of God."[45] He used to remind his hearers that they ought not to use their mouth to curse or to grumble but, echoing the words of Luther's explanation to the second

[43] "Die Liebe Gottes ist, wenn einer Gott als das hoͤchste Gut, und den ewigen unerschoͤpflichen Brunn alles Guten betrachtet, Seiner großen Liebe und Barmherzigkeit, die Er den Menschen taͤglich erweiset, nachdenket, und daher dann entzuͤndet wird, Ihn zu lieben, das ist, Ihn allen Dingen vorzuziehen, Ihn uͤber Alles zu erheben, und hoͤher zu halten, als Alles was lieblich ist im Himmel und auf Erden. So hat Gott der Herr selbst dieß Gebot erklaͤret, wenn Er spricht: Du sollst Gott, deinen Herrn, lieben von ganzer Seele, von ganzem Gemuͤth, und von allen Kraͤften (Matth. 22,37.)" *Chyrsologia,* 34.

[44] "das ist, das sollst nich allein mit Worten und dem Munde deinen Gott liben, sondern von Grund deines Herzens, also, daß du zwar das, was libenswerth ist, und der heiligen Liebe Gottes nich entgegen, liebest, aber Gott doch not mehr liebest, als alles Andere… Dein ganzes Gemuͤth muß auf die goͤttliche Liebe beflissen sein, der Verstand muß mit bestaͤndigem Nachsinnen fleißig das betrachten, das Gedaͤchtniß dasselbe vornemlich behalten, und als einen Schatz beilegen, was die goͤttliche Liebe in dir erwecken und vermehren kann." *Chrysologia*, 34-35.

[45] "Dein Wille muß wollen und lieben, was Gott will und liebet," he writes. "Kurz: alle deine Kraͤfte, Leibes und der Seele, alle Adern und Blutstropfen, alles Leben und Weben, alles Regen und Bewegen muß zur Liebe Gottes gerichtet sein." *Chrysologia*, 35.

commandment, always to pray, praise, and give thanks to God within every circumstance in which they might find themselves.[46]

Scriver was not interested only in their relationship with God. He reminded his parishioners that they were also to use their words judiciously in order to edify their neighbour. "According to the second commandment," he explained, "we ought [also] to bless our neighbour."[47] In order to explain this point, he drew upon a litany of Old Testament passages. The list is instructive, as he went through a breadth of different social relations in order to show no facet of their social existence was exempt from this command. Scriver began his discussion with the example of Solomon in order to demonstrate that rulers ought to speak blessing to the people who are under their care (1 Kings 8:14, 55ff); subjects are also to bless those who rule over them (1 Kings 1:47). Teachers and preachers were likewise to pray for their congregants and then bless them in the Name of the Lord (2 Chronicles 30:27) as children are also to be blessed by their parents (Genesis 27:28, 48, 15). He further pointed to the story of Ruth (2:4) in order to show his hearers that these words of blessing should also be spoken even as they greeted one another throughout the course of their daily transactions. Invoking the authority of King David, Scriver pointed to the words of Psalm 129:8 – "The blessing of the Lord be upon you; we bless you in the name of the

[46] "wir sollen Ihn anbeten, loben, růhmen und preisen." *Chrysologia*, 46. Scriver here echoed Luther's explanation of the second commandment from the *Small Catechism*.
[47] "Wir sollen segnen nach dem andern Gebot auch unsern Nåchsten." *Chrysologia*, 51.

Lord"[48] – in order to tell them to be cordial in their dealings with one another. His comments here are remarkable. "From this follows," Scriver wrote, "that every [person] should greet [his neighbour, wishing them] a 'good morning', 'good day', a 'blessed evening' and a 'peaceful night' in the Name of the Lord: and one should offer this brotherly blessing even to one's enemies, just like the Lord Jesus himself [says]: Love your enemies; bless those who curse you; do good to those who hate you (Matth. 5:44) and as Paul likewise says: Bless those who persecute you; bless – and do not curse (Romans 12:14),"[49] for by praying for one another, he told them, they would gather up for themselves "a treasure of precious gold" (Proverbs 11:25).[50]

Scriver's comments and instructions are particularly interesting here as they provide us with a reflection of the strained social conditions that existed in 1659 within the city of Stendal. Evidently people needed to be tutored in the art of basic social courtesies as he reminded both peasant and lord, parent and child, pastors, teachers, and the common citizen alike in how to be cordial in their interactions with one another. At the same time, it is interesting to take note of how Scriver used this as an opportunity to reframe and restructure the very life of the community upon a disciplined speaking and sharing of the Word.

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[48] "Der Segen des Herrn sei ůber euch; wir segnen euch im Namen des Herrn."
[49] "Daher es den noch jetzo bleibet, daß man, Einer dem Andern, im Namen des Herrn einen guten Morgen, guten Tag, glůckseligen Abend und geruhige Nacht wůnschet; und dieser brůderliche Segen soll sich auch auf die Feinde erstrecken, wie der Herr Jesus besteblt [sic], wenn er spricht: Liebet eure Feinde; segnet, die euch flucheu [sic]; thut wohldenen, die euch hassen (Matth. 5, 44.) Wie auch Paulus sagt: Segnet, die euch verfolgen; segnet – und fluchet nicht (Rům. 12, 14)." *Chrysologia*, 52.
[50] "… einen Schatz von lauterem Golde." *Chrysologia*, 52.

We see this also in the way in which Scriver used the third commandment to encourage his hearers towards a communally structured pattern of Sunday observance. In his *Kleiner Katechismus*, Luther explained the meaning of the third commandment in the following way: "We should fear and love God that we do not despise preaching and his Word, but rather regard it as holy, and gladly hear and learn it."[51] Within Lutheranism, the third commandment has traditionally been understood to give direction concerning the way in which people are to set aside time in order that they might attend worship and listen to the preaching of God's Word. Indeed, this call to worship was to hold first priority as this was understood to be the time when Jesus was uniquely present among the people by means of the sacraments in order to impress his divine grace upon their lives. Scriver began in very much the same way. Drawing upon the story of Jesus' visit to Mary and Martha, he explained that we ought to act "just like Mary, as her sister Martha had given her so much to do, [how she] came and sat at the feet of the Lord Jesus and there piously listened to his words, according to the saying 'One thing is necessary!' (Luke 10:42); for even though it is true that [our Lord Jesus] is beside and with us until the end of the world (Matth. 28:20) and even right there in the midst of our most important activities [where he] speaks to us through his Word and Holy Spirit and through our conscience, it was his good pleasure, in his heavenly wisdom, to choose and ordain a particular day in which we leave behind all our labours, for Jesus wants to come to us in order to

[51] "Wir sollen Gott fürchten und lieben, daß wir die Predigt und sein Wort nich verachten, sondern dasselbige heilig halten, gerne hören und lernen." *Kleiner Katechismus*, "Die zehn Gebot," *das ander*.

bless us and, through his Ministers, to speak to us, so that his work might be accomplished in us."[52] Scriver reminded his hearers that the injunction to set aside a day for worship was intended for their good, not only as a rest for their bodies, but also for their souls which "are weighed down with so many worries and troubles, that they long to be set at peace, and have time, to think back to eternal and heavenly [things] to which they aspire."[53]

Notice here a reflection of the emblematic form that would characterize his later *Andachten*. Scriver began with the Word, but ended with a reflection upon eternity. Included also was a vocation to prayer, something, which Scriver pointed out, is the calling of every Christian individual.[54] We see here the progression from a literal reading of a passage from the scriptures which is then expounded upon for its doctrinal (allegorical), moral (tropological), and anagogical senses. He thereby modeled a form of engagement with the Word which encompassed the full range of traditional stages. Recognizing that such an *Andacht* must always begin with the hearing of God's Word, however, Scriver encouraged his hearers to make their Sunday observance a matter of first priority

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[52] "wie di Maria, wåhrend ihre Schwester Martha ihr viel zu schaffen machete, zu den Fůßen des Herrn Jesu sitzet, und Seiner Rede gar andåchtig zuhöret, mit der Ueberschrift „Eins ist noth!" (Luk. 10, 42.); den es ist zwar der Herr Jesus allezeit bei und mit uns bis an's Ende der Welt (Matth. 28, 20), auch mitten unter unsern wichtigsten Geschåften, und redet mit uns durch Sein Wort und heiligen Geist und durch unser Gewiseen; aber dennoch hat es der himlischen Weisheit also beliebet, daß sie einen gewissen Tag erwåhlet und verordnet hat, da wir unserer Geschåfte sollen můßig gehen, da der Herr Jesus will zu uns kommen, uns segnen und zu uns durch Seine Diener reden und also Sein Werk in us haben." *Chrysologia*, 53.
[53] "mit so vielen Sorgen und Bekůmmernissen die Woche ůber beschweret gewesen, in Ruhe möchte gesetzet werden, und Zeit haben, dem Ewigen und Himmlischen, dazu sie erschaffen, nachzusinnen."*Chrysologia*, 54.
[54] See *Chrysologia*, 47-48.

in their lives. "We ought to leave for ourselves such a holy Sabbath rest, and when [Sunday] approaches, we ought not make for ourselves a lot of work like Martha did, but rather, sit at the feet of Jesus, together with Mary, and listen to his Word with the greatest attention."[55]

Here again, Scriver demonstrated a keen awareness of his parishioners' weaknesses. Recognizing that not everyone was so eagerly disposed to be present in church on Sunday, Scriver offered them a practical example of how they ought to prepare. "In order that this might be done on [a] Sunday, one has to first make some pious preparations. At the right time on Saturday night, [you] must set aside [your] register, books and letters, lock up [your] money box and storefront, and by the time that evening comes, open up [your] Bible instead as well as a useful *Hauspostil.*"[56] Scriver used this comparison of the locking up of the books, of the registers, and of the business moneybox with an opening of the heart in order for his parishioners to gather up the treasures (*Schätze*) of God's Word to highlight the spiritual priority of being present for the preaching of the Word. He further compared the heart to a little box (*Kästlein*) which could only be unlocked with

[55] "Solche heilige Sabbathsruhe sollen wir uns nun wohlgefallen lassen, und wenn diese herankommt, sollen wir nich mit der Martha uns Viel zu schaffen machen, sondern uns mit der Maria zu den Füßen Jesu setzen und Seiner Rede mit höchstenern Fleiß zuhören." *Chrysologia*, 54.

[56] "Damit nun Soches am Sonntag desto füglicher geschehn könne, muß man zuvor eine gottselige Vorbereitung anstellen; man muß am Sonnabend zu rechter Zeit die Register, Bücher und Briefe an die Seite legen, die Kasten und Laden verschließen, und bei Zeit Feierabend machen, dagegen die Bible und eine nützliche Hauspostille hervorsuchen." *Chrysologia*, 54.

the key (*Schlůssel*) of devotional prayer (*andåchtigen Gebets*)[57] as a way to remind his readers to foster a prayerful disposition as they prepared to hear the pastor's message. "It does not bother me," he explained, "that Mary might have been occupied with domestic concerns before Jesus' arrival; but as soon as the Lord Jesus came, she left everything [where it was], and thought: here is something better." So Scriver concluded that "we must do the same. When the Lord our God calls us to listen to his holy Word and to a holy Soul-fest, nothing ought to stand in our way."[58]

Building upon the story of Mary and Martha, the classic *locus* for a discussion of the active and contemplative lives, Scriver drew a fresh balance between these two facets of Christian devotion. On the one hand, each Christian is called (*berufen*) by faith to leave everything behind as the Lord calls them through the Word to a life of worship. At the same time, he pointed out, this did not negate their daily vocations through which they contributed to the social life of the community. He illustrated this with his comment that Mary too was undoubtedly involved in the work around the house up until the time that Jesus came; but once he had arrived, everything had to be set aside to give priority to the Word. In the same way, he used this to illustrate that the Christian ought also

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[57] "und sein Herz, als ein Kåstlein, mit dem Schlůssel des andåchtigen Gebets erůffnen, damit man die himmlisdchen Schåtze darinnen sammeln und beilegen můge." *Chrysologia*, 54.

[58] "Ich zweifle nicht, daß die Maria vor Ankunft des Herrn Jesu auch in håuslichen Verrichtungen sei beschåftiget gewesen; aber sobald der Herr Jesus kommt, da låsset sie Alles stehen und liegen, und gedenket: hieran ist mehr gelegen. So můssen wir es auch machen. Wenn uns der Herr unser Gott, zum Gehůr Seines gůttlichen Worts, und zur seligen Seelen-Feier beruft, so muß uns Nichts daran hinder." *Chrysologia*, 54.

to labour in their daily vocation in order to give praise to God, but only in anticipation of the next time in which she might gather to hear God's Word preached again. "In order to teach us this, God has added a kind of *nota bene* to the third commandment saying: remember, so that you can keep the Sabbath day holy, as though he were saying: remember the whole week long, even during your activities and in the middle of your working, that you ought to set aside in order to honour me, and [also] for your own good, a day of celebration so that you orient all your activities around this so that you celebrate [each day] in the light of the rest [that comes with that] day and with a view towards serving me."[59]

Indeed, Scriver encouraged both fathers and mothers to join in nurturing this same kind of pious devotion to the Word with their children at home. In order to keep Sunday worship as their highest priority, he instructed them to join with their families already at the tolling of the evening bells on Saturday to sing the appointed hymns for the day as a way to prepare for Sunday worship.[60] He further encouraged them to go early to bed and sleep peacefully in the Name of

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[59] "Dieses uns einzupr̊agen hat Gott der Herr vor das dritte Gebot ein sonderliches Notabene gesetzt, weil Er spricht: Gedenke, daß du den Sabbath heiligest, als wollte Er sagen: Gedenk' die ganze Woche, unter deinen Geschäften und mitten in der Arbeit daran, daß du Mir zu Ehren, und dir zum Besten einen Tag feierlich halten sollest und richte alle deine Geschäfte darnach, daß du gegen denselben Tag müßig und Mir zu diene bereit feiest [sic]."*Chrysologia*, 55.

[60] Unsere gottseligen Vorfahren haben eben zu dem Ende verordnet, daß am Sonnabend zu Nachmittage die Glocken gel̊autet, und mit der Vesper der Anfang des Gottesdienstes gemacht wird. So folget nun, ihr christlichen Haus̊vter und Haus m̊utter, und machts also! Singet am Sonnabend mit den Eurigen vorher die Ges̊ange, welche auf den folgenden Tag in der Gemeine gesungen warden, damit sie der lieben Eifalt bekannt warden: Lasset eures Herzens Freude und Wonne sein, sann ihr den lieben Gott mit fr̊ohlichem Munde loben solleet (Ps. 63, 6.) Sprecht zu euren Hausgenossen: „Kommet her, Kinder, h̊oret mir zu, ich will euch die Furcht des Herrn Lehren! (Ps. 34, 12)." *Chrysologia*, 55.

the Lord in order that they might be ready for their *Gottesdienst* when the morning comes.[61] And when the morning finally arrives, he counseled them to go quickly to Church and not be concerned so much with their outward and bodily appearance, but to turn their attention rather to "the adornment of the soul and of the inner person."[62] What follows next is a remarkable passage in which Scriver illustrated an example of what from this preparation might take. "Among the dear saintly ancients, as a mother would brush and adorn her daughter's hair," he wrote. "The child would sit next to her singing a spiritual song, or the mother acted like a domestic-preacher, and would ask her children something out of God's Word, just like Solomon speaks concerning such a holy house-mother: she opens her mouth with wisdom, and upon her tongue there is praiseworthy instruction (Prov. 31:26). And as the mother set a garland [in her hair], she would add: 'May Jesus Christ likewise dress you in heaven with the crown of eternal life!' And when giving her children a new shirt or some other clean linen garment, she would remember what Paul says: As many of you who are baptized, they have put on Christ Jesus (Gal. 3:27)."[63]

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[61] "Gehet den drauf in der Zeit zu Bette, und leget euch im Namen des Herrn zur Ruhe, auf daß ihr des Morgens freudig und frȍhlich mȍget auf seyn, und mit David sagen: Mein Herz ist bereit, Gott, mein Herz ist bereit, daß ich singe und lobe; wach auf, meine Ehre! wach auf, Psalter und Harfe! frȕhe will ich aufwachen. Herr, ich will dir danken unter den Vȍlkern, ich will dir lobsingen unter den Leuten (Ps. 57, 8-10)." *Chrysologia*, 55-56.

[62] "den Schmuck der Seele und des innerlichen Menschen." *Chrysologia*, 56.

[63] "Bei den lieben gottseligen Alten, wann die Mutter ihrer Tochter die Haare flocht und sie schmȕckte, mußts das Kind nebst ihr ein geistliches Lied singen, oder die Mutter war eine Hauspredigerin, und fagte ihren Kindern Etwas aus Gottes Wort vor, wie Salomo von solcher gottseligen Hausmutter spricht: Sie thut ihren Mund auf mit Weisheit, und auf ihrer Zunge ist holdselige Lehre (Sprȕchw. 31:26). Wann die Mutter ihrer Tochter den Kranz aufsetzte, sagte sie dazu: „Jesus

Within this illustration, we see an example of Scriver's propensity to take simple and familiar encounters from the daily lives of the people under his pastoral care and transform them into a something which holds a deeper religious significance. Especially remarkable is the way in which he describes the mother from this passage. Rather than drawing a sharp line of demarcation beween himself as a preacher and this simple laywoman, he called her a *Hauspredigerin* – a domestic-preacher – giving spiritual significance to even the most simple of domestic interactions. Scriver was building here upon Luther's own teaching on human vocation where he pointed out that even the most humble or menial of tasks undertaken in faith hold great spiritual value as each person serves her neighbour. Luther had used this doctrine in order to unravel the social stratification between religious and secular orders that had come to define society throughout the course of the Middle Ages; Scriver, however, used it to address the sense of helplessness and social despair that had gripped the population within the aftermath of the War. Within this illustration, Scriver pointed out that even a simple *Hausmutter* could undertake a sacred duty with infinite worth within the context of her own home thereby elevating both her and her domestic vocation to a higher level of spiritual significance. This story also serves to illustrate the way in which Scriver would take emblems and examples from everday life and transform them into a model and opportunity for spiritual formation.

Christus setze dir auch im Himmel die Krone des ewigen Lebens auf!" Wann sie ihren Kindern ein reines Hemde und anderes sauberes leinen Geråth gab, so erinnerte sie dabei, was Paulus spricht: Wie viel euer getauft sind, die haben Christum Jesum angezogen (Galat. 3, 27.)." *Chrysologia*, 56.

This is not to say that Scriver blurred the lines of distinction between the pastoral office and the realm of secular vocations; neither did he advocate a devotional piety which could exist outside the context of a regular Sunday observance. "You should likewise do this, my beloved, and come to church also with holy devotion; be not the last ones [to arrive] but the first."[64] Indeed, he encouraged them to let nothing stand in the way of their coming to hear the Word of God. He further counselled saying: "You should also leave all your worldly thoughts and needless worries which seek to disturb your holy devotion and get in the way of your worship at the doors of the church. Pray to God out of your entire mind, that he would open the preacher's heart and mind as well as your hearts and ears by his Holy Spirit, so that the preacher might teach with great joy and edification and that you might listen with great devotion and attention."[65] In order to highlight the significance of the event, Scriver likened the preacher's entrance into the pulpit to the coming of the Angel to the Virgin Mary, who through his Word brought Jesus to dwell within her. Christians were likewise to take the words of the *Catechism* seriously when it teaches that they are to gladly come both to hear and learn instruction from God's Word as it is spoken by the pastor. Holding up the preacher's words as the very Word of God, he said: "consider that whoever hears him, hears the Lord Jesus, and that whoever despises him, despises

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[64] "Machet es auch also, meine Liebsten, und kommet also mit gottseliger Andacht zur Kirche; seid nicht die Letzten, sondern die Ersten." *Chrysologia*, 56.

[65] "Leget auch vor der Kirchenthüre ab alle weltlichen Gedanken und unnützen Sorgen, die euren gottselgen Fleiß verstören und an eurer Andacht euch hinder möchten. Bittet auch Gott aus ganzem Gemüth, daß Er durch Seinen heil. Geist des Predigers Herz und Mund und eure Herzen und Ohren eröffnen wolle, damit er mit großer Freudigkeit und Erbauung lehren, und ihr mit großer Andacht und Nutzbarkeit hören möget." *Chrysologia*, 57.

the Lord Jesus. When he teaches, then follow his teaching; when he comforts [you], so also rejoice in his comfort" [66] thus upholding a high view of the pastoral office.

At the same time, Scriver's concern was not to highlight differences of status between the members of the local congregation but to emphasize the importance of a dialogical sharing of the Word within the life of the community. "Fill the little box of your heart (*Herzkåstlein*) full," he wrote, "with precious teaching, precious comforts, precious sayings and good recollections, from the [preacher's] sermon, and carry them home."[67] He likewise encourages his hearers not to be too eager to exit the church, "as though the place under your feet is burning."[68] He suggested, rather, that they direct their prayer to God and thank him from their hearts for the precious message which they had just heard,[69] suggesting even that the literate among them jot down notes from what they had heard so that they might review it at home with their children,[70] share it with the infirm, with widows, with the poor and the marginalized. By doing so, the Word which was preached would not be lost, but would continue to echo throughout the

[66] "denket, daß wer ihn hören, der hören den Herrn Jesum, und wer ihn verachtet, der verachtet den Herrn Jesum. Wann er nun lehret, so folget seiner Lehre; wann er tröstet, so freuet euch seines Trostes." *Chrysologia*, 57.
[67] "Sammelt euch aus der Predigt euer ganzes Herzkåstlein voll gůldener Lehren, gůldener Trostes, gůldener Sprüche und gutter Erinnerungen, und traget dieselben mit nach Hause." *Chrysologia*, 57.
[68] "als wenn euch die Stelle unter den Füßen brennete," *Chrysologia*, 57.
[69] *Chrysologia*, 57-58.
[70] "Erkundiget euch bei Kindern und Gesinde, was sie aus der Predigt behalten haben." *Chrysologia*, 58.

entire community as a living expression of hope and grace.[71] It would also serve as the fabric of a new pattern of social interaction, creating what Brian Stock has called a new dynamic "textual community" built upon the narratives of the Gospel.[72] As he had expressed within the opening sections of his catechetical sermons, Scriver desired to have God's Word written upon the hearts of his hearers so that they might become a living letter of the Gospel to their neighbour. "In this way," he wrote, "you will have celebrated [your] Sabbath well, and will have offered [our] loving God a service."[73]

Situating *Gottholds zufälliger Andachten*

Tucked away within the middle of his instructions, we find another important piece to the puzzle of Scriver's devotional vision. Acknowledging the reality that not all of his parishioners could read, Scriver encouraged them to make use of their free time on Sundays to reflect upon God's goodness as they saw it throughout the created order of the world. "Go out into the field," he suggested, and "let God's creatures be your Book and Echo-preacher

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[71] "Kǒnnet ihr weder lessen, noch schreiben, so kǒnnet ihr doch dem angehǒhrten Wort nachsinnen… erinnert euch der vielfǎltigen Gǔte Gottes und daket, singet und spielet Ihm in euren Herzen. Besuchet und trǒstet die Kranken, die Betrǔbten, die Wittwen, Waisen, Armen und Verlassenen (Jak. 1, 27.) und beschließet also den Tag in Gottseligkeit und Mǎßigkeit." *Chrysologia*, 58.

[72] See Brian Stock, "Texts, Readers, and Enacted Narratives," *Visible Language* 20:3 (1986): 295 where he describes this as "the union of literates and non-literates around the message of a text, written or spoken, with subsequent implications for behaviour." For a more detailed discussion, see also Stock, *The Implications of Literacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

[73] "So habt ihr den Sabbath wohl gefeiert und dem lieben Gott einen Dienst geliestet." *Chrysologia*, 58-59.

(*Nachprediger*)."[74] Here again we encounter this notion of the created world as a divinely authored Book of Nature. At the same time, he also modified it in order to bring it into closer conformity with his Lutheran theological heritage. In the Middle Ages, anagogical contemplation based upon created things tended to be framed in terms of a beatific vision in which the mystic was torn out of the fabric of this world into an ecstatic encounter with the Divine. We see this form of visual contemplation expressed the seventeenth-century Catholic devotional art.[75] Scriver, however, adapted this conception of the world in order to use it in order to draw his hearers into a closer engagement with the Word. We find this expressed in the way in which he refered to God's creatures as *Nachprediger* where the emphasis is not upon a visual form of contemplation but upon a re-hearing and remembering of the Gospel message. The notion is an interesting one, even though the German term *Nachprediger* is not easily translated. Whereas the image of the mother as a *Hauspredigerin* is a bit easier to grasp, *Nachprediger* presents us with some challenges. It carries with it the connotation of an echo and could be translated as *after*-preacher or as *re*-preacher, capturing at the same time a sense of urgency of intent as these various creatures throughout the world reiterate the content of the message which the pastor had communicated earlier on within his Sunday sermon. At the same time, they direct their beholder back to the authority of the Word as the very fabric within which the created and social worlds both exist and are held together.

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[74] "Gehet ins Feld und lasset die Geschöpfte Gottes euer Buch und Nachprediger sein." *Chrysologia*, 58.
[75] See Melion, *Meditative Art*.

We see here a connection between the divine Word and human utterance as the basis for creation that perhaps anticipates Walter Benjamin's own comments regarding the nature of human communication. Within his essay "On Language as Such and on the Language of Man," Benjamin developed a theory of communication which rooted the naming function of human language in all of its forms within the biblical narrative of divine creation. Human language, as a reflection of God's speaking the world into existence, completes the act of creation in the act of naming through which the individual gives linguistic utterance to the unspoken linguistic nature of the thing being named. Indeed, the very identity of both people and objects depended upon their being properly named within the languages of men [sic]. To do otherwise would be to inflict violence upon them.[76]

If we read Scriver's exemplarism and the dialogical matrix of his devotional piety in relation to this notion, it is possible to look at the whole of Scriver's spirituality in terms of a protracted communal exercise in identity formation. His concept of creation as a *Nachprediger* also helps us to situate Scriver's *Andachten* within the broader scope of his devotional piety. As Scriver explained in the introductions to his *zufälliger Andachten*, he specifically wrote this piece in order to teach his readers how God's creatures speak to them so that the whole of their daily existence could be framed by the Word of God. As a result, what we find is that rather than offering a depiction of subjectivity and

[76] Walter Benjamin, "On Language as Such and on the Language of Man," *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, edited by Peter Demetz (New York: Schocken Books, 1978).

individuality within a religiously defined self, Scriver's *Andachten* form part of his larger devotional vision in which human identity is named and formed through a dialogical process of speaking of the divine Word within the context of community to which even the realm of creation, as the visible words of God, was understood to be a party. Thus rather than beginning with the resources of a person's individual subjectivity as the basis for his understanding of personhood, he placed the individual into the context of human and *non*-human relationships as the place in which her identity is formed.

This facet of Scriver's piety is particularly significant, given the post-war context in which he was writing. The people under his pastoral care were well acquainted with both poverty and exile. These combined with so many stories, images, and memories of the destruction that had been inflicted upon both country and town alike undoubtedly contributed towards strong sense of mistrust and social isolation among within the general population. Through his emblematic treatment of their lives as well as the many objects within their physical environment, he set out to create a devotional context in order to recreate a positive and supportive social environment in which every individual was given a place. Scriver's piety, as a result, represents a radical flight from individuality as an isolated subjective ideal. He pointed rather to a social conception of humanity in which each individual's identity was forged upon the basis of the Word as it was spoken and encountered within the relational context of life within the world. He described their lives in terms of an ebb and flow of the Word as it comes to them through the Ministers of the church and then goes with them into both shape

and inform both the character and content of every facet of their lives. By doing so, he set in motion a kind of piety which both transformed their engagement with the world and their physical surroundings in addition to providing a new model and framework for the way in which his parishioners could interact with one another.

Scriver had also encouraged his parishioners to make use of *nützliche Hauspostille*, "useful" sermon collections, as a part of their regular devotional devotions.[77] We know that such sermon collections were a common staple of sixteenth and seventeenth-century devotional life. It was not uncommon for pastors and laity alike to make use of them within the context of their family devotions.[78] Scriver later prepared his own collection under the title of his *SeelenSchatz* which, as Hope points out, proved to be very popular.[79] These sermons were more systematic in scope as they introduced their readers to the narrative of salvation from the creation of humanity, through its fall into sin, through to the history of redemption, renewal and its final bliss in heaven. This work differed, however, in both its organization as well as its role within the spectre of Scriver's devotional piety. *SeelenSchatz* offered its readers a systematic presentation of basic Christian doctrine whereas his *zufälliger Andachten* turned specifically upon the desire to induct his parishioners into an emblematic way of viewing creation or, as Sträter has called it, a "*habitus* of

[77] *Chrysologia catechetica*, 54.
[78] See Hope, 194 & 197.
[79] See Hope, 33.

meditating upon the world."[80] As a result, while there are most certainly similarities between the two documents – one would expect no less given the common authorship behind them – Scriver's *Andachten* filled a specific niche within his devotional spirituality. To read this work as a text in-and-of-itself, apart from the context of this larger devotional context, is to do violence to our interpretation, not only of Gotthold and the *zufälliger Andachten*, but of Scriver's spirituality as a whole. Indeed, it is a mistake to interpret Gotthold as an exemplar of a Christian pilgrim who stands in isolation from the world within some sort of Puritan or Ignatian form of contemplative individualism. Scriver offered Gotthold as a model of the Christian *in community* and as an exemplar what it meant to be fully human within the post-war context of seventeenth-century Europe. Rather than creating a set of *spiritual exercises* which removed his parishioners from the context of their daily lives, he literally turned this dimension of his practical piety on its head, redirecting them back to the contingencies of everyday life as the context in which their *spiritual formation* took place.

[80] "Habitus der Weltbtrachtung." Sträter, *Meditation*, 32.

Chapter Four:

Understanding Scriver's Theological Anthroplogy

Joanmarie Smith, in an article on the character of religious conversion, argued that "it makes a great deal of difference whether one set of ideas, or another, be the center of [religious] energy"[1] but, as has already been noted, it is precisely this theological foundation to Scriver's devotional piety which has been most neglected within the studies that has been done on him to this point. Indeed, one could argue that this oversight has characterized the way in which seventeenth-century devotional writers have been studied in general. While there are notable exceptions, like Gary Sattler's exploration into the pietist view of the individual as it appeared within Heinrich Müller's (1631-1675) and August Hermann Francke's devotional writings, the fact remains that the theological foundations of seventeenth-century German devotionalism are still poorly understood, so much so that they continue to be a kind of *terra incognita*, as Andrew Drummond had once written.[2] In looking at this period, however, Roger Smith observed that "different theological views … resulted in different practical expectations in regard to human nature."[3] As a result, it is important that we take the time to understand the contours of Scriver's theological anthropology in order

[1] Joanmarie Smith, "The Human Character of Conversion," *Journal of Spiritual Formation* 15 (1994): 187.
[2] Andrew Landale Drummond, *German Protestantism since Luther* (London: Epworth Press, 1951), 11; also Kolb, 451.
[3] Roger Smith, *The Norton History of the Human Sciences* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), 68-69; see also Daphne Hampson, *Christian Contradictions: The Structures of Lutheran and Catholic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

to better grasp Scriver's place within the devotional landscape of the seventeenth century.

The only person to have offered a thorough study of the theological underpinnings within Scriver's thought is Talasniemi in his *Sielun Pelastus: Christian Scriverin teologia* ("The Soul's Salvation: Christian Scriver's theology"), but since this work is available only in Finnish, it has not received as wide a circulation as it deserves. Talasniemi was particularly interested in situating Scriver within the spectrum of seventeenth-century devotional writers. Using the doctrine of justification as his point of departure, he set out to distinguish Scriver's theology from that of later pietism. While it is true that Scriver did make use of various themes from the canons of mystical theology such as the union of Christ with the soul,[4] Talasniemi also demonstrated that Scriver maintained a strong Lutheran sacramental theology as well as a sharp distinction between justification and sanctification within his own work as a devotional writer.[5] This being the case, it raises questions of how similar his *theological anthropology* actually was to that of Johann Arndt's as the progenitor of German pietism.

The difficulty that we encounter in considering Scriver's theological anthropology is that he wrote as a devotional writer and not as a systematic theologian. Scriver never prepared a compendium of scholastic theology in the tradition of the Lutheran schoolmen by carving up the unified edifice of doctrine

[4] See Jussi Talasniemi, *Sielun Pelastus: Christian Scriverin teologia [Seelen Seligkeit: Die Theologie Christian Scrivers]* (Helsinki, 1975), 34-41.
[5] See Talasniemi, 60-100.

and dividing it into a string of neatly arranged theological *loci*. One need only look at some of these compendia such as Philipp Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* (1521), the *Loci Theologici* of Martin Chemnitz (1522-1586), or Johann Gerhard's *Loci Theologici* (1610-1625)[6] to see how this method worked. In dealing with the topic of humanity, for example, Chemnitz began with a discussion of the *imago dei*, its relation to the substance of the human person, and then went on to consider how this image is reflected within both men and women. He then moved on to a discussion of procreation, the propagation of the soul, ending with a description of the loss of the divine image through the Fall into sin. Though thorough in their treatment, the difficulty was that these compendia of Christian teaching became increasingly verbose within the confessional battles of the post-Reformation age, and as a result the unity of doctrine became increasingly fragmented. Christology was treated separately from ecclesiology; the discussion of theological anthropology was usually dealt with in relationship to the doctrine of creation and the fall into sin. Justification and redemption were treated independently from this discussion of the fall, and treated usually much later on within the work, thus separating them from the root *locus* dealing with the matter of anthropology. In the same way, human vocation was dealt with separately under the rubric of sanctification or renovation, thereby dividing the discussion of humanity from its soteriological matrix, and doing violence to a

[6] Concordia Publishing House in St. Louis, Missouri, has started preparing a translation of Gerhard's *Loci*. Beyond this, very little of the writings of the major Lutheran dogmaticians from the late sixteenth to early eighteenth century have been translated or even studied. See Schmid, *Doctrinal Theology* and Preus, *Post-Reformation Lutheranism* for a summary of the way in which the 'orthodox' Lutheran writers from this period have been presented to the modern world.

wholistic understanding of humanity within the Christian narrative.[7] At the same time, theology's role within the framing of personhood developed in terms of an abstraction both from its larger theological context and from any real-time association with the ways in which religious identities were actually formed.

Scriver's approach was distinctively different. He did not adopt a *loci* method in order to structure his own devotional writing. As a result, there is no one place where we can go to find a definitive description of his theological views concerning what it means to be human. Scriver wrote his *zufälliger Andachten* with what is perhaps better called a "narrative theology," built upon stories and emblems as the commonplaces of his presentation, as a way to train his readers both in piety as well as to teach them the main articles of the faith.[8] Because of this, we will have to draw on material from across the breadth of his *zufälliger Andachten* in order to reconstruct the shape of his theological anthropology,

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[7] For a discussion of this way of presenting theology as well as the shortcoming of it, see Beinert, "Homo Fidelis: Faith and Personhood in the Structures of Martin Luther's Thought," *Lutheran and Anglican: Essays in Honour of Egil Grislis*, edited by John K. Stafford (Winnipeg: St. John's College Press, 2009), 28-29. Preus has described an apparent progression within the development of the *loci* method of writing theology. The earliest Lutheran dogmaticians wrote with greater brevity and with a global view of theology in mind so that each *locus* would offer a balanced presentation of theological learning, drawing connections to the whole of Christian doctrine. Over time, however, this method became more dispassionate and polemical emphasizing an analytical presentation which caused the discussion within each *locus* to become more exhaustive and less accessible to the average reader. As an additional concern, these later compendia also failed to draw connections between the various *loci* thus isolating individual doctrines from one another within the broader edifice of Christian teaching. See Robert D. Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism*, volume one (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1970), 44-47.

[8] I use this term judiciously as it has been commonly associated with post-liberal strands of modern theology. What I am referring to here is not a flight from traditional dogma, as this term sometimes conveys, but simply the "narrative form" which Scriver adopted as the medium through which to present his works.

looking at both the way in which he wrote about the nature of humanity, and considering the basic metaphors he used in order to describe the individual's life of faith.

Scriver's Theological Anthropology

We have already encountered what I believe to be the basic metaphor which Scriver used in order to illustrate his conception of humanity within our overview of his *Chrysologia Catechetica*. Building upon a discussion of poverty and riches, Scriver described the individual's life of faith in terms of gathering riches for themselves out of the pages of God's Word and tucking them away into the the treasure-box (*kåstlein*) of their heart. This emblem was rich with cultural associations within the economically depressed context of the post-war German territories. It also provided a useful image from which Scriver could develop a socially-relevant metaphor for the individual's life of faith.

This depiction of the heart as a receptacle of divine grace in which Jesus comes to dwell through the power of his divine Word comes to dominate the way in which he depicts his conception of humanity.[9] We see this, for example, in his meditation on "The Funeral Bier" (*Andacht* III.xxx) where Gotthold saw a wooden bier standing in front of a home as he was passing by. He developed this meditation, not only as a kind of *memento mori* as he reflects upon the ubiquity of

[9] See *GzA* II.lxxvii "der gestirnte Himmel" where Gotthold prays that God would be the light in his lantern to illuminate the darkness of his life.

death,[10] but he used it also to draw his readership into a reflection upon the character of their own lives of faith: "for many a person is living-dead / who live in unrepentance and willful sin."[11] He then went on to describe what a person with faith is like. "God is the soul's Soul / and the Life of our life: Christ must dwell in our hearts through faith / he must be[come] the Heart of our heart / so that, together with St. Paul, we might say: I live / yet not I / rather Christ lives in me! (Gal. 2:20)."[12] He went on to develop this emblem further by drawing an analogy to our physical life. "In the same way that the heart is the well-spring of the individual's life / and a power-house of the soul / through which the natural warmth and life-force / is distributed throughout every vein and limb; so also must the Lord Jesus work the spiritual life within us / and pour out his Spirit into all our powers / senses / desires / thoughts and actions," stating that "where this is absent / there is no life."[13]

Scriver here drew also a sharp dichotomy between the person who has faith and the person without. The person with faith has Christ hidden away within

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[10] "Im fortgehen gedacht er weiter: Ach / wenn vor alle Hå̊user / darinnen ein Todter ist / eine solche Baar soll gestzet werden / so dů̊rfften wir ihrer viel zu wening haben!" *GzA* III.xxx.

[11] "Denn mancher Mensch ist lebendig todt / der nemlich in Unbußfertigkeit un vorsetzlichen Sů̊nden lebet." *GzA* III.xxx.

[12] "Gott ist der Seelen Seel / und unsers Lebens Leben: Christus muß in unserm Hertzen durch den Glauben wohnen / er muß unsers Hertzens Hertz seyn / daß wir mit dem H. Paulo sagen kő̊nnen: Ich lebe / doch na nicht ich / sondern Christus lebet in mir! (Galat. II. 20.)." *GzA* III.xxx.

[13] "Gleich wie das Hertz die Qvelle ist der Lebens-Geisterlein / und eine Werckstadt der Seelen / darauß sie die natů̊rliche Wå̊rme und Lebens-Kråffte / in alle Adern und Glieder vertheilet; Also muß der Herr Jesus in uns das geistliche Leben wircken / und sinene Geist in alle unsere Kråffte / Sinne / Begierden / Gedancken un Bewegungen ergiessen; Wo das nicht ist / da ist kein Leben!" *GzA* III.xxx.

his heart whereas the godless (*gottlose*) individual lives in willful sin and unrepentance. He even went on to describe such a person as a "living carrion / which reaks [with stench] before God and his holy angels" in whom the "worms of sinful desires burrow through his mind;" and in the same way that "ravens and other unclean birds rejoice and gather over [such] carrion," so also do the "hellish spirits rejoice over the soul [who is] dead in sin."[14] This is a particularly dark *Andacht*, possibly because Scriver wrote it during the time of severe illness which he had described within his *Ander Vorbericht*, in which he nearly lost his own life. Yet, the harshness of this description of unbelief in association with this image of human mortality should not distract us from the basic metaphor of the individual made alive by faith in Christ, for it is here that we catch a glimpse into the deeper structure of Scriver's anthropological thought.

Scriver builds this image around the notion of the individual as a receptacle for Christ who comes to dwell within her heart by *faith*. On its own, this notion of the indwelling Christ as the power-house of the soul is not new. Indeed we can find it scattered throughout various streams of medieval and early modern mysticism.[15] What catches our attention, however, is the way in which Scriver predicates the presence and indwelling of Christ upon faith (*Glauben*) as opposed to work of devotion or charity. While Scriver is also concerned about developing the outward life of piety, he is careful not to confuse this with the

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[14] "Der gottlose Mensch ist ein lebediges Aaß / er stincket fůr Gott und seinen heiligen Engeln; Die Wůrmer der sůndlichen Begierden durchwůhlen sein Gewissen / er ist ein Greuel fůr Gottes Augen Wie sich die Raben und andere unreine Vǒgel ůber ein Aaß freuen und versammlen; So freuen sich die hǒllischen Geister ůber die in Sůndentodte Seele." *GzA* III.xxx.

[15] See Talasniemi, 34-41.

source – Jesus Christ – from which this new vitality of piety proceeds. Thus in this short *Andacht,* Scriver builds up a kind of *ordo pietatis* in which faith predicates the indwelling Christ who then in turn predicates the outgrowth of life (*Leben*) within the individual. The German suggests an active process and progression taking place so much so that the terms faith (*Glauben*) and life (*Leben*) are perhaps better translated as active participles – *believing* and *living* – thereby illustrating that for Scriver, such faith is far from an idle quality within the soul. Christ is actively present in order to contribute his vitality to the whole of the person's existence.

One need not look as far back as the Middle Ages here, however, for there is a structural similarly here between Scriver's thought and Luther's own discussion of this theme within his 1535 *Commentary on Galatians*. Luther used a number of different images in order to capture this teaching on the nature of faith. "Christian faith is not an idle quality or an empty husk in the heart which may exist in a state of mortal sin until love comes along to make it alive… it is a sure trust and firm acceptance in the heart [which] takes hold of Christ in such a way that Christ is the object of faith, or rather not the object but, so to speak, the One who is present in the faith itself."[16] Luther was here arguing against the late

[16] AE 26:129; see WA 40.228-229 for the Latin text. The recent Finnish school of Luther interpretation has made much of this last phrase in order to argue that Luther himself did not distinguish as sharply between the doctrines of justification and sanctification as later Lutheran dogmaticians. A brief reading of his Commentary on Galatians (1535), however, points clearly to the reality that this assertion is false. Luther's *Vergottungslehre,* rather, is perhaps a reminder for modern interpreters that he was very much concerned about the individual's life of faith, and the character of faith formation. See also Beinert's discussion in "Homo Fidelis."

medieval scholastic opinion that faith only justified when it was *formed* by active charity. In place of this doctrine, he suggested instead that the form of faith was not love, but Christ, through which the righteousness of God came to dwell within the hearts of the faithful. How this happens, he admitted, "is beyond our thought,"[17] but this did not prevent him from expounding upon it by means of human analogies. At one point, he wrote: "faith couples Christ and me more intimately than a husband is coupled to his wife."[18] In another, he compared this presence to the way in which light adds both colour and brightness to the face of a wall.[19] Perhaps the most significant illustration, in terms of its structural parallels, is when he built upon the analogy of a wedding ring in order to illustrate this saving dynamic. "Faith," he wrote, "takes hold of Christ and has Him present, enclosing Him as the ring encloses the gem. And whoever is found having this faith in the Christ who is grasped in the heart, him God accounts as righteous."[20]

Scriver built his discussion here upon the basis of Galatians 2:20 in the same way that Luther had. Luther's discussion of this verse continued to develop this theme by contrasting the 'life of the flesh" with the new life of faith – pointing out that it is Christ who transforms the individual by animating the

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[17] AE 26:130; "Iustificat ergo fides, quia apprehendit et possidet istum thesaurum, sciliecet Christum praesentem. Sed quo modo praesens sit, non est cogitablile, quia sun tenebrae, ut dixi." WA 40.229.
[18] AE 26:168; "Ita, ut haec fides Christum et me arctius couplet, quam maritus est uxori copulatus." WA 40.286.
[19] AE 26:129; "Et sicut ipsi dicunt fiden μονόγραμμα et charitatem vivos colores et plenitudinem ipsam, ita nos e contra dicimus fiden apprehendere Christum qui est form, quae fidem ornat et informat, ut color parietem." WA 40.228.
[20] AE 26:132; "Fides enim apprehendit Christum et habet eum praesentem includitque eum ut annulus gemmam, Et qui fuerit inventus cum tali fide apprehensi Christi in corde, illum reputat Deus iustum." WA 40.233.

reality of his crucifixion within her heart. Luther explained: "Here Christ does everything alone. But I, as a believer, am crucified with Christ through faith."[21] While Scriver did not specifically elaborate upon this teaching on repentance within his meditation, it was present in the way in which he drew a contrast between the pious Christian who has Christ within and the "living dead" who live without repentance. Scriver then concluded this meditation by echoing both Paul and Luther on this text, saying "Let me die that I might live!"[22] and then offering a closing prayer saying: "Be thou my Life / or I would rather not live."[23]

Scriver here presented an anthropology in which a life without faith – without Christ in the soul – is merely a kind of shadow existence.[24] Indeed, a full conception of humanity is inseparable from soteriology. This was undoubtedly built upon his conviction that humanity, born within the context of a fallen world, was born disadvantaged and separated from the fullness of life intended for it on account of original sin.[25] He presents Jesus as the ultimate solution to this problem of humanity, who by his dying on the cross, won forgiveness for humanity.[26] As a result, his piety was aimed toward a lively maintenance of this relationship with Christ. In a certain sense, this is an extension of Augustine's notion from the opening lines of his *Confessions* that each human individual remains restless until they find their fulfillment in relationship to God in Christ.

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[21] AE 26: 165; "Hic Christus solus omnia facit; sed credens concrucifigor Christo per fidem, ut et mihi illa sint mortua et crucifixa." WA 40.281.
[22] "Laß mich sterben / daß ich lebe!" *GzA* III.xxx.
[23] "Sey du mein Leben / ode rich mag nich långer leben!" *GzA* III.xxx.
[24] See *SeelenSchatz* I.vii §§8-10; also III.i §3.
[25] See, for example, *SeelenSchatz* I.vi §36.
[26] See *SeelenSchatz* III.xi §49.

Scriver carefully navigated around the medieval transfiguration of Augustine's image and likeness theology in which the *imitatio Christi* had come to overshadow the *donum Christi* offered within the sacraments. Scriver, rather, emphasized that, on account of the fall, this divine image had been lost[27] and could only be restored through the reception and presence of Christ in the soul.[28]

This image was so important to Scriver that he would often refer to Jesus as the soul's treasure. Indeed, he used this as the title for his later *SeelenSchatz* in which he traced the story of the soul's salvation from the narrative of its fall into sin to its final redemption in relationship to Christ. The term *SeelenSchatz*, however, is not one which was commonly used within the literature of his day. We have already noted its use within Gryphius's 1636 sonnet in which he described the impact and utter devastation which the war had inflicted upon the German people. There was also a German translation of an anonymous French devotional text called *Begierer* which circulated under variations on the title *Der Seelen Schatz*. It came to be translated into German by Justus Blanckwalt (1559-1574) and appeared in several different editions[29] including one where it appeared together with a German translation of Lorenzo Scupoli's (1530-1610) *Il combattimento spirituale*.[30] This publication, in particular, read like a German *Pilgrim's Progress* in which the central character Begierer traveled from place to

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[27] *SeelenSchatz* I.i §16.
[28] *SeelenSchatz* II.iv §19.
[29] *Der Seelen Schatz* (Dilingen: Sebald um Mayer, 1559); *Begirer der Seelen Schatz* (Dilingen: Sebald um Mayer, 1574); *Begierer, Oder Schatz der Seelen* (Cölln: Burchard Ruick, 1610); *Begierer, Oder Der Seelen Schatz* (Ingolstatt: Johann Ostermayr, 1667 & 1680).
[30] *Zway Guldene Tractätlein, Der Geistliche Streitt und Begirer* (München: Leisser, 1627).

place, being instructed in a variety of Christian virtues, all in order to purify his soul in anticipation of union with God. While it is not impossible that Scriver could have encountered this piece during the time of his studies, it is unlikely that he would have used this as a primary source in the writing of his later *SeelenSchatz*. The content and manner of style in discussing the Christian life are far too different to suggest any direct influence. In addition, there was also another devotional work known as *Seelen-Hilff* which had been written by the Spanish Jesuit, Martín de Roa (1560-1637).[31] This book, however, dealt with a description of purgatory and the various ways in which the living might help the dead as they journeyed on their way to heavenly bliss. This also is an unlikely source. It is far more likely that Scriver developed his rhetoric from theological resources he was familiar with from within his own Lutheran theological tradition.

We find echoes of the term *Schatz*, for example, within the German editions of both Luther's *Large Catechism* (published 1529) as well as Philipp Melanchthon's (1497-1560) *Apology to the Augsburg Confession* (1531 edition). Luther refered to God's Word as a treasure (*Schatz*) far greater than any saintly relic.[32] He went on to draw an association between the Word and Christ later on

[31] Published in Innsbruck (*Ynßprugg*) by Michael Wagner, 1645.

[32] Denn das Wort Gottes ist das Heiligtum über alle Heiligtumb, ja das einige, das wir Christen wissen und haben. Denn ob wir gleich aller Heiligen Gebeine oder heilige und geweihete Kleider auf einem Haufen hätten, so ware uns doch nichts damit geholfen, den es ist alles tot Ding, das niemand heiligen Kann. Aber Gottes Word ist der Schatz, der alle Ding heilig machete dadurch sie selbs, die Heiligen alle, sind geheiligt worden. Welche Stund man nu Gottes Wort handlet, prediget, höret, lieset oder bedenket, so wird dadurch Person, Tag und Werk gehieligt, nicht des äußerlichen Werks halben, sondern des Worts halben, so uns alle zu Heiligen

in his discussion concerning baptism where he writes: "Therefore, do you not see that this is not a work [which is] done by us, [but] rather a treasure (*Schatz*), which [God] gives to us and which faith lays hold of, even as the Lord Christ on the cross is not a work, but a treasure (*Schatz*) which is grasped in the Word and presented and received by us through faith."[33] Melachthon likewise echoed the same sentiments throughout his *Apology*. He called Jesus,[34] as well as his death and the blood which he shed from the cross, the *Schatz* by which sins are forgiven.[35] Just like Luther, Melanchthon too went on to explain that this treasure

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machete." "Großer Katechismus," *Die Bekenntnisschriften der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche*, third edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), 583.

[33] "Also siehest Du klar, daß da kein Werk ist, von uns getan, sondern ein Schatz, den e runs gift und der Glaube ergreifet, so wohl als der HERR Christus am Kreutz nicht ein Werk ist, sondern ein Schatz im Wort gefasset und uns furgetragen und durch den Glauben empfangen." Luther, "Großer Katechismus," 698.

[34] "Jakobus aber tut anders, er läßt den Glauben nich außen, sondern redet vom Glauben, damit läßt er Christum den Schatz und den Mittler bleiben, dadaurch wir für Gott gerecht warden." Melanchton, "Apologie der Konfessions," 208.14-18; in discussing Absolution, he points out that God wills that "wir sollen auf Gott und seine Zusage sehen und den Herrn Christum für unsern Schtaz halten." Ibid., 268.17-19; also 271.5.

[35] "Derhalben so oft wir redden von dem Glauben, der gerecht macht oder *fide iustificante*, so sind allzeit diese drei Stücke oder *ojiecta* beieinander. Erstlich die göttliche Verheißung, zum andern, daß dieselbige umsonst ohne Verdienst Gnade anbeutet, für das dritte, daß Christi Blut und Verdienst der Schatz ist, durch welchen die Sunde bezahlet ist. Die Verheißung wird durch den Glauben entpfangen; daß sie aber ohne Verdienst Gnade anbeut, da gehet all unser Würdigkeit und Verdienst unter und zu Goden, und wird gepreiset die Gnade und große Barmherzigkeit. Der Verdienst Christi aber ist der Schatz; den es muß je ein Schtaz und edles Pfand sein, dadurch die Sunde aller Welt bezahlt sein." *Apologie der Konfession*, 170.50-171.59. Like Luther, Melanchthon uses *Schatz* as a way to emphasize the nature of God's grace and salvation as a free gift accomplished by Christ on the cross without the contribution of our own works (*Verdienst*). See also "Darum will Christus nicht, daß die Liebe und die Werke sollen der Schatz sein, dadurch die Sunden bezahlt werden, welches Christus Blut

(*Schatz*) was given to individuals, even to children, through the waters of baptism.[36] Given that both the *Large Catechism* and the *Apology* are contained within the canon of the *Book of Concord* which, since 1580, had served as the official confessional position of the evangelical Lutheran church, it is not unreasonable to expect that Scriver would have been well familiar with them. Thus, in the same was as Luther had taught that Christ was a treasure (*Schatz*) which was appropriated *by faith*,[37] Scriver, as we have seen, taught the same within his own devotional works.

There is a subtle difference, however, in the way in which Scriver made use of this terminology. While Luther and Melachthon were concerned about contrasting the riches of Christ over and against the so-called treasury of merits which the Roman church had taught was available to the faithful through pilgrimages, relics, indulgences and a variety of acts of supererogation, Scriver faced a different context of social and religious concern. Set against the backdrop of extreme economic hardship, Scriver used this same vocabulary to redirect people away from worldly riches, or their lack of it, to find their *Schatz* within Jesus as the treasure of the soul. In the process, he also translated the anthropological structures of his Lutheran confessional heritage into a socially

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is." Ibid., 191.158-161; as well as 199.205-212; 224.17; 224.53-225.1; 283.35-38 and 388.22-30.

[36] "So folget gewiß daraus, daß man die jungen Kinder täufen mag und soll, den in und mit der Taufe wird ihnen die gemeine Gnad und der Schatz des Evangelii angeboten." Ibid., 247. Melanchthon likewise understands this same gift to be given through Absolution. See ibid., 266.26-31.

[37] See the Luther quote above; also Melanchthon, "…daß wir für Gott gerecht werden nicht um des Gesetzes oder unserer Werk willen, sondern allein um Christus willen. Christum aber kann man nicht fassen, den allein durch den Glauben." Ibid., 201.

relevant image within the cultural and religious milieu of seventeenth-century Germany.

What is particularly noteworthy is the way in which Scriver adapted Luther's insights concerning the nature of faith into the structure of his thought. For Scriver, faith and the human condition stood together as two sides of the same coin within the structure of his theological anthropology. He conceived of the integrated individual to be a person in whom Christ was dwelling by faith.[38] Without this enlivening presence of Jesus within the heart, the individual was incomplete. There are a number of important structural considerations present here within Scriver's thought that are worth mentioning. Indeed, within Lutheranism, faith is understood to be a passive quality of the soul in which Christ comes to be present as a gift and not by works. As a result, both one's faith as well as one's identity are understood to be constructed extrinsically – from outside of the individual – within the context of relationship. Wolfart Pannenberg has neatly summarized this dynamic within the structure of Luther's theology. "Our personal existence," he writes, "gets reconstituted outside ourselves in Christ … as Christians we are what we are only in faith, outside ourselves in Christ." He goes on to explain that, "we ourselves, then, live outside ourselves." He refers to this as an "ecstatic act of faith" by which "Christ is no longer something alien to us and in that sense outside ourselves. To the contrary," he writes, "in the act of faith we are one with Christ, and his righteousness and life are ours." He then explains "we receive a new identity, but we do not possess it

[38] See Beinert, "Homo Fidelis" for a discussion of this dynamic within Luther's theological conception of personhood.

separately, in our separate existence apart from Christ, but only 'in Christ,' which is to say it is faith that unites us with Christ, with the Christ 'outside ourselves.'"[39]

There is something distinctly relational about Pannenberg's description of Luther's understanding of the individual. At the same time, we also see this present as an animating principle within Scriver's devotional thought with its emphasis upon the individual receiving Christ who is given through the Word. When considered in relationship to his larger devotional vision, it becomes apparent that the social dynamic of Scriver's piety is no mere *accidens* but part of the very *substans* of his theological thought. Every gift (*Schatz*) needs a giver in order for the receiver to be fulfilled. In the same way, Scriver's piety required the dynamic of social interaction through which Christ in his Word would be shared and communicated between individuals in order that their *selves* could be constituted outside of themselves within the context of ubiquitous relationship.

Scriver's association between faith (*Glauben*) and life (*Leben*), set against this backdrop of a Lutheran doctrine of vocation, is likewise significant. Luther, in his writings, emphasized the godliness of human vocations; both as a way through which God continued his creative energy and providential care within the social fabric of the world, but also as an extension of the new vitality of life which comes to be present within the individual through the indwelling of Christ. He thereby elevated them from the realm of the profane into the context of sanctity.

[39] Wolfart Pannenberg, "Luther's Contribution to Christian Spirituality," *Dialog* 40:4 (2001): 286-287.

Luther spoke of the Christian in vocation as a "mask of God"[40] or as a "Christ" to her neighbour.[41] We see this reflected also within Scriver's writings in the way that he elevated the *Hausmutter* to the position of a *Hauspredigerin* and the realm of creation as a *Nachprediger* of God's Word; also in the way in which he called upon each and every individual to carry home the Word within their hearts and then to meditate upon it as they share it with each individual that they meet. He thus developed a conception of what it means to be human upon the scaffolding of Luther's analogy of faith,[42] making faith itself, understood relationally, the center point of each person's individual and social identity.

Arndt's Theological Anthropology

This anthropology was not universally shared among the various devotional writers which populated the seventeenth century. When we turn our attention to Johann Arndt, whose writings strongly influenced the literature of later German pietism, we discover many of the same social and religious concerns that are present within Scriver text. Arndt was critical of the tendency among academic theologians to develop dogmatic theology along neo-scholastic lines into works of increasing prolixity while giving limited attention to the practical needs faced by the clergy to develop and nurture the faith and public piety of the

[40] "Now the whole of creation is a face or mask of God … there must be masks or social positions, for God has given them and they are his creatures." AE 26: 95; "larvae dei" WA 40.I:173.
[41] "The Freedom of a Christian," AE 31: 367-368.
[42] See Müller, 304.

laity.[43] His concern, as a result, turned specifically upon this need to nurture a deeply seated life of piety among the people so that they would not only know *about* Christ but experience him in every facet of their existence. "If [the Christian] does not live in Christ," Arndt wrote, "he deceives himself. The person who does not have Christ's humility, patience, and meekness in his heart, and does not experience it, does not know Christ nor does he have him in a proper fashion nor does he taste him properly, and he who preaches the doctrine of Christ and does not follow his noble life preaches only half of Christ."[44]

Arndt conceived of the first *half* of this preaching very much in the same way as it had been taught by his Lutheran predecessors. Salvation was a gift through which God rescued the individual from his wrath and eternal damnation by means of Jesus' work and merits and not on the basis of their own righteousness. He saw this, however, as only the half of the equation which, unless supplemented by a rigorous regime of active piety, remained fruitless and

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[43] "Much has been written, disputed, and argued concerning Christian doctrine but little concerning Christian life," he wrote. "In regard to disputation, I leave what is valuable and I do not attack it other than in its misuse. Other places I have written against polemical, antagonistic, theological argument over words, which is of no use, and against the many useless and unnecessary books and disputations by which true Christianity has not been served… The holy prophets and apostles at all times placed doctrine and life together and they zealously upheld both together." *Johann Arndt: True Christianity,* translated by Peter Erb (New York: Paulist Press,1979), Book VI part 3, page 276.

[44] *True Christianity,* Book VI part 3, page 277. "Mancher Meinet, er habe Christum wohl erkannt, wenn er von der Person Christi viel disputiren kann, und lebet doch nicht in Christo; der verführt sich selbst. Denn wer Christi Demuth, Sanftmuth und Geduld in seinem Herzen nicht hat, noch empfindet, der kennet Christum noch nicht recht, hat Ihm auch nie recht geschmecket; und wer Christi Lehre prediget und sein edles Leben nicht, der predigt Christum nich ganz, sondern nur halb." Johann Arndt, *Sechs Bücher vom wahren Christenthum nebst dessen Paradies-Gärtlein* (Stuttgart, J.F. Steinkopf, 1840), 799.

useless for the individual's eternal salvation.[45] Simple belief needed to be put in motion through a life of rigorous repentance which he defined as "a change of the Adamic life and conversion from the world to God… What is true repentance and faith," he asked, "other than that one die to the world and live in Christ?"[46] Indeed, the whole of his *Wahres Christenthum* was written as a devotional reflection on what this life of repentance ought to be for the pious individual.

This is not to say that Luther and the other Lutheran reformers were silent on the topic of repentance and regeneration. A brief look at Luther's own treatment of this theme within his *Schmalkaldische Artikel* (III.3) clearly illustrates that he did indeed share a decisive concern that repentance be taught correctly. Indeed, Melanchthon in his *Apologie der Konfession* argued that repentance was the chief article of Christian teaching in that it dealt with the very heart of the Gospel concern for each individual's conversion and salvation.[47] For both Luther and Melanchthon as well as the chief architects of the *Formula of Concord*, however, both repentance and renewal were understood to be the fruit of divine action within the life of the individual as grace was made available to him through the means of the Word and the Sacraments.[48] The passive character of this doctrine of repentance, however, did not sit well with Arndt. As a result, the thrust of his work as a devotional writer revolved around developing this

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[45] "What are doctrine and life? A tree without fruit, a spring without water, clouds without rain?" *True Christianity*, Book IV part 3, page 276.
[46] *True Christianity*, Book IV part 3, page 276.
[47] "Quis enim unquam de populo intellexit doctrinam de peonitentia, qual adversarii tradiderunt? Et hic praecipuus locus est doctrinae christianae." *Aplogie der Konfessions* XXIV "Von der Messe" 363.11-14.
[48] See *Konkordienformel* II "Vom freien Willen."

teaching of repentance in order to give it greater force as the crucible and center of the individual's life of piety.

In order to supplement this Lutheran understanding of grace and the spiritual life, Arndt drew heavily upon medieval devotional resources. As Steven Fanning pointed out, "he read and recommended medieval mystical books, especially those of Bernard of Clairvaux, Angela of Foligno and John Tauler" as well as the celebrated *Theologia deutsch* so much so that Fanning called him a kind of "throwback" and "Friend of God along with Tauler, dedicated to practicing and preaching a life of virtue."[49] Arndt encouraged his parishioners to read these "old, short books" as treasure-troves of godly counsel, describing their authors as "among the most enlightened" writers of the Christian tradition.[50] It is from these sources that he developed his teaching regarding the life of repentance, integrating themes from the *devotio moderna* with its emphasis upon the *imitatio christi*, as well as Augustinian themes of anthropology back into his own work as a devotional writer. Arndt was heavily criticized by many of his contemporaries because of these influences within his thought.[51] Rather than deterring him, however, this opposition only spurred him on. He believed the criticisms to be but another symptom of the decadence which had beset the church of his day.

The call to personal repentance was central within Arndt's devotional piety. In a passage early on in his *Wahres Christenthum*, he offered a description

[49] Steven Fanning, *Mystics of the Christian Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 143.
[50] *True Christianity*, Book IV part 3, 280.
[51] Fanning, 143.

of what this life of repentance out to look like. "A man must deny himself (Lk. 9:23), he wrote,

> that is, break his own self-will; give himself completely to God's will; not love himself but hold himself as the most unworthy, miserable man; deny all that he has (Lk. 14:26); that is, reject the world and its honor and glory; consider his own wisdom and power as nothing; not depend on himself or on any creature but only and simply on God; hate his own life, that is, the fleshly lusts and desires such as pride, covetousness, lust, wrath, and envy; have no pleasure in himself, and consider all his acts as nothing; praise himself for nothing; ascribe no power to himself; attempt to attribute nothing to himself but mistrust himself; die to the world, that is, the lust of the eyes, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life; be crucified to the world (Gal. 6:4). This is the true repentance and mortification of the flesh without which no one can be a disciple of Christ.[52]

Indeed, within Arndt's estimation, "the more miserable you are in your heart, the dearer you are to God."[53] Once the individual had adequately prepared herself through a life of thorough repentance, then she would be ready to be united to Christ who would come and make his dwelling place within her. The *ordo* within his piety is notably different from that of Scriver's. Whereas Scriver predicated the indwelling of Christ upon the pattern of Luther's analogy of a receptive faith, Arndt here had developed this theme around his theology of active repentance.

Arndt described this dynamic in Book V of his *Wahres Christenthum*. He explained that the union of God with humanity is foreshadowed in the incarnation of Christ (Part four), as is also the indwelling of the Holy Spirit (Part five), going on to explain that "the union of God with man occurs by healing repentance or

[52] *True Christianity*, Book I part 4, 42.
[53] *True Christianity*, Book I part 19, 103.

conversion to God as true regret and sorrow for sins and by faith" (Part six).[54] This, he suggested, grows out of a prior action of grace within the soul. Arndt explained that "God himself is the beginner and the cause of this healing sorrow"[55] which arises out of the spiritual wedding of Christ with the soul (Part seven). In Augustinian fashion, however, he describes this union as one which is constituted not by faith alone, but in "love given and returned" between God and the individual soul (Part eight).[56]

The dynamic within Arndt's theology is an interesting one to consider, for it appears that he was trying to balance a Lutheran emphasis on salvation by grace alone (*sola gratia*) which is received by faith alone (*sola fides*) with the late medieval teaching concerning faith formed by love (*fides charitatem formata*). As a result, the ensuing discussion in Book V of his *Wahres Christenthum* went back and forth between a Lutheran emphasis on salvation as an objective gift which was communicated to the individual through the Word and the Sacraments and a revived form of medieval penitential piety.[57] As Arndt explained, on the one hand, this bond of love is created between Christ and the soul in the waters of baptism through which the individual is incorporated into the spiritual body of

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[54] *True Christianity*, Book V part 6, 253.
[55] *True Christianity*, Book V part 6, 254.
[56] *True Christianity*, Book V part 8, 260.
[57] Robert A. Kelly argues that Arndt's doctrine of repentance is a throwback to Thomist categories of thought. He concludes that Arndt "undoes the very heart of Luther's doctrine of justification through his use of an ordo salutis which makes true repentance – defined as consisting of heartfelt sorrow, faith, and mortification of the flesh – prerequisite for justification. While one cannot deny that there are disclaimers, the appearance of the text is that true repentance is something which the penitent must do, and do continuously, not as a gift of unconditional love." See Kelly, "True Repentance andn Sorrow: Johann Arndt's Doctrine of Justification," *Consensus* 16:2 (1990): 65.

Christ (Part nine), on the other, this union is the fruit of the individual's fervent desire and longing for God and the living of a heavenly life while still on the earth (Part ten). He was able to describe baptism as the means by which this union takes place (Part eleven), discussing also Holy Communion as means by which this union is strengthened (Part twelve). Finally, he turned his attention to meditation as an outpouring of love in which the individual was united to God through prayer (Part thirteen). What emerged then within the structure of Arndt's devotional piety, was a subtle tension and even confusion regarding whether one was saved by unmerited grace or by works of love and piety.

Rather than beginning with Luther's conception of faith as the base metaphor upon which he constructed his conception of personhood, he began instead within an Augustinian framework, describing the individual in terms of her creation in the image of God (*imago dei*).[58] We see this already in the beginning of his *Wahres Christenthum* where he offered a summary of his teaching on repentance. "The image of God in man," he wrote, "is the conformity of the human soul, understanding, spirit, mind, will, and all internal and external bodily and spiritual powers with God and the Holy Trinity and with all divine qualities, virtues, wills, and characteristics… so that the whole life and walk of man pure divine holiness, righteousness, and goodness ought to appear and shine forth, just as divine love, power, and purity is found in the holy angels." He then built his discussion around the "three chief powers created in the human soul," namely understanding, memory, and will. "These powers the Holy Trinity brings

[58] *True Christianity*, Book V parts 1 & 2, 245-249.

forth and protects, makes holy and illuminates, adorns and embellishes with its grace, works and gifts."[59] The problem is that sin had disturbed the proper orientation of these powers and, as a result, the whole life of humanity needed to be restored. For Arndt, this involved more than a simple declarative act of divine forgiveness, but a total transformation of the individual's life and character.[60]

Arndt developed this within his own theological anthropology. Drawing upon the mirror as an emblem of the soul, Arndt combined the passive-receptive dimension of a Lutheran theology of justification with an Augustinian psychology in order to produce an engaged form of ascetical piety. "An image is that in which one can see a similar likeness and form," he explained, "and there can be no image unless it is like that to which it is made as an image."[61] Indeed, the soul

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[59] *True Christianity*, Book I part 1, 29.

[60] Kelly explains this tension within Arndt's theology as a result of his liberal use of medieval devotional texts. While this certainly cannot be discounted within the structure of Arndt's devotional theology, I suspect that the tension between imputed and inherent righteousness within Arndt's theology was also framed by formula which had been presented by the *Diet of Regensburg* (1541) in the *Liber Ratisboniensis* or the so-called *Regensberg Book* (Article V "De justificatione hominis") which tried to straddle both Lutheran and Catholic concerns while maintaining the distinctive positions of each camp. See Karl Theodor Hergang ed., *Das Religions-Gespräch zu Regensburg im Jahr 1541 und das Regensburger Buch nebst andern darauf bezüglichen Schriften jener Zeit* (Cassel: Theodor Fischer, 1858). Alister E. McGrath points out that this notion originated with Martin Bucer and became the foundation for Calvin's doctrine of "second justification". See McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 219. The *Liber Ratisboniensis* was also discussed at the Council of Trent but ultimately rejected. Its formula of duplex iustitia, however, remained influential within Protestant circles. McGrath, 248. Born in 1555, Arndt would have had contact with both the *Liber* as well as the documents relating to the discussion it has sparked as a part of his spiritual and pastoral formation.

[61] *True Christianity*, Book I part 1, 29.

ought to reflect the perfection of divine qualities within the world.[62] The difficulty is that humanity, through the primordial fall into sin, had become oriented away from God and thus failed to reflect the life of its creator. He went even so far to suggest that fallen humanity mirrored the image of the devil within the lives of an unregenerate humanity.[63] His rhetoric, in an age of both demons and angels, undoubtedly helped to create a sense of urgency among his many followers. This emblem of the mirror also aided him in developing his doctrine concerning the need for active repentance. "No image can appear in a mirror unless it receive its likeness or a like form from something else," he explained, "and the clearer the mirror, the purer the image shines forth. Thus the purer and cleaner the human soul, the clearer the image of God shines forth from it."[64]

What emerged is an interesting tension within Arndt's theological anthropology. While the image of the mirror certainly did present one with a

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[62] "To this end, God created man unspotted, pure, and clean in all his bodily and spiritual powers so that God's image might be seen in him, not as a dead shadow in a mirror, but as a true, living portrait and likeness of the invisible God and of his superlatively beautiful inner and hidden form, that is as an image of divine wisdom in the understanding of man, an image of God's goodness, endurance, meekness, and patience in the mind of man, an image of God's love and mercy in the affections of the heart of man, an image of his righteousness, holiness, purity, and cleanness in the will of man, an image of his kindness, graciousness, love, and truth in all the actions and words of man, an image of power in the dominion given to man over the whole earth and over all animals, and an image of eternity in the immortality of man." *True Christianity*, Book I part 1, 30.

[63] Arndt explains that "man became like Satan in his heart in that they both began with similar sins and as a result man changed God's image into Satan's image, became Satan's instrument, and was capable of all the evil of Satan. Because of this, out of the divine, spiritual, heavenly image man became earthly, fleshly, animal and beastly. So that Satan might plant his devil image in man he first sowed in man by his crafty, poisonous, insidious words and treachery his serpent's seeds, which are called self-honor, self-love, self-will, and the desire to be God." *True Christianity*, Book I part 2, 34.

[64] *True Christianity*, Book I part 1, 29.

passive conception of the nature of faith, it also allows room for an active sense of piety. For, in the same way as a mirror needs occasional cleaning, so too did the soul. These two elements, however, were far more than just facets of an abstract theology within Arndt's devotional piety; they formed the two halves of his devotional concerns so much that, for Arndt, the pinnacle of personhood was to be understood not only in terms of a receptive capacity in relationship to God but in the active life of fervent repentance. The individual must thus constantly be cleaning the mirror. Thus while he did maintain an objective element, with God as the extrinsic model for the image in the soul, the immediate thrust of his theological anthropology pivoted upon the fulcrum of a life of active repentance through which the life of the sinner is constantly crushed through an asceticism of perpetual self-mortification.[65] Personhood, within Arndt's theology, thus turned upon an inner ascetical struggle, a *conversio in se*,[66] as the *locus* in which spiritual formation took place.

[65] Given this commingling of justification and sanctification within Arndt's thought, Kelly argues that "We are forced to the conclusion that Oberman's statement that Arndt is a second Luther, a *Lutherus redivivus* is not only an exaggeration, but flatly wrong. Arndt is no such thing, for he undoes the very heart of Luther's doctrine of justification… Arndt did not renew and revive the legacy of Luther; he repudiated it and, through the widespread influence of his ideas, returned Lutheranism to face on of the crucial problems of Medieval piety. The difference is that the serious late-Medieval penitent could not know whether s/he had done his/her very best in contrition (loving God for God's own sake), while the Arndtian penitent could never know whether his/her repentance was enough, that s/he had truly mortified the flesh and left sin behind. In either case the spiritual problem is the same." Kelly, 65-66.

[66] See Richard Kieckhefer, "Convention and Conversion: Patterns in Late Medieval Piety," *Church History* 67:1 (1998): 32-51.

Contrasts and Conclusions

When we contrast Arndt's and Scriver's theological anthropologies we discover two distinctly different approaches to the question of personal formation. For Arndt, individual personhood is uncovered within a process of ascetical instrospection. This insistence upon repentance as the essential characteristic of the spiritual life further drove him to conclude that the life of true piety was defined emotionally in terms of a perpetual sorrow and misery over sin. It likewise drove the individual inwards into a subjective quest for the self, thereby setting her apart from the larger context of her community so much so that, for Arndt, community was conceived of in terms of a community of penitents built upon the foundation of a common quest for renewal through a routing out of sin. It is not surprising that Spener later developed this idea into his *collegia pietatis* in which the truly pious could gather as a society set apart from the larger community in order to spur them on to a deeper life of repentance and obedience within their Christian lives. He thereby laid the foundation for a kind of piety which created a sub-culture which became built upon the foundation of a perceived inner quality or pious dispostion within its individual members.

Scriver's approach was notably different. His very notion of faith, as a treasure to be gathered into the *kåstlein* of the heart, conveyed a sense of joy and anticipation with it. After all, within the context of post-war Saxony-Anhalt, what more could one ask for? Jesus as the soul's treasure who covers over every sin, combined with the recognition of divine providence expressed throughout creation and as a witness and reminder of eternal blessing in the life to come.

Within the post-war context in which he prepared his *zufälliger Andachten*, this emphasis upon hope and more positive emotions within the midst of human trial and suffering undboutedly provided an important relief for the people who had gathered under his pastoral care. What is more, Scriver insisted that these treasures of hope and joy be shared among every member of the community, regardless of who they were, as a part of the regular devotional etiquette of the society in which they lived. He thereby laid the foundation for a distinctly social and communally-oriented form of piety which affirmed the place of each and every member within it.

This is far from the ideal of the caricature of radical subjectivity which has been imposed upon religious constructions of the self from this time period. As Calvin O. Schrag has said, "the self that is called into being through discourse and action is at the same time called into being with a community."[67] While Schrag presents this as a part of his post-modern conception of what it means to be human, we can easily discern this dynamic within Scriver's thought as well. The distinction is that for Schrag, it is the social context of discourse as defined by the community which simultaneously provides the means through which the individual's identity can be born; within Scriver, however, it is the Word which he understood to be the forming agent as it was shared in mutual dialog within the community.

[67] Calvin O. Schrag , *The Self after Postmodernity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 77.

Chapter Five:

Gotthold within Scriver's Process of Identity Formation

Scriver built the narrative of his *zufällige Andachten* around the character of Gotthold. Identifying him simply as "the Christian Pilgrim," he reminded his readers that Gotthold was more than just a literary *persona* but a model character who exemplified the ideal shape of the Christian life. This dimension of Scriver's *zufällige Andachten* is important in that it provides us with a unique opportunity to observe how Scriver translated the abstractions of his theological anthropology into an accessible and practical model around which his readers were able to shape their own sense of personal identity as well.

Part of the difficulty, as has already been mentioned, is that historians have not always had the training to be able to integrate insights from the scholastic theology from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries into their discussions of social and political developments of the time. This is true also for the way in which personhood has been treated within the standard historiographies of the self. Scholastic theology has also presented its own problems in this regard. Seventeenth-century schoolmen divided their discussions of anthropology from that of christology and soteriology as a matter of standard procedure in presentation and analysis so that each of these *loci* was dealt with in detail but also in isolation from the other. The same dissociation and abstraction can likewise be seen within contemporary discussions of theological anthropology within Lutheran circles, even though there is some progress being made in being able to translate insights from dogmatic theology into the arena of practical

applications.[1] If theologians such as Bradley Hanson and William Weinrich struggle with drawing doctrinal definitions into practical relief, it is no wonder that historians have faltered on this point as well.

Lee Palmer Wandel's recent essay, in which she tries to unravel Luther's teaching concerning the body of Christ as he presented it at the Marburg Colloquy in 1529 for its practical implications for a conception of personhood,[2] are an excellent example of a failed attempt at translating dogmatic formulae into a discussion of early-modern personhood. Her Zwinglian sympathies are evident throughout her discussion. The difficulty is that she stumbles over Luther's teaching concerning the ubiquity of the body of Christ and ends up casting him in a Eutychian mould,[3] a position which certainly does not fit with Luther's christology,[4] failing likewise to grasp the broader significance of Luther's christological teaching within his conception of soteriology. As a result, she misrepresents Luther's position both in relationship to the particular debate

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[1] See, for example, William C. Weinrich, "*Homo theologicus*: Aspects of a Lutheran Doctrine of Man," *Personal Identity in Theological Perspective*, edited by Richard Lints, Michael S. Horton & Mark R. Talbot (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdman's Publishing Company, 2006); also Bradley Hanson, *A Graceful Life: Lutheran Spirituality for Today* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 2000). Eventhough Hanson's title hints at a presentation of the dynamic quality within Lutheran theology, this work is little more than a repackaged presentation of dogmatic theology around an attempt toward practical relevance. A better discussion of this theme can be found within Robert Kolb & Charles R. Arand, *The Genius of Luther's Theology: A Wittenberg Way of Thinking for the Contemporary Church* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008).

[2] Lee Palmer Wandel, "The Body of Christ at Marburg, 1529," *Image & Imagination*, 195-214.

[3] See, for example, her comments: "For Luther, man and God were not linked through the same sort of body. There was no physical link between the body God took on and Luther's own body." Wandel, 209.

[4] See, for example, his brief confession and statement in *Schmalkaldische Artikel* I.ii.

concerning the manner of the presence of Christ within the Eucharist as it took place at Marburg, and, in relationship to the implications for Luther's theology concerning what it means to be human.[5] Palmer does indeed identify a number of key *loci* within Luther's conception of christology; she fails, however, to connect them to the larger whole of his soteriological thought and in the process, sorely misses the mark.

In both these theological and historical approaches, moreover, personhood has been treated as a conceptual object to be studied and analysed as though it were some "thing" out there waiting to be discovered. And while it is certainly possible to do a study Gotthold's persona within Scriver's *zufällige Andachten* in this way, this approach fails to grasp the character of this work as an *Erbauungsschrift* written with the express purpose of the religious edification and spiritual formation of its reader(s). This text was written, not in order to provide its readers with an objective scholastic definition of what it means to be human; it was written in order to serve as a guide and companion along the way as people sought to discern a new sense of personal identity within the changing social contexts of their day. Rather than beginning with an essentialized view of humanity, it is perhaps better to approach our analysis of Scriver's depiction of what it means to be human following the trajectory of Roger Smith who wrote that "human nature is not some 'thing' waiting discovery but active in

[5] See Beinert, "Homo Fidelis." One needs only consider Luther's discussion of the humanity of Christ in relationship to our own humanity within his *Commentary on Galatians* in order to see that Wandell's caricature of Luther's doctrinal position is faulty.

understanding itself."[6] Smith went on to argue that "rather than laying down formulas, perhaps we may look for understanding from the history of what we say about what people are."[7] As a result, he suggested that we begin, not with static empirical descriptions "in order to claim that a right understanding of historical knowledge is essential to knowledge of being human," but with the various narratives about what "people have said and believed about being human" instead. He thereby subverted the master narratives associated with the prevailing historiographies concerning the self which have either marginalized the contribution of theology on the one hand, or essentialized the role of dogmatic definitions on the other, in order to level the playing field for the contribution of theological discourse and devotional movements to be explored. While Smith acknowledges that his thesis "oppos[es] common philosophical, biological, religious or ethical claims to define what being human 'really' means[,] it maintains that there is no position outside of the historical forms which human life takes for an absolutely objective or eternally valid view,"[8] he thereby opens the door for us to reintegrate the contribution of theological and religious discourse as a formative influence within the spectre of western civilization. Smith likewise refocuses our attention upon historical perceptions of what it means to be human as a dynamic process of self-reflection and personal formation.[9]

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[6] Roger Smith, *Being Human: Historical Knowledge and the Creation of Human Nature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 1.
[7] Smith, *Being Human*, 6-7.
[8] Smith, *Being Human*, 3.
[9] See Smith, *Being Human*, 8.

This approach corresponds neatly with the way in which *spirituality* has been discussed within recent scholarship. Within his own work as a medieval historian, André Vauchez defined spirituality as "the dynamic unity between the content of a faith and the way in which it is lived by historically determined human beings."[10] He specifically shifted the focus of his research to consider the observable praxis (*disciplina*) of groups of believers rather than trying to systematize descriptions of the interior life (*doctrina*). Daniel Bornstein likewise followed a similar approach in his study of the Italian Bianchi movements of 1399.[11] While these scholars sought to understand spirituality in terms of a group behavior, little attention was given to the role which such devotional movements played in the process of individual identity formation.[12] More recently, however, there has been a growing interest in exploring the notion of the religious self again, not as a "discrete, static entity" as the editors of a recent volume which was published in Belgium by Brepols point out, but as something which is "formed, transformed, re-formed, even deformed" as a "continuous (re-)modelling of the inner self" through an "ongoing, dynamic process" of contemplative practice.[13] Indeed, modern scholars of the spiritual life like Jean-Claud Breton, David Perrin,

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[10] André Vauchez, *The Spirituality of the Medieval West: The Eighth to the Twelfth Century*, translated by Colette Friedlander (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1993), 9.
[11] Daniel E. Bornstein, *The Bianchi of 1399: Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).
[12] This may be due, in part, to the limited textual evidence in which individual perceptions were recorded. I suspect that it was also due to a lingering Burckhardtian bias which assumed that the medieval self was defined by a communal identity and that the so-called modern sense of the individual self had not yet arisen.
[13] See "Forward," *Image and Imagination*, xxxii.

Saturnino Gamarra, and Felix Podimattam do not hesitate to point out this dynamic quality of the spiritual life as it intersects with the quest,[14] not only for deeper meaning and association with questions of ultimate reality as they are described within prescriptive dogmatic formulæ, but also as a process in which the individual becomes integrated within herself in relationship to both God and the world around her under the umbrella of the greater Christian narrative.[15] This corresponds neatly to Robert Solomon's less-partisan definition of spirituality offered from a philosopher's perspective. He writes that "spirituality… is not just a conclusion, or a vision, or a philosophy that one can try on like a new pair of pants. How we think and feel about ourselves has an impact on who we actually are. The grand thoughts and passions of spirituality do not just move us and inform us, or supplement our already busy day-to-day existence. They change us, make us different kinds of people, different kinds of beings," concluding that "spirituality is a process. The self is a process, and spirituality is the process of transforming the self."[16]

Within the context of the seventeenth century, this process of spiritual formation was intimately tied to the reading of devotional texts. Indeed, as Lance Lazar observed, "what it meant to be a 'devout Christian' was changing in both

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[14] I have taken this notion of the spiritual life as a *quest* from Yves Boisvert & Lawrence Olivier eds., *Á chacun sa quête: Essais sur les nouveaux visages de la transcendance* (Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2001).
[15] See Jean-Claud Breton, *Approche contemporaine de la vie spirituelle* (Québec: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1990), David B. Perrin, *Studying Christian Spirituality* (New York: Routledge, 2007), Saturnino Gamarra, *Teología espiritual*, 2nd edition (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Christianos, 2007), 38, Felix Podimattam, *Spirituality and Spiritualities* (Delhi: Media House, 2001).
[16] Robert C. Solomon, *Spirituality for the Skeptic: The Thoughtful Love of Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 6.

Protestant and Catholic lands,"[17] something which can be seen in the emergence and spread of the new devotional practices such as the Ignatian *exercises*, Salacian spirituality, or the numerous examples of Protestant devotional literature that mark this early modern period. While there is much that can be identified which distinguishes these various schools of spirituality from one another, all of these devotional movements share a common root in that they represent an early modern extension of the medieval practice of *lectio divina* as it moved out of the medieval cloister and into the sphere of public life.[18] Indeed, as Jean Leclercq has noted, this tradition within Christianity has always required the presence of an authoritative text upon which such a meditation could be built.[19] Scholar-practitioners of the spiritual life often identify devotional reading and this practice

[17] Lazar, 289.

[18] See Daniel Coleman, *In Bed with the Word: Reading, Spirituality, and Cultural Politics* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2009) for a useful discussion of literacy and spirituality, especially p. 5 where he draws out this connection in relationship to protestant devotional practicies. Also Jean Leclercq *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, translated by Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982) and Brian Stock, *After Augustine: The Meditative Reader and the Text* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001) offer the most thorough analysis and discussion of *lectio divina* within the Western religious and literary tradition. More recently, Duncan Robertson has also published *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading* (Kalamazoo/Collegeville: Cistercian Publications/Liturgical Press, 2011). For Luther's understanding of devotional prayer, see Martin Nicol, *Meditation bei Luther*, second edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984).

[19] In his landmark study of medieval devotional reading, Jean Leclercq wrote: "In Christian and rabinnic tradition, one cannot meditate on anything else but a text, and since the text in question is the word of God, meditation is the necessary complement, almost the equivalent, of *lectio divina*." Leclercq, 17.

of contemplative prayer that it entails as the effective means through which such an integration and personal transformation takes place.[20]

The result has been, what Brian Stock has called, the emergence of *textual communities*[21] in which the values that are implicitly expressed within a particular text come to be internalized and "articulated" within the *Lebensform* of the reading community.[22] Daniel Coleman has more recently described it this way: "the book we eat becomes us: shapes what we see, how we hear, what we perceive through touch or taste or smell."[23] He goes on to explain that this happens "because reading is a process that simultaneously *individualizes* us by placing the words on the page between us and the world and *connects* us by drawing us out of ourselves through imaginative projection toward the thoughts and experiences of others" thus making it "at one and the same time … a technology of alienation and a maker of new community."[24] Coleman is here reflecting upon the dynamics of contemporary readership in which the posture taken is usually that of an individual engaged with the private consumption of a

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[20] Perrin, 186; Duncan, *Lectio Divina*, passim; also Podimattam, 125. See also Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Prayer*, translated by Graham Harrison (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1986), 120 and José Luis Illanes, *Tratado de Teología Espritual* (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2007), 478-483; also Thomas Merton, *Contemplative Prayer*, introduction by Thich Nhat Hanh (New York: Image Books/Doubleday, 1968 [1996]), 27-33.

[21] See Brian Stock, "Texts, Readers, and Enacted Narratives," *Visible Language* 20:3 (1986): 295 where he describes this as "the union of literates and non-literates around the message of a text, written or spoken, with subsequent implications for behaviour." For a more detailed discussion, see also Stock, *The Implications of Literacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

[22] Stock, "Texts, Readers, and Narratives," 299-300. Stock likewise suggests that within such a textual community, "life becomes a narrative which is dramatically enacted." Stock, *ibid*., 298.

[23] Coleman, 98.

[24] Emphasis original. See Coleman, 125.

literary work. Within the context of the seventeenth century, however, where devotional reading transgressed our modern sensibilities of individualized consumption and books such as Scriver's were commonly read as a part of family devotions, the very act of reading was inherently a social process in which community was formed around the narrative of a text so that it was within this context of a shared act of *lectio* that old patterns of thought and behaviour were deconstructed so that new patterns could be forged. It is within this context that Scriver introduced his character Gotthold as a kind of exemplar or model of the ideal Christian individual.

Rather than approaching Gotthold as an example of a simple exemplar of personhood and identity, it is important to note the dynamic character of personal identities. The seventeenth century French philosopher Blaise Pascal (1623-1662), for example, while reflecting upon the nature of humanity, noted: "All is one, all is diversity. How many natures lie in human nature!"[25] His comments provide an important insight into the character of personal identities which has been taken up in recent times by Rom Harré. Harré has recently argued that the self is best understood in terms of a mulitiplicity of psychologically diverse layers rather than as singular metaphysical entity which is divorced from any social or historical context. He outlines at least three basic facets of the self which he anchors psychologically within the dynamic *loci* of embodied perception (Self 1),

[25] Blaise Pascal, *Pensées (1670)*, translated by A.J. Krailsheimer, revised edition (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 32.

self-reflection (Self 2), and that of social interaction (Self 3).[26] In his characterization of the nature of spirituality, Coleman has likewise suggested an additional layer within the process of religious identity formation, the individual in relationship to her material environment,[27] which we will identify as Self 4 within the following analysis.

While Harré does suggest that Self 1 does include the individual's perceptual interaction with their material surroundings, given the scope of interactions within Scriver's *zufällige Andachten* which include numerous examples of devotional reflections based upon physical objects from people's material environment, I have chosen to draw a distinction between the person's subjective patterns of perception (Self 1) which were built upon a collective experience of the Thirty Years' War and a theologically objective reformulation of the individual's encounter with the world (Self 4). Beginning with the truism, rooted in the canons of discursive psychology, that "narrative form is not a dress which covers something else but the structure inherent in human experience and action"[28] and given also, as Charles Taylor has neatly stated, that the "basic condition of making sense of ourselves [is] that we grasp our lives in *narrative*,"[29] Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten* provide us with a unique opportunity to consider how such early modern devotional texts might have been used in order to help

[26] See Rom Harré, "Metaphysics and narrative: Singularities and multiplicities of self," *Narrative and Identity: Studies in Augtobiography, Self and Culture*, edited by Jens Brockmeier & Donal Carbaugh (Philadelphia: Johns Benjamins Publishing Company, 2001), 59-73.
[27] See Coleman, 9.
[28] David Carr, *Time, Narrative, and History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 65.
[29] Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 47.

readers reforge a renewed sense of identity within the context of a world which had been turned upsidedown.

Embodied Perception (Self 1) as the Pious Reader

In applying these insights to Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten*, it is tempting to locate the first of Harré's facets of the self within the figure of Scriver's Gotthold. After all, it is Gotthold who stands as the primary character who represents the "Christian piligrim" throughout all of Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten*. He is likewise the mouthpiece of a devotional perspective onto the various different scenarios which he encounters within his pilgrimage through life through which readers were introduced to a new way of perceiving themselves and the world around them. It would thus be natural that the reader be drawn to Gotthold as a model of the integrated Christian individual. The purpose here, however, is not merely to unravel an objective two-dimensional depiction of personhood as exemplified within the figure of Gotthold but to explore the way in which a devotional reading of the text would engage the pious readers in order to draw them out of their own realm of individualized perception and into a new way of seeing themselves within the context of the world around them.

As Stock has neatly illustrated, devotional reading is a special form of literary engagement in which the reader is consuming a text, not in order to expand their knowledge (*cognitio*), but to lead them through the stages of prayer, meditation, and finally contemplation. Jean Leclercq points out that this form of reading has its roots within both rabbinic tradition as well as such early church

fathers as Bendict of Nursia (480-547) and Gregory the Great (540-604), among others.[30] It became systematized in the twelfth century into its four traditional stages of *lectio* (reading), *meditatio* (meditation), *oratio* (prayer), and *contemplatio* (contemplation) by the Carthusian monk, Guigo II (d. c. 1193).[31] Within this pattern, reading was to be undertaken as a meditative exercise whereby the content of the text was to be used by the individual to reflect upon both the nature and character of his own life in relationship to the narrative of the text, but also as a way to allow the text to draw the reader out of himself into a contemplation of things divine. In addition to this four-fold pattern which was built upon a reading of the biblical text, there also arose what both Leclercq and Stock have called a *lectio spiritualis*. This practice differed from the traditional *lectio divina* in that it did not require the presence of the biblical text but could be built around the contemplation of divine things through other devotional materials as in the *devotio moderna*, a reflection upon nature as was common within Cistercian and Franciscan spirituality, or from a spontaneous eruption of pious recollection.[32] This dimension of devotional reading is particularly important as we consider the way in which Scriver draws the attention of his readers to a lively contemplation of divinity based upon the experiences of their day-to-day lives.

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[30] See Leclercq, chapters one and two. Brian Stock begins with Augustine. See Stock, *After Augustine*, 8. Duncan's list begins with Origen (182-254), Augustine, and Gregory. See Duncan, chapter two.
[31] See Duncan, chapter seven.
[32] See Stock, *After Augustine*, chapter seven. Also Stock, *Ethics Through Literature: Ascetic and Aesthetic Reading in Western Culture* (Lebanon: University Press of New England, 2007), 67-70.

Within the sixteenth century, however, Martin Luther offered his own reformulation of the traditional stages of the *lectio divina* in order to factor in insights from his *theologia crucis*. Combining *meditatio* and *contemplatio* into a single movement within the stages of devotional reading, he added *tentatio* (trials) as the third element within his form of *lectio* in order to highlight the turbulent conflict that arises out of life and within the believer as she encounters her vocational failings within the mirror of the divine law. Luther's goal, however, was not to leave the individual caught within the tension of his/her own personal *Anfechtungen* but to allow the reading of the text to return them to the anchor of the cross as the place where he understood this tension to be resolved vicariously through the death of Jesus upon the cross. Often overlooked within Luther's reformulation of the traditional order of *lectio divina* is that the end of the reading process was designed to lead the pious reader, not to an other-worldly contemplation of things divine as appeared within the mix of medieval spirituality, but to return them with a renewed focus and perspective on life to the realm of human vocation (*vocatio*) and social interaction as formed and shaped by the principles of the gospel.[33]

Within this form of reading, the individual is directly engaged with the narrative of the text in a transformative way. The text functions in a manner similar to a Greek Orthodox icon which is written with an inverse perspective so that the lines which lead the gaze of the beholder find their focal point, not within

[33] See Steven Hein, "Tentatio," *Lutheran Theological Review* 10 (1997-1998): 33-34.

the scene of the image, but within the person who beholds.[34] The reader is thus drawn into the story of the text as a hidden bystander where the characters within the narrative emerge within the discursive horizon of the reader, not as an image of the *self* but as a second-person *other* with whom the individual reader is engaged. Within Scriver's *zufällige Andachten*, the reader thus encounters Gotthold, not as an image of the Self 1 which Harré associates with the "I" of human conversation,[35] but as a companion along the road within his/her pilgrimage through life. When applied to our analysis of devotional reading, Harré's definition of the embodied self best fits the first-person stance and profile of the pious reader.

Harré conceives of this Self 1 as "the singularlity of an embodied point of view, manifested in the structure of perceptual fields, each of which is centered on the location in space and time of the embodied perceiver."[36] It is the dynamic center of personal awareness which Harré defines spacially "as a unique, context-free location," [37] through which the individual encounters the world.[38] He likens this self to a "geographical abstraction rather like the North Pole in relation to the continents" within the field of the individual's social environment by which she

[34] Northern artists from this time period were likewise experimenting with different forms of perspective within their work. For a good discussion of this see Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983).
[35] Harré, 64.
[36] Harré, 60.
[37] Harré, 61.
[38] Harré, 64. Also Clifford Geertz, *The interpretation of cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 9.

encounters the world around her.[39] As a result, it is both anchored *in* as well as bounded *by* this horizon of perception without the benefit of any self-reflective self-awareness which remains hidden from empirical analysis. Like a quantum singularity whose presence can only be inferred but never truly seen, Harré suggests that this self is best understood indexically within the field of personal discourse, as a reference to the speaker as the *locus* of perception whose encounter of the world has been shaped by the "memories, traits, beliefs, and opinions"[40] derived from the reader's previous experience.[41] Scriver wrote his *zufällige Andachten* with an awareness of the traumatic imprint left upon the minds of the people that had fallen under his pastoral care within the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War. As he had noted in the introductory prefaces to this work, he had specifically composed this collection of Andachten in order to help his parishioners refashion their perception of their lives and their world by means of the doctrinal precepts of his Lutheran confessional heritage.

Gotthold as the Reflective Self (Self 2)

It is within this collection of devotional vignettes that Scriver penned the character of Gotthold as a kind of everyman figure to whom any one of his parishioners could easily relate. Even his designation as a "Christian pilgrim" is significant given that many of the people who were under Scriver's spiritual care

[39] Harré, 60-61.
[40] Harré, 65.
[41] This is similar to Grant's notion of a living myth which he defines as "unavoidable perspectives and priorities that give shape to life today, and [which] represent the mythic horizons that define reality for us." Grant, 13.

had fled to Saxony-Anhalt as persons who had been displaced by the travesties of the war. It is within this context that Gotthold easily stood out to his readers as a person much like themselves; someone whom they could well have met upon their journeys as a companion along the way. Smith argues that it is in such a context of human interaction that people come to know themselves by developing a differential understanding of their own identity.[42] Indeed, Karl Marx likewise echoed this when he wrote: "Peter only establishes his own identity as a man by first comparing himself with Paul as being of like kind."[43] At the same time as establishing a sense of affinity, however, such an act of comparison also highlights the differences which stand between them. Coleman describes this dynamic in terms of a process of absence and isolation through which the individual becomes aware of himself while at the same time being drawn out of his isolation into the context of a larger world. "Reading is spiritual," he writes, "because it simultaneously emphasizes and spans this divide between the self and other, between the reader and the author, between the reader and the world, between the reader and God." He then elaborates: "we develop right posture when as readers we recognize the structure of absence or distance across which we long to pass, when we reocgnize our limitation and isolation, and when we

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[42] Smith, 245. Smith likewise quotes John S. Nelson, Allan Megill and Donald N. McCloskey, "Rhetoric of inquiry," *The Rhetoric of the Human Sciences: Language and Argument in Scholarship and Public Affairs*, edited by John S. Nelson, Allan Megill and Donald N. McCloskey (Madison: University of Winconsin Press, 1987), 7-8 "Only in interaction within the world do …. [people] create identities and only in this creation of identities does the world of human beings take shape."

[43] Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, volume one (3rd German edition), translated by Samuel Moore & Edward Aveling, edited by Frederick Engels (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1954), 59 note 1.

discern the suppressed or hidden possiblitiy of connection and belonging to the Other who seemed so far removed."[44] It is within the dynamics of this tension of absence and nearness, isolation and connection, that the reader is drawn into a world of self-reflection in a way that allows him to become aware of his own self as a unique individual.[45]

One can certainly find strong affinities here to Rudolf Otto's depiction of the religious life as arising out of the individual's experience of the tension between dread and desire for encounter with the *Holy*[46] but for Scriver, it is perhaps better to try to understand this dynamic in relationship to the idea of *tenatio* which Luther introduced into his revised pattern for *lectio divina*. Within Luther's (and subsequent Lutheran) understanding, all of humanity exists within the context of moral and spiritual corruption. This, for Luther, is the epitome of Original Sin in which all of humanity subsists and for which they are destined from birth for eternal damnation. This is a corruption, moreover, that runs so deeply within humanity that there is no facet of the human individual which is free from its influence. As a result, he concluded, upon his reading of St. Augustine, that there was nothing within the individual person that was free to be able to cause him to merit divine favour and thereby earn his salvation. Salvation, rather, came as a pure gift through the crucifixion of Jesus Christ by grace through faith without the benefit of human works as St. Paul described it in his epistle to the Ephesians (2:8-9). Because of this, Luther developed his unique

[44] Coleman, 63.
[45] Harré, 61 & 62.
[46] Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1950] 1958.

understanding of the Christian Scriptures as consisting of both Law and Gospel wherein the Law was a record of divine commands which the individual was expected to fulfill but could not, whereas the Gospel which is centered on the person and work of Jesus Christ is both the message and the gift of divine redemption and forgiveness given freely to the broken sinner by means of the divine Word and the dominical sacraments.

This background to Luther's understanding of the Word is important as we look more deeply into a Lutheran spirituality of *reading*, for within Lutheran understanding it is only the Gospel which communicates salvation to the individual. This is not to imply that the Law is without use. Classical Lutheran theology affirms the enduring validity of both the "moral Law" as well as that of the "eternal Gospel." But under the weight of Original Sin, the Law takes on a different function within the broader view of salvation. The *Konkordienformel* explains it in terms of three different uses or functions of the Law. The first is as a curb which curtails the impulse towards lawlessness so as to reign in sin to prevent it from erupting in harmful thoughts and behaviours. The second is that of a mirror, in which the individual is confronted with their own brokenness as a way to lead her through repentance to the *donum* of the Gospel. The third function is that of a rule or a guide in which the individual is instructed and directed towards a form of righteous living which the Christian Scriptures demand.[47]

[47] See *Konkordienformel* VI "De terio usu legis."

The difficulty, according to Luther, is that humanity, under the weight of Original Sin, lacked the ability to live up to the demands of the moral Law. As a result, the second function of the Law would naturally lead them to a discovery of this reality in their lives. *Lex semper accusat*. For Luther, this realization initially led him to the point of spiritual despair until his 'rediscovery' of the Gospel and the resolution of this tension within Jesus' crucifixion. Luther described this dynamic of the spiritual life as early as 1518 at the Heidelberg Disputation where he offered twenty-eight theses outlining his *theologia crucis*.[48] On the one hand, "the Law brings the wrath of God, kills, reviles, accuses, judges and condemns everything that is not in Christ," while on the other, he wrote, "he is not righteous who does much, but he who, without work, believes much in Christ."[49] At the center of this spiritual worldview, Luther pointed to the suffering of Christ on the cross as the proper vantage point from which every facet of human life is to be examined and interpreted.[50] As Matthew Rosebrock has recently pointed out, for Luther, this was "more than just 'a theology' … it was the working framework *throughout all of his theology* … it was a living reality and experience."[51]

Scriver adopts this staurological hermeneutic as the basis for Gotthold's unique perspective on the world. He compares the striving of those who would seek to earn their salvation by their own works to the leggy growths on a forgotten

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[48] See AE 31:39-70.
[49] Theses 23 & 25.
[50] "He deserves to be called a theologian, however, who comprehends the visible and manifest things of God seen through suffering and the cross." Thesis 20
[51] Matthew Rosebrock, "The Heidelberg Disputation and Aesthetics," *Concordia Journal* 38:4 (2012): 327-348. Emphasis mine. See also Walther von Loewenich's excellent study *Luther's Theology of the Cross*, translated by Herbert J.A. Bouman (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1976).

turnip discovered laying in the corner of a dark basement cellar. Without the warm sunshine and water that comes from heaven, such a growth can never last.[52] Indeed, in a humorous reflection he compares humanity's condition after the fall to an unsteady marksman trying to hit his mark. "After the unfortunate Fall into sin, we humans no longer have a steady hand / as marksmen are wont to say / but even though as the summary of godly perfection / the Law is set up before our eyes as a target / toward which all of our thoughts / words and works should be trained / we often shoot it way off into the neighbouring field / so that one's perfection a truly good perfection is / that we ought to be perfectly cautious / should one come to know their own imperfection."[53] Scriver even cautioned his readers not to allow their own judgment to rule their hearts. He compared such an individual to someone struggling with fantastic delusions who, in the end, becomes his own devil and accuser.[54] He drew instead upon numerous different images to encourage his readers to place their trust and hope in Jesus as the source of both their faith and salvation.

In one devotion, Scriver depicted the Christian life in terms of a familiar child's game in which a songbird is tied to a string and kept as a toy. Scriver used this to illustrate how God should be the middle-point of the human soul and that

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[52] *Das Gewächs im Keller GzA* II.XXVII.

[53] "Nach dem klåglichen Sůndenfall haben wir Menschen nicht mehr enie gewisse Hand / wie die Schůtzen redden / sondern ob wohl der Abriß gőttlicher Wollkommenheit / das Gesetz / uns vor Augen / als ein Ziel / nach welchem alle unsere Gedancken / Worte und Wercke sollen gerichtet seyn / auffgestellet ist / so schiessen wir doch so offt ins Lerchen-Feld neben hin / daß unserre Vollkommenheit eine rechte Vollkommenheit / ja daß es vor eine Vollkommenheit zu achten ist / wenn man seine Unvollkommenheit erkennet…" *GzA* II.lxxi.

[54] *GzA* III.v.

our lives are created to revolve around Him; the further away we get, the more unrest we find. He used this image to direct his readers to remain close to God through their prayers and devotions.[55] In another place, he likewise likened the Christian's life to the familiar image of a dog who follows his master and playfully lays himself down at his feet.[56] Scriver used these images in order to nurture a sense of playful trust and hope among his readers, pointing them to the cross as the source of their life and salvation. Even something as simple as a stream could illustrate God's forgiveness which washes away the filth and stain of their sin on account of Jesus whom he describes as the well-spring (*Quelle*) of their salvation.[57]

It is difficult to know whether Scriver wrote this particular *Andacht* with the memory of so many corpses floating down the rivers in mind. What we do find, however, is that he did not shy away from grappling with the trials (*tentatio*) of real human suffering. Looking at some thistles which were growing in a wheat field, he reminded his readers that there is no widom without folly in this world, encouraging them to look forward to heaven where there will be no more evil.[58] In the same way, a Christian without a cross to bear is an impossibility on this side of eternity.[59] He encouraged them rather to look upon their *Anfechtungen*, or trials, as uncomfortable blessings which God uses in order to remind them of the cross and Jesus suffering which was offered for their salvation. In a remarkable

[55] *GzA* II.xcii.
[56] *GzA* III.viii.
[57] *GzA* II.lxvii.
[58] *GzA* II.lxxxv.
[59] *GzA* II.xxxvi.

Andacht in which Gotthold encounters a man overcome by the awareness of his own sinfulness, Scriver transforms the character's sorrow into a cause for joy. Gotthold encounters a man weighed down in his sorrow and when he asks him what is wrong, the man replies "Sin! Sin! You poison of the soul! How you vex and gnaw at my poor heart!"[60] Scriver used this as an opportunity to instruct his readers in the value of godly sorrow. Gotthold's response is telling as he endears himself to the mourner by commenting on how lovely his tears actually are, saying "yes / [even] the holy angels laugh / that you weep / and the Lord Jesus also rejoices / that you are filled with sorrow,"[61] pointing out the Pauline text of 2 Corinthians 7:10 to illustrate that this is a godly sorrow which works repentance and renewal within the individual. Scriver here goes on to distinguish this *selbst betrauen* (inner/self-sorrowing) from a kind of worldly sorrow which arises from not getting one's own way. He goes on to have Gotthold explain that "it is an unhappy soul / which has never wept for itself" for it is the sorrowing heart which serves as a *Gefäß* (vessel/receptacle) "which is filled with the Blood and the consolation of the Lord Jesus."[62]

Scriver here alternates between the plural (*ihr*) even though Gotthold is speaking to a single individual so that in the act of reading, the message is naturally translated and applied into the broader social context of the reading community. In so doing, he sets the stage to introduce to his readers both his

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[60] "Sünde! Sünde! du Seelen-Gifft! wie plagest und nagest du mein armes Hertz!" *GzA* III.ix.
[61] "Ja / die heiligen Engel lachen / daß ihr weinet / und der Herr Jesus freuet sich / daß ihr traurig seyd." *GzA* III.ix.
[62] "die betrübte Hertzen aber sind die Gefäß / die mit dem Blut und Trost des HERRN JESU gefüllet warden." *GzA* III.ix.

Lutheran understanding of human corruption and original sin, but also to unfold the dynamic of Luther's *theologia crucis*. It is a travesty, as Scriver explains, that humanity has fallen into sin; yet at the same time, God in His goodness has determined to use even this evil to accomplish something good.[63] It is through such a godly sorrow that the individual is led back to the suffering of Jesus and the gift of forgiveness which was offered to humanity upon the cross. Scriver describes this process as being transformative. "No one loves the Lord Jesus more earnestly / as the one who has been forgiven many sins / to no one is His grace sweeter / as the one who in a painful acknowledgement of his sins / has tasted of his own disgrace."[64] It is in learning to see the cross of Christ and the mercy of Christ applied through repentance (*Busse*) during times of spiritual struggle that the individual could be kept steadfast during times of weakness and propped up even after having fallen.[65]

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[63] "Fůhrwahr / antwortet Gotthold / trauet sicherlich / daß es dem heiligen und frommen Gott lieber gewesen wåre / daß ihr nicht gesůndiget håttet: Weil e saber geschehen ist / so dancket dem barmhertzigen und langmůthigen Herrn / daß er euch auff frischer That nich gestraffet / und durch einen plötzlichen Tod zum ewigen Verderben nicht hingerissen hat; Wisset auch / daß der Allmåchtige und gůtige GOTT / nich zulassen würde / daß in der Welt was böses geschehe / wenn er nich so Allmåchtig und gůttig wåre / daß er auch aus bösen etwas gutes zu machen wißte." *GzA* III.ix.

[64] "Niemand liebet den Herrn Jesum brůnstiger / als dem viel Sůnde vergeben sind / niemand ist seine Gnade sůsser / als der in schmertzlicher Erkåntniß seiner Sůnden / seine Ungnade gekostet hat." *GzA* III.ix.

[65] "Gottes Güte / die so wundersam ist /daß sie uns durch Schwachheit befestigenn / und durch fallen auffrichten kan." *GzA* III.ix. Scriver develops this theme also in another *Andacht* (II.li) in which he considers a young girl who is brought to tears in embarrassment. He describes her tears and her red-face as a beautiful state comparing them to red gold and precious pearls which will serve to adorn her as she grows older.

Within each of his *Andachten*, Scriver framed his devotions around the Lutheran distinction between the Law and the Gospel as an interpretive paradigm through which to engage the world so that every facet of the individual's environment could become a reflection of this ongoing dynamic of Luther's *theologia crucis*. A slice of lemon becomes a reminder of human sorrows as well as God's comfort and aid;[66] the pardoned criminal as a reflection of divine grace.[67] Wheat, which becomes useful only after it is ground to flour, became an emblem for the way in which each believer must carry their own cross;[68] the perilous working conditions of the roof-worker were likewise an illustration of the immediacy of the call to faith.[69] Scriver even used such mundane struggles as a ringing in the ears[70] or the lingering pains from a broken limb[71] as examples of a "thorn in the flesh" through which God would call the individual to a life of piety and prayer. Even trees which had fallen in a storm become an opportunity to reflect on those individuals who have grown strong in their faith through their trials and their sufferings.[72] The tears of a widow were likewise compared to a fine wine as it flows down from the winepress. These, he explains, are like pearls which the mourner gathers from the foot of the cross with which she may purchase the crown of life.[73] In each case, Scriver uses these various different *Andachten* in order to lift the individual out of the context of their trials and to

[66] *GzA* II.liv.
[67] *GzA* II.xviii.
[68] *GzA* II.xxxii.
[69] *GzA* II.xxxix.
[70] *GzA* II.xxxv.
[71] *GzA* II.lx.
[72] *GzA* II.xlix.
[73] GzA II.xvi.

inspire them instead with both joy and hope in relationship to the gift of forgiveness credited to them by means of Jesus' death on the cross.

Through these various *Andachten,* Scriver introduced his readers into what John Drury has called a new "way of seeing" the world.[74] By coupling Luther's *theologia crucis* to the baroque tradition of the emblem, Scriver thereby developed a new kind of evangelical *exemplarism* by which people were introduced into a way of perceiving their lives as well as the world around them through the lens of the crucifixion as interpreted within a Lutheran Law-Gospel paradigm. This hermeneutic, moreover, was not restricted to Scriver's vision of canonical emblems as handed down within the many emblem books that circulated Europe at that time; instead, he fostered a new extension of medieval exemplarism in which every facet of a person's environment could be interpreted through the lens of a classical Lutheran staurological hermeneutic. This allowed his readers to develop a way of seeing the world in which every facet of their lives connected them to the person of Christ. Scriver reminded them, however, that the world is not the gift; like wooden or waxen foods set out for display, it merely stands as a kind of *Schau-Essen* (show-food) which points the beholder to Jesus on the cross who is the real meal.[75]

Scriver's vision of the world was likewise one which was filled with both sorrow and joy. In no way did he want to leave his readers in a situation in which they perceived themselves to be defined by their trials. Rather, he offered them an outlook in which their sufferings were never ultimately in vain. He taught

[74] Drury, chapter one.
[75] *GzA* III.xix.

them to view their trials and sufferings as a reflection of the cross and of God's love instead. By so doing, he provided them with a way to find a cause for hope and rejoicing in whatever circumstance they found themselves.

Within the context of the *zufällige Andachten*, moreover, Gotthold was a kind of embodied reflection of Scriver's worldview, allowing it to spring to life within the reader(s) as they traveled with him during their times of devotional reading. This is what Daniel Coleman has called an "I" or a "Friend" which stands between the reader and the text that serves as a kind of host or a guide who leads the reader into the author's worldview.[76] Within the devotional reading paradigm that we have been following, Scriver's Gotthold thus functioned as a lens through which the reader could, within the process of reading, come to look at the world through a fresh set of eyes. In so doing, Scriver provided them with a means by which they could re-train themselves into a new way of seeing, being, and interacting with the world. Here again, however, Gotthold is excluded from standing in as a direct equivalent for Harré's Self 2 in that he cannot be equated with the reader's self-reflective thoughts. What he did do was function as a kind of catalyst through which the reader was led to a reconsider their own worldview. Through Gotthold, Scriver challenged the perceptions of the reading individual (Self 1) and thereby disrupted the inner harmony within the reading self so as to allow for an inner trial or struggle (*tentatio*) to arise out of the dissonance between the two.

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[76] Coleman, 90-92. Within Grant's analogy, Gotthold served as a kind of spectacles which people could put on in order to gain a new perspective upon their lives. See Grant, 17.

Indeed, within Scriver's broader cosmology, the world and each person within it was to be perceived as a part of the broader so-called *Book of Nature* so much so that he was able to read them in relationship to his evangelical ideals. This allowed him to encounter the cross of Christ within every facet of a person's mundane existence. Like the second function of the Law, however, Gotthold appeared as a kind of mirror in which the reader would come to be aware of her own native perceptions of the world around her (Self 1) and then be drawn beyond herself into a new way of seeing both herself and the world around her through the lens of Luther's *theologia crucis*.

Gotthold as a Model of (Self 3) Human Interaction

Judith Popovich Aikin has pointed out that the use of literary and dramatic *exempla* as "models for behavior" was a common feature within German baroque literature.[77] The same can be seen in relationship to Gotthold as he models an evangelically-grounded form of social behaviour for the readers of Scriver's *zufällige Andachten*. Harré associates this facet of human identity with the self (Self 3) of human interaction. He suggests this layer of the self is best understood to be a plurality with a multiplicity of constructions as the person interacts with a spectrum of different individuals within her social environment.[78] This, of course, fits neatly into both Scriver's devotional vision as well as his extrinsic and relational theological understanding of humanity. For Scriver, however, this multiplicity is not as clearly articulated as he builds his conception of the person's

[77] See Aikin, *German Baroque Drama* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 156.
[78] Harré, 63.

social life into the broader understanding of his evangelical exemplarism. Scriver himself introduced this notion in *Andacht* II.xliv, wherein Gotthold mused concerning a large mirror which he encountered hanging on the wall. This spurred him on to meditate on how the Christian's life was to serve as a kind of mirror of God's Word and God's goodness in relationship to his neighbour. The world, as the *Book of Nature*, is to be readable *as a book* so that the message from its pages is the same as that written in the enscripturated Word. As Eichler had suggested, we find an interesting parallel here between Scriver's work as a devotional writer and developments within seventeenth-century Northern Art. A key element which differentiates Northern art from its Italian counterparts is the way in which the Northern masters interpreted the world in relationship to the written word (*lectio*) as opposed to Italian artists who gave greater focus to a visual encounter (*contemplatio*) with the divine.[79] Scriver likewise developed this concept throughout his *Andachten* but applied it as the underlying structure within his emblematic worldview. As a result, he created a devotional outlook in which each individual was to serve as a kind of mirror which reflected the image of divine goodness, interpreted through Luther's *theologia crucis*, to each person within her social environment.[80]

We have already seen this in the way in which Scriver described the social vision of his devotional piety within his *Chysologia catechetica*. Scriver had there argued that every opportunity within a person's life was to be spent in

[79] See Alpers, *op. cit.*.
[80] Müller comments: "von einer *theolgia gloriae* ist bei Scriver nichts zu entdecken." Müller, 245.

rehearsing and repeating the message of God's Word to their neighbour. Drawing upon domestic images, the mother is to be a *Hauspredigerin* to her daughter as she braids her daughter's hair; her daughter in return is to respond by singing hymns and spiritual songs and thus rehearsing the same message as she meditates upon it in her heart. We have also seen this in Scriver's *Andacht* of the Sweet Wine (*Andacht* II.c.) where he illustrates how the love of a father for his son is to be marked by a playful generosity as they each reflect upon the nature of God's divine goodness. Indeed, Scriver envisioned a social piety in which each person was to carry the message of the Sunday sermon home with them in their heart so that they could meditate upon it communally by both discussing it and putting it into action.[81] In this way, he held both *meditatio* and *vocatio* together as anchored with the Word (*lectio*) as a singular movement within the narrative frame of his devotional piety.

It is noteworthy that in each of these images – of the mother and the daughter or the father and the son – that only one parent is depicted within the family structure. This is undoubtedly a reflection of the social conditions of Scriver's time where many families were indeed single-parent families on account of one member having died because of war, plague, or famine. Indeed, Scriver himself had experienced this during his own childhood. While such images could also have served as a kind of snapshot image of isolated interactions within a family structure where both parents were still present, these images would have especially resonated with those who had lost a husband or a wife within the prior

[81] *Chrysologia catechetica*, 55-56.

decades of the war. At the same time, the narrative of these *Andachten* skipped over the difficulties that characterized the daily routines of such broken families and offered in its place a positive and encouraging depiction of how such a family dynamic could work.

Throughout his *zufällige Andachten*, Scriver was likewise concerned with fostering a social environment in which the needs of every individual were taken care of. We find this, for example, in *Andacht* II.lxi. in which Gotthold encounterd an Alder Tree and considered the way in which its wood is used to make all sorts of things for the benefit of humanity. Gotthold then went on to transform this into a social philosophy in which the God-fearing Christian likewise cares for the needs of his neighbour. "Give me also," he prays, "a humble and compassionate heart / that this might be the ground of all things / by which I look / for my neighbour's / best interests."[82] A few Andachten later, he likewise picked up this same theme with Gotthold commenting on a Fruitladen Tree in which he saw a ready emblem of servanthood in which the individual eagerly offers himself for the benefit of his neighbour.[83] Scriver commented specifically about the way in which people have a tendency to magnify their own goodness and yet minimize other people's contributions, focusing rather upon their faults.[84] He suggested that people should strive to be unaware of their own

[82] "Gib mir auch ein sanfftmůthiges und liebreiches Hertz / und diß sey der Grund aller Sachen / darinn ich mit meinem Nechsten / zu seinem besten / zu handeln habe." *GzA* II.lxi.
[83] *GzA* II.lxv.
[84] See *GzA* I.xl. & II.lxii

piety[85] and turn their attention instead to fostering a social harmony built upon the "flame of Christian love" between the various members of the community.[86]

Scriver here devoted some attention to charitable giving to the vagrant poor which represented a significant part of the social landscape within the immediate aftermath of the Thirty Years' War. Like incense rising from a plate of glowing embers, the Christian ought to be active in giving alms and doing other good works.[87] Indeed, Scriver encouraged parishioners to be generous in giving both alms and a word from scripture to the poor so that the Word could resound in both speech and compassionate action throughout every facet of the community's life. Indeed, Scriver chastised those who were stingy in their almsgiving. In an *Andacht* where Gotthold was confronted by a needy widow, he caught himself complaining that he was called upon to provide for this woman. In the end, he reflected upon his own reluctance in the light of God's lavish generosity within creation and remembered St. Paul's instruction that the Lord loves a cheerful giver (2 Cor. 9:7). He thereby drew his readers to consider that even the poor are their brothers and sisters in Christ.[88] Indeed, in a remarkable *Andacht*, Scriver himself drew upon Luther's deathbed inscription "we are beggars – this is true" and applied it to the problem of poverty within his own day. Observing a begger going door-to-door, Gotthold mused how he was an emblem for the Christian life in that each individual is ultimately a beggar before God.[89]

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[85] *GzA* II.xcvi.
[86] *GzA* II.lxx.
[87] *GzA* II.lvi.
[88] *GzA* II.liii.
[89] *GzA* II.lxxvi.

Scriver here drew a comparison between the physical reality of human poverty and the spiritual condition of humanity before God. In so doing, he provided a common ground by which the reader could identify with the stranger – both in her need as well as in her humanity – and respond in compassionate action. This was particularly important during the second half of the seventeenth century when Saxony-Anhalt became a major destination for migrant refugees. By identifying the social plight of this migrant population with the universal spiritual condition of humanity before God, he likwise offered his readers a kind of model for the self which could simultaneously serve, as Carolyn Walker-Bynum has observed in relationship to twelfth century devotional movements, as "a mechanism for affiliation with a group,"[90] thereby laying the foundation for a new sense of community as built upon his theological perception of the world.

Gotthold and Self 4 in Relationship to the Physical World

In addition to the three facets of the self proposed within Harré's typology, Coleman has likewise suggested that a living spirituality informs the way in which its practitioners live out their relationship with their physical environment.[91] Hanna Arendt has pointed out that people need *things* in order to lend stability to their lives.[92] Indeed, "without a world between men and nature,"

[90] Carolyn Walker Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 82-109.
[91] Coleman, 9.
[92] "Things of the world have the function of stabilizing human life… men, their ever-changing nature notwithstanding, can retrieve their sameness, that is, their identity, by being related to the same chair and the same table…" See Hannah

she wrote, there is only "eternal movement but no objectivity."[93] Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi has likewise elaborated upon this, suggesting that *things* help to stabilize the human mind in three distinct ways. "They do so first by demonstrating the owner's power, vital erotic energy, and place in the social hierarchy. Second, objects reveal the continuity of the self through time, by providing *foci* of involvement in the present, mementos and souvenirs of the past, and signposts to future goals. Third, objects give concrete evidence of one's place in a social network as symbols (literally, the joining together) of valued relationships. In these three ways," he explained, "things stabilize our sense of who we are [and] give a permanent shape to our views of ourselves that otherwise would quickly dissolve in the flux of consciousness."[94]

The physical devastation of the Thirty Years' War certainly left its mark upon both town and countryside. Csikszentmihalyi's suggestions regarding the human need for a stable physical environment further serve to highlight the trauma that the war would have inflicted upon the *psyche* of the survivors. Social hierarchies were leveled along with the buildings that housed the magistrates. Networks of valued relationships were rent asunder as families were decimated by war and plague. Indeed, Gryphius's description of the after-effects of the war resonate with Csikszentmihalyi's description of the importance of a stable material environment for the individual. The survivors emerged from the war

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Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), 137.

[93] Arendt, ibid..

[94] Mihaly Csikszentmihaliyi, "Why We Need Things," *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, edited by Steven Lubar & W. David Kingery (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 23.

stripped of their "vital energy" as their hopes and dreams for the future lay in ashes. He described it in religious terms – that their *Seelenschatz* had been forcibly removed. Gryphius went so far to suggest their experience of the war was worse than the trauma of having been raped. It is this memory which survivors would have carried with them in their flight from the war front. If we follow both Arendt's and Csikszentmihalyi's observations, these sights and images would have imprinted themselves upon the minds and memories of the people in such a way that it undermined the stability of their self-perception. It also would have distorted the way in which they interpreted their world.

The experience of this trauma may be the most important clue that we have in order to approach the perceptual hermeneutic (Self 1) that Scriver's parishioners began with. Paul Connerton has argued that "we conserve our recollections by referring them to the material milieu that surrounds us"[95] and that "such images of the past commonly legitimate a present social order."[96] As Scriver wrote his *zufällige Andachten,* it is precisely this kind of mentality that he was trying to transform. It comes as no surprise that he devoted a great deal of attention to transforming both creatures and objects into emblems of a deeper spiritual reality in order to re-orient his readers into a new way of seeing the reality of their lives within the context of their physical surroundings.

In one *Andacht*, Gotthold found himself wandering alone immersed in melancholic thought. As he came upon the crest of a hill, a wide vista emerges

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[95] Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 37.
[96] Connerton, 3.

before him. He went on to observe all the cities, fields, farms and forests, the people and the birds in the air and considers that they are all encircled by the same expanse of the sky. This led him to reflect upon how heaven is the final common frontier for all people and that God has likewise set a limit to all human strife and struggle. He concluded that it is enough for each person on earth to acknowledge both God's grace and His goodness and at the end of our lives to step off into heaven.[97] Scriver specifically commented regarding the evils that happen within the world due to human stubbornness. He likewise mentioned both greed and the battles of war. At the same time, he illustrated for his readers that even these are encircled by God's will and therefore ultimately turn to naught.

This particular *Andacht* followed on the heels of another in which Gotthold considered a rainbow in the sky which caused him to reflect upon the nature of God's judgement and mercy. He remembered that the gates of God's mercy are never locked to the sinner; but in the same way that one can only see one half of the rainbow, this too is a reminder that God has not yet revealed to us the full measure of His mercy. The greatest part, Scriver explained, remains yet to come as he reminded his readers to remember God's grace and goodness for as long as they have breath.[98] Indeed, apples,[99] tulips,[100] fruit trees[101] and flies[102] all emerged on the horizon of Gotthold's interests as he travels along his pilgrim

[97] *GzA* III.xxxii.
[98] *GzA* III.xxxii.
[99] *GzA* I.lxxxv.
[100] *GzA* I.xxiv.
[101] *GzA* I.lx "Der Maulbeer Baum", II.lxv "der fruchtreiche Baum", IV.iv "der Nuß-Baum", IV.xv "der Citronen-Baum", IV.liv "Der fruchtreiche Baum".
[102] *GzA* I.lxxxvi "die Fliegen", II.lxxxix "Die Sommer-Fliegen".

way. Even toads,[103] spiders,[104] and livestock,[105] as also ripples in the water[106] all captured his attention as he contemplated the meaning of the cross and its application to the life of the individual believer within the mirror of the world.

Throughout these devotions, Scriver demonstrated that he wrote with an educated mind.[107] In describing both herbs and trees within Gotthold's meanderings, Scriver identified them with both their German and botanical (Latin) names.[108] This is undoubtedly part of the reason why the Swedish botanist Carl von Linné found his works so intriguing. Books[109] and clocks[110] likewise captured his interest as he expounded upon the wonders of God's creation. Even a simple walnut afforded him with the opportunity to pray that God might find something good within him beneath the hard crust of his own exterior.[111]

Scriver likewise showed a particular interest in the functioning of the human body. Not only did he consider how the human heartbeat is intertwined with the human emotional response, he used this to lead his readers to consider the end of their lives and how their hearts should quicken at the thought of

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[103] *GzA* I.xxviii.
[104] *GzA* II.lxixx.
[105] *GzA* II.xxiv "Das Vieh", II.lxvii "die Schaafe", II.lxxvii "das Huhn", II.xcvi "Die gatzende Henne", III.lxxvii "die Kuh".
[106] *GzA* II.xix.
[107] Tepfenhardt notes the same: "Scriver war ein gelehrter mann mit einem offenen Sinn für die geistigen Strömungen seiner Zeit." Tepfenhardt, *Emblematische Strukturen*, 25.
[108] *GzA* I.xvii "Der Fliderbaum. *Sambucus*."; I.xliv "*Caryophyllata*. Benedicten-Wurrtzel."
[109] *GzA* I.xxxiv "Die Bůcher", I.xxxix "das verhefftete Buch", IV.i "des Buch Papier", IV.lxiii "Die Bibliotheck".
[110] *GzA* I.xxxii "Die Schlag-Uhr", II.xx "Die verletzte Glocke", III.xc "die Sonnen-Uhr".
[111] *GzA* II.xli.

heavenly joys.[112] In another place, he commented on seventeenth-century medical theories as he reflected on the spiritual significance of a fever. As happens during times of human sorrow, the fever causes the body to shed excess water. The same is true, he suggested, with godly repentance in which the tears of sorrow lead one back towards both health and holiness (*Seligkeit*).[113] Even something as simple as one's breath provided Scriver with the opportunity to encourage his readers to give humble thanks to God who gives them life, ending with a prayer that both body and soul would rest secure in His grace throughout their earthly pilgrimage.[114]

Within Scriver's theory of *Andacht*, it was important that believers focus their attention away from the distractions of their minds to a firm recollection of the cross and their place within the greater Christian narrative. Scriver illustrated this within an *Andacht* about a millstone, recalling the Matthean passage in which Jesus says that it is better for a man to have a millstone tied around his neck and be thrown into the sea than to cause another to stumble in sin (Matth 18:6). Through Gotthold, he unfolded his devotion by encouraging his readers to be attentive to their words and actions, always being mindful of God's grace and judgment.[115] He later developed this two *Andachten* wherein he compared the Christian life to a merchant's weigh-scales. Life is full with both joy and sorrow. In the same way, one's trials (*Anfechtungen*) are counterbalanced by a fervent

[112] *GzA* III.xxi.
[113] The German term encompasses both meanings. *GzA* II.lxxxiii.
[114] *GzA* III.xxxvi.
[115] *GzA* II.lvii.

remembrance of God.[116] Indeed, this association is inherent within the very term itself. *Andacht* is derived etymologically from the root verb *denken* which encompasses both the notion of human thought as well as the act of remembrance.

Scriver's application of the term is not that far removed from the Jewish conception of *kavanah* or the Buddhist notion of *mindfulness*. The difference from the latter, however, is that for Scriver, Christian *Andacht* is always a remembrance of the cross within the midst of every human encounter. It is important to note that he did not try to eliminate the reality of human suffering or to erase the traumatic memory of trials gone by; his approach to Christian meditation was to enter into the depths of that human experience and to interpret it in relationship to the suffering of Jesus Christ. Indeed, the whole of his emblematic world view pivoted upon this single fulcrum. Through this lens, he sought to infuse both a sense of ultimate significance to both their sufferings as well as their physical environment and thereby reorganize their collective memory of the war so that it fit within the larger picture of the Christian salvific narrative thus restoring both hope, community, and purpose to the lives of those who were under his pastoral care. Through Gotthold's interpretive schema, it provided the means by which every element within their physical environment would serve the purpose to imbue a new identity within them rooted within the cross of Christ. Indeed, Scriver's reflections on the human body fostered an environment in which they could once again feel at home within their own bodies.

[116] *GzA* II.lix.

Conclusion

Within the *zufällige Andachten*, Gotthold functioned as a kind of interpretive guide to lead his parishioners into a new way of perceiving the world and themselves as participants in it. Indeed, for Scriver, the world and each person was to be a holographic mirror through which both the cross and divine goodness could be reflected and refracted to each individual living within it. While Arndt also used this imagery of the mirror, both Scriver and Arndt applied this emblem differently within their larger worldview. Arndt began subjectively with soul as a hidden mirror and capacity which needed to be cleaned in order for the individual to come to their full potential. Scriver began from the opposite direction in which the world was a mirror like an open book within which both suffering and goodness could be found. He thereby objectified the reality of human suffering as well as the salvific message of the cross in such a way that he connected the very fabric of his readers' lives to the greater Gospel narrative in a way that allowed them to see themselves connected to the larger movement of divine activity within the world. By providing a new interpretive lens by which to see both themselves and the world around them, he likewise created a new script around the figure of Gotthold which could then be enacted as a kind of *Lebensform* within the lives of both individuals and the community as a whole.

Similar to medieval precedents, Scriver's Gotthold provided a narrative model around which a new textual community could emerge. Within this worldview, each reader's individual identity was wrapped up within a devotional stance in relationship to their God as well as with each member of the reading

community. As Scriver alluded, this relationship with their neighbour was to be mediated by God's Word so that their social interactions were to be modeled upon the goodness of God which was illustrated in the sacrifice of Christ. As such, Scriver's *zufällige Andachten* can be interpreted as a kind of fictional/evangelical hagiography similar to the various medieval lives of the saints in which a model of holiness and sanctity was presented to its readers in narrative form.[117] In this way, Scriver provided the reading community with a narrative model which was at the same time a devotional model through which they could construct their individual identities in a dialogical relationship with the larger group. Through Gotthold's various encounters, he also provided them with a story-line upon which a new social narrative could be built.

[117] See Julia Reinhard Lupton who suggests that the medieval hagiographical tradition became secularized within the seventeenth century and took on a new life within the popularity of devotional literature as well as the later conversion narrative. See Lupton, *Afterlives of the Saints: Hagiography, Typology, and Renaissance Literature* (Stanford University Press, 1996).

Chapter Six:

Images of the *Other* within the *zufällige Andachten*

As much as Scriver's *Andachten* were built around the devotional reflections of Gotthold, this is not the only person who readers encounter throughout the breadth of this work. Scriver often included a chance meeting between Gotthold and another individual as the basis upon which a particular *Andacht* is built. As a result, the reader is introduced to a breadth of different narrative images of both children, men, and women scattered throughout the work. Müller suggested that these vingettes were taken from actual situations which Scriver had encountered within his pastoral ministry.[1] If this was indeed the case, the *zufällige Andachten* provide the social historian with a rare glimpse into the struggles that people wrestled with in the immediate aftermath of the Thirty Years' War. Each *Andacht* captured a potentially real social and pastoral concern that people within Scriver's day were struggling with and offered a devotional response and corrective. For his readers, as a result, it was as though Scriver himself was wandering in their midst addressing the same struggles which they themselves carried with them within their own hearts and minds.

This was a facet of Scriver's *zufällige Andachten* which undoubtedly contributed to the book's immediate popularity in that it took the sage advice of their beloved pastor and put it into print so that it could be taken home with them and used like a reference book of spiritual direction. The familiarity of the images

[1] See Holger Müller, *Seelsorge und Tröstung: Christian Scriver (1629-1693)* (Waltrop: Hartmut Spenner, 2005), 180-182.

also helped to blur the boundary between the narrative of Gotthold's travels with the social reality of the communities in which they lived so that his evangelical Lutheran worldview could likewise overflow into the hearts and minds of his readers. This close interaction between the narrative of the text and lives of his readers must be kept in mind as we look into the way in these images of the *other* functioned as a catalyst for personal formation within the structure of Scriver's devotional piety.

Here again, we need to return to the theological foundations of Scriver's Lutheran confessional heritage. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, classical Lutheran theology identifies three different functions associated with the social and religious dynamic of the Law. Northern art, rooted largely within a Calvinist-Reformed theological tradition, naturally emphasized the third (prescriptive) function of the Law. While this is not entirely absent from Scriver's devotional writings, it is important to recognize the second (reflective) function, as it is outlined within Lutheran understanding, as holding a central place within Scriver's devotional thought. We find this reflected within the way in which Scriver presented creation as the *Book of Nature* and humanity as a *mirror* of the divine Word within it. It is this notion of the mirror, often used to describe this second function of the Law within Lutheran theology, that becomes important as we look at these various images of the *other* with the *zufällige Andachten*.

It is the function of a mirror, after all, to reflect back to its beholder an accurate image of what lies within its line of sight. This is part and parcel of

Scriver's teaching that the individual is to be a living reflection of the divine Word – both Law and Gospel – in everything that she does.[2] In the function of the Gospel, this reflection is to communicate the goodness of God and the ubiquity of His blessings with particular reference to the redemptive work of Christ upon the cross. The Law also serves as a kind of mirror, however, in that it reveals to its hearer a candid depiction of the individual within the brokenness of her sin. Within the theology of classical Lutheranism, this is perhaps the most important function of the divine Law in that it removes the individual from the comfort of her own righteousness and leads her into a recognition of her immediate need for the Gospel. In a sense, this function of the Law holds a dual purpose in that it draws the individual out of himself by objectifying the struggle of her own brokenness and, in the process, helps to lead her into a candid reflection upon her own shortcomings, the result of which is intended to help her both to curb unwholesome behaviour (first function) and then desire to do better (third function). At the same time, the way in which Scriver used these images of people served to foster a sense of community built upon the dual virtues of humility and compassion[3] as the readers were drawn out of themselves (Self 1) and into community within the larger cosmological vision of Scriver's emblematic worldview.

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[2] *GzA* II.xliv.

[3] Barbara H. Rosenwein has recently developed this theme within her discussion of "emotional communities". See Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

Images of Children

One of the images that Scriver often drew upon is that of children as he observed it within the life of the community.[4] He touched upon a wide range of topics from birth to death, children at play to examples of stubbornness, as the basis for his various *Andachten*. These images not only provide us with a candid glimpse into the domestic and community life within seventeenth-century Saxony-Anhalt; they also serve to illustrate the special value Scriver placed on children and childhood within his devotional piety.

In *Andacht* III.i, for example, Scriver turns his readers' attention to consider the image of a newborn child only a few hours old. Scriver writes: "Well have our beloved elders spoken / that one should kiss a [little] child such as this / as soon as one sees it / in order to honour the wonderful handiwork of God."[5] Who would not wonder at such a miracle, Scriver suggests, as he goes on to describe his understanding of the handiwork of God and how he "takes a tiny drop of blood / which is deposited in a moment of peculiar passion / and [then] firmly encloses it / within a dark and hidden place." He goes on to explain how God then "forms the individual with his [very own] hands / and forms him in a hidden place / so artfully / so that the individual can never [plumb] the depths of the wonder of his own being (self)," covering the very image (*Bild*) which he had formed and then nourishing it from its mother in such a way that both astounds

[4] Cf. Müller, 255-256.
[5] "Wohl haben die liben Alten gesaget / man solte ein solches Kind / so bald man es ansichtig wůrde / kůsten / den wundersamen Hånden Gottes zu Ehren."

and bewilders even the most learned among the people of his time.[6] Scriver developed this devotion both to draw attention to the miracle of birth but also to lead his readers into a reflection on the wonder of their own creation.

We see this in the way in which he describes the way in which the human body is formed within the womb by the creative activity of God. Particularly interesting is the way in which Scriver uses the terminology of *Bild* (image) and *bilden* (to form) within his description, both as a way to capture his understanding that each and every human individual is a unique and personal creation of God, but also to reflect his Christian understanding that each person is likewise created in the image (*Bildniss*) of its divine creator. In this way, he draws a connection between the miracle of birth and each person's integrity before God. Indeed, he explicitly states this connection, both at the beginning of this devotion when he writes: "Oh who is there among the [people of the earth] / who does not take to heart the wonder and wisdom / goodness and might of God / at the [miracle of birth] / as he hears mention / that a child has been born into the world / [so that] he is drawn to give thanks to his own Creator / for his own birth as well."[7] Indeed,

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[6] "Der wunderbahre Gott nimmt etlich wenige Blutstropffen / die in seltzamer Lust verschůttet werden / und verschleust dieselbe auffs festeste / an einem verborgnen und dunckeln Ort; Da bearbeitet er den Menschen mit seinenn Hånden / und bildet ihm in Verborgen / so kůnstlich / daß der Mensch sich niemahln gnug ůber sich selbst wird verwundern kőnnen: Bald überschattet er das zarte Bild so kråfftiglich / und ernehret es so weißlich / daß aller Weisen Witz hierůber erstaunet / und die Gelehrten noch itzo nicht eins drůber werden kőnnen / woher / und auff was Art der Frucht / unter můtterlichem Hertzen / die Nahrung zu ihrem Wachsthum zugeflősset werde."

[7] "Ach, wer ist unter den Menschen / der das gorse Wunder der Weißheit / Gůte und Allmacht Gottes / an der menschlichen Geburt / recht behertziget / und wann er hőret / daß ein Kind zur Welt gebohren ist / sich seiner Geburt / mit Danckbarkeit gegn seinen Schőpffer erinnert?"

in reading this passage, it is difficult not to hear an echo of the Nativity account reflected in Scriver's words as though he were drawing a living analogy between the miracle of human birth and the mystery of one's own being together with the birth of the Christ-child into the world. Scriver, however, does not elaborate upon this point; rather, he directs his readers to join with Gotthold in offering a joyous (*Freudensprůngen*) prayer of praise and thanksgiving at the wonder of their own creation.

Scriver went on to build this analogy further. Reflecting upon the wonder of birth, he likewise drew his readers' attention to the way in which a mother immediately and tirelessly takes her child and brings it to her breast in order to nourish it with her own breast-milk.[8] This passage is remarkable for its depth of associations. On the one hand, Scriver begins with a discussion of the wonder of creation as witnessed within the miracle of birth; on the other, he points to the commonplace of motherhood as a sphere of divine activity, not as merely an object of abject obedience, but as a conduit through which God is understood to be active within the mundane realities of life within the world. He refers to this as a loving (*liebreiche*) activity through which God extends his sweet blessings (*sůssen Segen*) within the world. Indeed, it is tempting to see here a reflection of the femine imagery associated with depictions of Christ that emerged within twelfth-century Cistercian monastic circles. Carolyn Walker-Bynum has explored

[8] "Die selbe ist auch die beste Wårtlein / welche bey unsern Wiegen nich schlåfft noch schlummert / ohn deren Auffsicht / aller anders Fleiß zu wenig wåre / einem Kinde auffzuhelffen: Eben sie macht es auch daß sich nach der Geburt das Geblůt muß so fort in die Brůste ergiessen / woselbst es der liebreiche Gott in Milch verwandelt / un mit seinem sůssen Segen / zum Gedeyen seines aren Geschöpffs / vermischet."

the dynamic of this imagery and has illustrated the close connection between femine images of Christ and that of the lactating Virgin. Mother's milk was commonly understood to be a form of processed blood thus drawing a gendered analogy between the blood which poured from Jesus' side from the cross on Golgotha and images of the Virgin Mary's milk as an emblem of blood of Christ which is communicated to the faithful in the Eucharist.[9] Indeed, Mary was commonly venerated as an emblem of the Church within the piety of medieval and early modern Catholicism, a reality of which Scriver would have been well aware. But rather than developing a Marian theme within this particular *Andacht*, he illustrated the connection between the realities of motherhood and the way in which it was *vermischt* (mixed up) with the unfolding of divine providence within the world. What we find, however, is that Scriver built this Andacht upon Luther's comments from the *Large Catechism*, where he argued that every good thing which we receive here on earth comes from God as its ultimate source. We receive our blessings, he wrote, not from created things, but directly from God who works through his creation. Luther explained that "the creatures are only the hand, pipes and means, through which God gives everything. He gives milk to the mother's breast for the infant child, grain and all kinds of produce out of the

[9] Walker-Bynum, "Jesus as Mother," 110-166. Within the seventeenth century, Carravaggio likewise made use of femine imagery within his paintings of Christ. This was often done, however, not to illustrate a sense of sacramentality as was the case within the Cistercian tradition, but as a way to highlight the violence and vulgarity of the sufferings of Christ. See Glenn W. Most, *Doubting Thomas* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

earth for [our] sustenance, blessings which no creature can make on its own."[10] Building upon Luther's doctrine of creation, he then concluded this particular *Andacht* with a prayer of thanks based on Psalm 139:14 "that I am wonderfully made / how wonderful are your works," leading his readers to reflect upon the way in which they too were dependent upon God in both body and soul for everything, and calling upon them to praise God their whole life long.[11]

Indeed, for Scriver, children too were a reflection of this divine goodness and an emblem of both faith and piety. We see this within another *Andacht* (II.xlvi) in which Gotthold observes a child at play. "Gotthold," he writes, "saw a young rascal cheerfully and merrily riding to and fro upon a stick / with a little veggie-sword in hand. Oh / he thought to himself / how blessed is the time / that we spend in childlike innocence."[12] Imitating the life of a glorious knight, Gotthold reflected upon the sheer simplicity of the child's life compared to that of a real knight. "Indeed / a splendid knight is often burdened / with so many sins and cares / [and] unpleasant tasks / that it is a wonder / that his horse can even

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[10] "Denn unsere Eltern und alle Oberkeit, dazu ein iglicher gegen seinen Nähisten, haven den Befehl, daß sie uns allerlei Guts tuen sollen, also daß wir nicht von ihn, sondern durch sie von Gott empfahen. Denn die Kreaturen sind nur die Hand, Rohre und Mittle, dadurch Gott alles gibt, wie er der Mutter Brüste und Milch gibt, dem Kinde zu reichen, Korn und allerlei Gewächs aus der Erden zur Nahrung, welcher Güter keine Kreatur keines selbs machen kann." *Großer Katechismus*, "Das erste Gepot."

[11] "I danck dir darůber / daß ich wunderbarlich gemacht bin / wunderbarlich sind deine Werck / und das erkennet meine Seele Wol! (Psalm CXXXIX.14.) Ich bin dir / mein Schöpffer und Erhalter / alles schuldig! Meinen Leib / und dessen Glieder / meine Seele / und ihre Kräffte; So wil ich mich mein lebenlang befleißigen / daß du an meinen Leibe und meiner Seelen allezeit hoch gespreiset weirdest."

[12] "Gotthold sahe ein Knåblein auff einem Stecken frölich und Frisch daher reiten / sein Speiß-Růthlein in Hånden habend; Ach / sagt er bey ihm selbst / wie glücklich ist die Zeit / die wir also in kindlicher Einfalt zubringen!"

carry him. This child, however, jumps about joyfully in his baptismal-dress and innocence [and] therefore / has no other concern / than [to worry about] where to find food for his horse / and no responsibilities / other than to be obedient and respectful towards his parents."[13] He comments on how adults often smile at such an image of a child at play; at the same time, he observes how children often look at adult concerns in a similar way. He uses this to draw his readers into a reflection upon the foolishness of life, asking them to consider the various activities of their lives and whether they were childish or not.[14] Gotthold ends with a devotion based on Matthew 18:3 in which Jesus says: "Truly I say to you / unless / you be transformed (umkehret) / and become like [little] children / you will not enter into heaven's kingdom." Gotthod prays: "Grant me grace / [that I may have] childlike simplicity / humility / sincerity / compassion / meekness / forgiveness / chastity and innocence! It is better to be saved with child-like folly / than to be damned on account of foolish wisdom."[15]

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[13] "Ja / ein prächtiger Ritter ist offt mit so vielen Sünden / Sorgen / unlustigen Geschäfften / und Schulden belästiget / daß es Wunder ist / wann es das Pferd tragen kan: Dieses Kind aber springet frölich in seinem Tauffkleide und Unschuld daher / hat keine Sorge / als woe s vor sine Pferd wolle Futter bekommen / und keine Schulden / als damit es seinen Eltern zum Gehorsam und Danckbarkeit verpflichtet ist."

[14] "Wenn er aber aus jenem Leben / auff die Thorheit dieser Welt wird zurück dencken können / wird er nich wissen / wenn er mehr kindlisch gewesen / in der Jugend ode rim Alter."

[15] "Mein HERR JESU / ich gedencke ietzo an dein Wort: Warlich ich sage euch / es sey denn / daß ihr euch umkehret / und werdet wie die Kinder / so werdet ihr nich ins Himmelreich kommen. (Matth. SVIII.3.) Verleih mir Gnade zur kindlichen Einfalt / Demuth / Auffrichtigkeit / Mitleiden / Mildigkeit / Versöhnlichkeit / Keuschheit und Unschuld! Besser ists nur / in kindlicher Thorheit selig / als in thörichter Weißheit verdammt werden."

In *Andacht* III.vi, Gotthold observed a child playing with some leftover breadcrumbs after it had eaten its fill at the dinner table. Scriver saw within this a reflection of how fickle human beings could become. "Here I saw / said [Gotthold] / what plenty could do / and what our perverted Nature does with it / when it has too much." He went on to explain: "This child / if it were truly hungry / would gobble down this precious bread / and hardly leave a crumb behind: but now that it is full / it just plays with it and spoils it."[16] He immediately drew a comparison to the way in which adults – indeed, he calls them old children (*alten Kindern*) – receive the gifts of God during times of trial with fear and thanksgiving but, during times of plenty, allow these blessings to go to waste.[17] He likewise commented on how sins increase during times when God is generous with his blessings upon humanity but that, during times of scarcity, people truly learn to appreciate God's blessings and turn their attention back to heaven.[18]

Scriver used these various images of children within the community in order to lead his readers to reflect both upon the simplicity of faith as well as their own identities as children of God. At the same time, he recognized the need to

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[16] "Hie sehe ich / sprach er / was Uberfluß thut / und was unser verderbten Natur damit gedienet ist / wenn sie zu viel hat. Dieses Kind / wenn es Hunger hätte / würde mit Lust das liebe Brodt essen / und ungern ein Krühmlein verspilden: Jetzo aber da es satt ist / da spielet es damit und verdirbt es."

[17] "So gehts uns alten Kindern auch; Die schwersten Zeiten lehren am besten Haußhalten / und die Gaben GOTTes mit Furcht und Danckbarketi geniessen: Der Uberfluß aber hat eine Nachfolgerin / die heist Verschwendung."

[18] "Und werden wohl niemahls mehr Sünden begangen / als wenn Gott der Welt das meiste gut thut / und sie mit seinem reichen Segen überschüttet: Hergegen siehet man niemahls mehr gen Himmel / als wenn GOtt den Brodtkorb hoch hänget / und im Mangel lernen wir erkennen / wie hoch und theuer der Segen GOttes zu halten sey."

remind the parents that their children too are a gift from God who are to be nurtured in piety. In *Andacht* III.xxxvii, for example, while leading prayers around a dinner table, Gotthold commented on how children do not belong to their parents but are merely lent to them for a time as an inheritance from God. Scriver used this as a way to remind the parents that they are to do their best to instruct them in faith and in piety. In another *Andacht* (II.xvii), Gotthold similarly observed a group of roughly 20 children on their way to school and noticed how some were playing, others following, while others were being rascals along the way. He saw within this a reflection of how difficult a task it was to raise children and used this image as a reminder to parents of the need to pray for their children. "One thing is to often forgotten: namely, fervent prayer / regarding a happy and blessed upbringing of [our] precious youth."[19] Indeed, he reminded them that their "children are precious stones" which only God knew how to "polish and set."[20]

Scriver thus provided examples of positive interaction as models for parenting behaviour. Thus we saw, in *Andacht* II.c, the playful interaction between Gotthold and his son over a tasting from a goblet of wine; or Gotthold's comments regarding the young maiden who had been brought to tears, red with embarrassment, and the value of such trials within the upbringing of a child.[21] We saw also the reciprocal relationship which Scriver described within his

[19] "Eins wird gar zu sehr hiebey vergessen: Das andȃchtige Gebet nemlich / um glȗckliche und gesegnete Erziehung der lieben Jugend."
[20] "Unsere Kinder sind Edelgesteine / die niemand besser als du / zu poliren und zu versetzen weiß."
[21] *GzA* II.li.

Chyrsologia Catechetica of a mother quizzing her daughter on her biblical understanding while braiding her daughter's hair. At the same time, the daughter was encouraged to return this favour by singing psalms and hymns for her mother to hear.[22] Indeed, in *Andacht* II.xxxiv where Gotthold observed the interaction between a child and his ailing father, Scriver reminded children that they were to honour their parents with respect and devout obedience, thus providing direct instruction to younger generations on how they were to act.

As a part of his instructions for parents, Scriver also tackled a present reality within the society of his day: the loss of a child to death. In *Andacht* III.xxiv, Scriver told a story of how Gotthold encountered a man whose two sons – aged 4 and 3 ½ years old – had just recently passed away. The man was devastated at the loss and spent many tears and many years in mourning. This image and experience was certainly not uncommon. Scriver himself had lost two sisters and his father to the plague. Rather than focusing on the loss, however, he used this as an opportunity to reflect upon the love of God and the blessings of paradise. "Consider / both whence and whither he has taken them?" he wrote. "From the world / [and] into heaven / that is / out of danger [and] into safety / out of sin [and] into contentment / out of wanting [and] into into riches / out of sorrow [and] into joy / out of storms [and] into calm / out of death [and] into life. He has torn their souls out of death / their eyes from tears / their feet from slipping / [so that] they wander before the Lord in the land of the living (Psalm 126:8-9)."[23]

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[22] *Chrysologia catechetica*, 55-56.

[23] "Bedencket / von wannen er und wohin er sie genommen? Aus der Welt / in den Himmel / das ist / aus der Gefahr in die Sicherheit / aus der Sůnde in die

Gotthold reminded this father that this is not the working of an angry God but of a God full of love and of mercy.

The connection here between the children and the experience of the reader is not as transparent as it was within the previous *Andachten*, likely because Scriver was dealing more directly with the experience of grief rather than focusing on the children as an emblem of faith. At the same time, Scriver used this as an opportunity to help his readers deal with such a loss by attempting to transform their sorrow into a cause for joy as they turned their attention heavenward. Here too, Scriver turned to children in order to lead his readers into a reflection upon the graciousness of God and to enjoin on them a joyous expectation of heavenly blessings as well as a happy reunion beyond the grave.

Images of Men

In reading through the *zufällige Andachten*, we also encounter a number of different images of men or male characters. Like the images of children, these also depict their subjects within a variety of different settings and social encounters. While some of the encounters which Scriver described did indicate a specifically male referent, the larger majority suggests a generic social type which could be applied across genders to a variety of different situations within the readers' lives. Like the images of children then, the various depictions of male characters throughout the *zufällige Andacthen* conform to the broader structure of

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Vollkommenheit / aus dem Mangel in den Richthum / aus dem Leid in die Freud / aus dem Ungewitter in die Stille / aus dem Tode ins Leben: Er hat ihre Seele aus dem Tode gerissen / ihre Augen von den Thrånen / ihren Fuß vom gleiten / sie wandeln vor dem Herrn im Lande der Lebendigen. (Psalm CXVI.8.9.)"

Scriver's emblematic cosmology in which each individual is seen as a mirror of the self and a reflection of divine counsel for the reader to behold and learn from.

Of course, Gotthold is the most prominent among these characters. He shows up within the *zufällige Andachten* as a prototypical exemplar of the "christian pilgrim" and a companion to the readers upon their own pilgrimage through life. As has already been noted in the previous chapter, Gotthold functions as a kind of "friend" through whom the readers are introduced into a new way of looking at the world around them. As such, Gotthold serves as an optical lens through which the readers learn to re-read and interpret their own subjective and social experiences within the parameters of the uniquely Lutheran perspective which Scriver built upon Luther's *theologia crucis*. It is important to note here the dynamic which is introduced within the reading process. As the reader is led into the narrative of the particular *Andacht*, Gotthold emerges as the proverbial finger pointing at the moon through which the reader to drawn to reconsider their interaction with the object which is presented before them. In the process, Gotthold as a character recedes into the background allowing the hermeneutical perpective offered through his words to rise to the fore so that the reader is invited to share in it. The process of reading thus can be compared to the donning of a new pair of glasses which bring the readers' perspective on the world into a different focus allowing them to see facets of their experience which they had not considered before. Through the act of reading, therefore, Scriver was able to indoctrinate the readers, regardless of their gender, into an entirely

new worldview.[24] As a result, Gotthold functioned, not so much as a gendered exemplar of masculinity within the text, but as a kind of generic type through which the reader – male or female – could immerse themselves into a new hermeneutical perspective through which they could view the world in which they lived.

We likewise see this same dynamic at work with many of the various male figures that Scriver uses as the basis for his devotions throughout the *zufällige Andachten*. In *Andacht* I.xxi, for example, Scriver used a description of an argument between two people in order to teach concerning the virtue of humility. "There were two [people] in one community," he wrote, "who went at one another with harsh words / the one had finished speaking to some good folk and then let loose [his] thundering and snarling upon one man alone / until, as it seemed to him, / the man showed remorse / but which was interpreted as timidity by the other / and each one became convinced thereby / [and] believed it all the more / that he held the other in contempt / as they went their separate ways."[25] His description of this scene is deliberately humorous as he captures the way in which people often loose their wits in the heat of an exchange. His language vividly captures this dynamic where *Poltern* transposes the thundering sounds of war drums and places them into the context of a personal battle. The ridiculous

[24] Colin Grant's discussion of the various myths we live by provides a useful parallel to the dynamic that I am conceiving here. See Grant, *op. cit.*.

[25] "Ihrer zween waren in einer Gesellschafft mit etlich harten Worten an einander gerathenn / der eine war auff gutter Leute gewichen und hatte dem andern das Poltern und Schnarchen allein gelasseen / welches aber wie es schiene / ihm hernach leid war / were r vermeinte / daß es ihm von andern vor eine Zaghafftigkeit / und jener dadurch wůrde bewogen warden / es mehr zu wagen / daß er ihn schimpflich hielte / weil es ihm dißmahl frey ausgangen."

nature of the situation is further highlighted by Scriver's reference to *Schnarchen* which envelops a broad semantic field which includes both the sound of an animal snarling as well as a more humorous meaning "to snore." One can imagine the readers howling with delight as they read through this description. Even though the chief players within this particular *Andacht* appear grammatically as male, Scriver's lesson could apply equally to two women or to a husband and a wife, as he drew his conclusion saying: "whoever breaks his [own] will and gives in / that person is in the process of growing upwards / but the one who allows himself to be mastered by his desires / is trapped in a fall."[26]

Other similar examples are not difficult to find. In *Andacht* II.v, Gotthold met a sick man (*krancken Mensch*) so wrapped up in fear (*innerliche Angst*) that beads of sweat came rolling down his face as he tossed to and fro within his bed trying to find rest for his soul. In another (*Andacht* I.lvi), Gotthold encountered a drunkard (*trunckener Mensch*). In yet another (*Andacht* I.xii), Scriver retells an historical account of a simpleton (*blöder Mensch*) who was known to wander around naked (*nackender Mensch*) and use straw as his bedding.[27] Within this particular *Andacht*, Scriver elaborated upon the life of this simpleton as an image of the Christian within this world. He likewise drew a comparison between the man's nakedness and the poverty which had become imposed upon so many on account of the War thus driving home the image in a way which resonated with the experiences of so many under his care. He even called this man a naked

[26] "Wer seinen Willen bricht / und nach gibt / der ist im Hinauffsteigen / Wer aber sich von seinen Begierden bemeistern lässet / der ist im Fallen begriffen."
[27] Scriver dates this historical situation to something he had encountered in September of 1657.

preacher (*nackender Prediger*) and used him as a way to illustrate both the suffering and poverty which humans experience becausee of sin as well as the understanding that one cannot take their worldly possessions with them as they enter into heaven. "All must, in the end, leave this world naked in death / just as we came into it naked,"[28] praying that the Lord would clothe him with the robes of Christ's righteousness.[29] By referring to him as a *nackender Prediger*, moreover, Scriver also removed him from the realm of vulgar ridicule and elevated him into a position of humble respect.

Scriver here provided his readers with a model for a social order which was built upon the virtues of humility and human compassion rather than antagonism and strife. We see this neatly illustrated in *Andacht* I.xlviii wherein Gotthold encountered the body of a murdered man "lying pitifully under the open sky in his own blood."[30] Scriver drew upon an image which many of his readers could well have seen during the time of their flight from war-torn areas; he then used it in order to lead them to question their own anger and their impulse to violence and transform it into an opportunity for compassion. "Gotthold," he wrote, "likewise came into that same village-area / and as the the bloody corpse came into sight / he sighed / and could not hold back his tears: O / he said / how

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[28] "Alle werden wir endlich im Tode nacket můssen aus der Welt ziehen / wie wir nacket herein kommen sind."

[29] Ach hilff / mein frommer GOTT / daß ich alsdann meiner Seelen Ehrenkleid / den Rock der Gerechtigkeit JEsu Christi behalte / und also bekleidet und nicht bloß erfunden werde! (2. Cor. V.3.)"

[30] "Es war ein Mann / der in eine Stadt den Jahrmarckt zu besuchen kommen / in der Wiederkehr / auff den Grentzen gemeldter Stadt / erschlagen / und lag under freyem Himmel jåmmerlich in sienem Blute."

true it is / that one man [*Mensch*] can be his neighbour's devil."[31] Gotthold's tears here recall those which Gryphius wrote about; yet Scriver applied them to the trials of human greed and strife as he drew his readers' attention to the biblical account of Cain and Abel in order to lead them away from murderous intentions into a more harmonious way of life.

Throughout these various *Andachten*, these male figures that we encounter emerge as a kind of literary character that can be characterized as a *Mensch*-type. The German word itself is grammatically a masculine term and carries with it the connotation of a generic male figure. It is often used to refer to an individual as a type of a true gentleman. Within the context of Scriver's *Andachten*, however, we find it also used within its more general sense as a referent to a generalized *other*. As such, it could encompass both an *other* who is male or female as we saw within the *Andacht* about the quarrelers, for example, where the identity of the characters remains hidden behind the social problem which Scriver wanted to address. Indeed, it is Scriver's vivid descriptions of the various scenarios which jump to the foreground in order to carry the *Andachten* forward so that the generic character of the *Mensch* as a linguistic type becomes anchored within the lively descriptions which Scriver provided so that the particular gendered identity of the individuals in world did not matter so much as the models of piety which they were able to portray.

[31] "Gotthold kamm auch an denselben Ort / und wie er des blutigen Cörpers ansichtig ward / erseuffzete er / und kont sich der Thränen nicht enthalten: Ach / sprch er / wie wahr ists / daß ein Mensch des andern Teuffel sey."

Thus Scriver could draw upon the image of some *Roofers* working to illustrate the precariousness of life and then highlight the immediacy of the call to faith.[32] *Beggars* were an emblem of the Christian within this life as well as a call to compassionate care for the disadvantaged.[33] *Mariners* stood in as an emblem of the Christian's heavenward journey.[34] Scriver likewise saw within the image of an *Unlucky Gambler* an emblem of the way in which people fool themselves into believing that they are better off than they actually are.[35] The rumours of an *Anonymous Friend* spurred Scriver on to consider the unsurpassing friendship of God even during times of trial and suffering.[36] Even a *Pardoned Criminal* became a cause, not to grumble about the other, but to reflect upon Christ's grace and forgiveness for the individual believer.[37]

A number of things are happening when we consider the dynamic of Scriver's *Andachten* as a devotional text. Through the constellation of different social images, Scriver was able to identify a whole range of different encounters in which his readers might well find themselves. The various depictions and images of male characters served as a kind of mirror through which they were encouraged to see their own lives and struggles and so encounter themselves. Like the second function of the Law within traditional Lutheran understanding, this encounter was intended to lead the individual through a reflection upon their own lives to come to recognize the character of their own brokenness and

[32] *GzA* II.xxxix.
[33] *GzA* II.lxxvi; also IV.lx.
[34] *GzA* I.viii.
[35] *GzA* I.xc.
[36] *GzA* I.lxxxviii.
[37] *GzA* II.xviii.

sinfulness. In Lutheran fashion, however, Scriver understood the need to draw his readers beyond themselves into an encounter with the cross of Christ as the living extension of the love of God as it reached into the fabric of their day-to-day lives. Within the context of the *Andachten*, Gotthold provided this interpretive function so as to induct the reader into a renewed way of looking at their lives and to lead them onward in a desire to do better.

Returning to Harré's typology, Scriver offered a mechanism through which the reader's self (Self 1) of embodied perception could be objectified and encountered relationally within these images of the *other* (Self 3) in a way that encouraged a process of self-reflective (Self 2) dialogue. He thus provided a means by which every situation and every encounter could become an opportunity for spiritual- and self-formation. Rather than beginning within the recesses of the soul, however, Scriver here created a religious worldview in which individuals was drawn out of themselves in order to navigate a new sense of identity extrinsically in relationship to others as well as their environment. The self, within Scriver's spirituality, thus emerged within a taut balance between objective and subjective realities. In the same way that children could serve as a generic exemplar of the Christian life, as also men, provided a means through which each individual could explore their own identity and what it means to be human within the structures of Scriver's theologially framed worldview.

Images of Women

It should not come as a surprise to discover that images of women were also interpreted by Scriver in an emblematic fashion that allowed them to serve as an exemplar for the whole of humanity. Indeed, as we read through Scriver's writings we discover that he considered women to be models or *exempla* of the human soul. We saw this already in Scriver's *Chrysologia Catechetica*, for example, where he highlighted the mother's role as that of being a *Hauspredigerin* towards the members of her family thereby elevating her beyond the mudane routine of domestic activities and vaulting her social role into one of vital religious significance. We saw this also within the *Andacht* (III.i) concerning the newborn child in which Scriver described the mother's role as one which both mediates and participates in God's divine work of nurture toward the child. Both of these examples show the way in which he redefined women's vocations and embued them with religious significance giving greater worth to their role and position within society.

It is entirely possible that the way in which Scriver related to images of women within the society of his day was influenced by the social relations which he himself also enjoyed. Throughout his childhood, Scriver's mother was a source both of strength and of nurture for him and it would be completely natural that he would have continued this high estimation of godly women throughout the rest of his life. His role as the *Hoffsprediger* in Quedlinburg likewise put him in close contact with the *Frauenstift* in that town creating a strong bond between his own ministry and the ongoing charitable work that was carried on by the women

who took residence there. These undoubtedly helped to influence the way in which he viewed the women within his parish life, causing him to see within them a positive example of religious piety.

Indeed, Scriver was explicit about this association within the structures of his own worldview. Within his *SeelenSchatz*, for example, we find that Scriver devoted an entire sermon to discussing the way in which women were presented throughout the Christian scriptures as figures (*Gestalt*) of believing souls (*glaůbige Seele*).[38] He then went on to illustrate the way in which women from within the biblical narrative should be read as *exempla* of faith and piety. The German from the opening comments of this sermon is revealing, for Scriver's reference to *believing souls* can be interpreted both as a reference to the soul (*Seele*) as a faculty of the human person as well as a reference to *individuals* who believe. Recognizing that both meanings are implicated in the term, this *Predigt* reveals to us something of the way in which he coordinated the categories of faith (*Glauben*) and personhood within the structures of his thought so that the common referent which stood beneath his various emblematic references was not so much the person as a gendered individual but their faith as rooted within the believing soul. As a result, Scriver was able to draw upon images of women within various different contexts and settings to serve as emblems of faith and of piety in a way which held universal significance for the various readers, regardless of their gender, of Scriver's works.

[38] *SeelenSchatz* IV.xi.

We see this clearly illustrated in an *Andacht* (III.xviii) in which Gotthold comments regarding a young maiden wearing a costly string of pearls (*Der Perlen Schnur*). He begins by acknowledging the Pauline injunction for women to dress modestly without costly adornments (1 Tim. 2:9) and comments on how people have used this to prevent women from wearing even pearls. Scriver argues that women should be allowed to wear pearls on account that, properly understood, they could be used to spur women on to godly remembrance and, as a result, towards true piety.[39] Drawing upon medieval lapidary lore concerning the origin of the pearl, Scriver explains his reasoning: "The pearl / as most experts in matters of the natural world relate / is conceived from the dew that comes down from heaven / when the mussels and oysters take note of the bright and fair weather / open up / as the dew falls / early in the morning / and most eagerly capture the glistening dew drops / which materialize within them / which afterwards, with their bright white glistening, give witness to their heavenly origin."[40] Scriver went on to unfold this as an emblem of the Christian heart which ought always to

[39] "Als Gotthold eine kostbare PerlenSchnur / die neulich eine Jungfrauen zum Schmuck erkauffet war / vorgezeiget wurde sagte er / Deß heiligen Apostels Erinnerung wird heutiges Tages wenig geachtet der da wil / daß die Weiber in zierlichem Kleide / mit Scham und Zucht / nicht mit Zöpffen oder God / oder Perlen / oder köstlichem Gewand sich schmücken sollen (I. Tim.II.9.) Niemand wil ietzo keine Perle tragen / als die sie nich hat / und nicht bezahlen kan / das wäre aber noch zu erleiden / weil ja das Frauenevolck den Schmuck von Natur liebet wann nur bedinger würde / daß keiner / Perlen zu tragen / solte erlaubet seyn / die nicht von denselben Anlaß zur gottseligen Erinnerung zu geben und zu nehmen wißte."

[40] "Die Perle / wie die moisten Naturkündiger zeugen / wird vom Thau des Himmels empfangen / den wenn die Muscheln und Perlen-Mutter helles und heiters Wetter vermerckt / soll sie sich gegen den Morgen / wann der Thau fället / eröffnen / und die Siberhelle Thautropffen begierigst empfangen / welche bey ihr erhärten / un nachher mit ihrem hellweissen Glantz ihren himmlischen Ursprung beweisen."

be ready to receive the heavenly grace (*himmlischen Gnaden-Thau*) which descends to its hearers through the preaching of the Word (*wann derselbe bey der Predigt deß Worts herunter falle*). By way of analogy, Scriver suggests that "one should likewise [take] the precious saying of the Bible / which possess the kernel / sap and power[s] of heavenly wisdom within them / and [then] string them upon the cord of your conscious awareness / so that one can count them in life as well as in death."[41] The image which Scriver here paints compares a string of precious pearls to a living awareness of the Word which the believer ought to prayerfully turn within their memory like the beads upon a rosary. He then goes on to compare this to the way in which many a woman, as her death draws near, requests that her pearls and jewelry be brought to her. Scriver denounces this as vanity (*Unflat*) turning rather to the emblem in which each Christian ought rather to adorn their own selves with the wondrous gifts that come down from heaven.[42] In the end, he prays that his tears might be his pearls through which the Lord would give him grace to weep over his sins and struggles with divine joy, goodness, and sanctity and thereby not to long for earthly pearls any longer.[43]

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[41] "So soll man die theuren Sprůche der Schrifft / die den Kern / Safft und Krafft der himmlischen Weißheit in sich haben / an der Schnur seines Gedåchtniß zusammen fassen / daß man im Leben und Sterben sich derselben bedienen kőnne."

[42] "Ich wißte mich nicht zuerinnern / daß einige gottselige Frau oder Jungfrau in Todesnoth nach ihren Perlen oder andern Schmuck sich umgesehen håtte ; Jene gottselige Fůrstin / als sie im Todbette lag / sagte von ihren Perlen und Edelgestein: Hinweg mit dem Unflat! HERR JEsu CHriste / kleide meine Seele mit deinem Ehren-Schmuck"

[43] "Mein GOTT! Meine Perlen sllen meine Thråne sayn: Gib mir Gnade / ůber deine Gůte / vor Freuden / und ůber deine himmlische Seligkeit / vor Verlangen zu weinen / so behehre ich keine Perlen mehr."

This *Andacht* parallels that of the embarrassed child (II.li) in which Scriver illustrates the value of repentance in the light of a young maiden who was brought to tears because of her indiscretions. As an emblem of repentance, he likewise compared her tears to fine gold and precious pearls which are the Christian's true adornment. He thereby cautioned people against seeking their value within external beauty (*Leibes Schöne*), turning their attention toward an inner value which he described as the beauty of the soul (*Seelen Schöne*).[44] It is this inner beauty which ought to supercede the outer. "What does it help the apple with its rose-red skin / when a fat worm freely digs and burrows underneath?"[45] This is contrasted with another *Andacht* (I.xv) in which Gotthold finds a maiden crying on account of the way in which she has been teased by others because of her poverty (*Armuth*) and tattered clothing (*schlechten Kleidung*). He comforts her, telling her that true beauty and worth comes, not from worldly esteem, but from the piety which comes from God alone. "Just look to it / that you (pl.) might please God / your head dress and crown be God's grace / your necklace, many words from Scripture / your pearls, your prayers of confession and the tears shed in love / your dress, the righteousness of faith / and your piety / your engagement ring, a good conscience / and humility [as] your bouquet / your white canvas, a spotless [Wandel] / your speech … prayer / your

[44] *GzA* II.xvi.
[45] "Was hilfft den Apffel seine Rosen-rothe Rinde / da der Wurm inwendig nach Belieben in ihm wühlet und zehret?"

mirror, the Law and the holy life of the Lord Jesus Christ / your riches, heaven itself" as they prepare to meet Christ their heavenly bridegroom.[46]

Scriver here drew upon a familiar theme within the Cistercian and Augustinian mystical traditions wherein the apex of the Christian life is discussed in terms of the marriage between Christ and the soul. Luther likewise made use of these images to illustrate the nature of faith as a hidden work which is accomplished beyond what can be seen, but like the bed chamber of a husband and wife, is nonetheless fruitful.[47] While the references here to the *other* within these particular *Andachten* is specifically that of a young woman, this theme when applied more broadly to the context of the Lutheran mystical tradition appears more precisely as an analogy of the life of faith which was applicable to both men and women. As a result, Scriver's emblems here should not be read in a narrow gender-specific context but as exempla which were applicable to each person, regardless of gender, within his reading community.

Furthermore, his comments regarding the inner beauty of the soul as expressed in a life of piety would have had direct social implications on how women were viewed and treated within the communities of his day. Rather than focusing on external beauty as the key grounds for marital attraction, Scriver laid

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[46] "Seh nur dahin / daß ihr GOtt gefallen mögen / Euer Hauptschmuck und Krone sey GOttes Gnade / euer Hals-Ketten viel Spruche der Schrifft / eure Perlen die Buß-Gebets und Liebes-Thränen / euer Kleid die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens / und die Gottseligkeit / euer Denck-Ring ein gut Gewissen / euer Flohr die Demuth / euer weisse Leinwand ein unbefleckter Wandel / euer Gespräch … das Gebet / euer Spiegel das Gesetz und das heilge Leben des Herrn JEsu Christi / euer Reichthum der Himmel / so werdet ihr eine Braut Christi seyn / und im Himmel vielen andern vorgezogen werden."

[47] AE 26:137; WA 40.I: 241.

a broader foundation as the basis for marital life. After all, piety, for Scriver, was a distinctly dynamic social process built around the mutual sharing of the Word. As a result, this piety would have held implications for social interaction both at home and within the community. Scriver especially emphasized the virtues of compassion and mutual respect throughout the scope of his various *Andachten* thereby offering a narrative model upon which a renewed sense of society could be built. While the specific role of women within this society remained largely domestic in scope, Scriver elevated the value of their lives and examples by comingling them with the mystery of divine action within the world.

Concluding Comments

There is no reason to doubt the validity of Müller's assertion that the various different images of people which Scriver used throughout his various *Andachten* were indeed taken from real life situations which he had encountered throughout the scope of his pastoral ministry. They allowed him to address common personal and social concerns and provide spiritual guidance to his readers as to how to view and deal with the various situations Gotthold encountered within his travels. There was something in there for everyone – whether male or female, a child or an adult – with lessons of practical spiritual advice which could be easily translated into patterns for behaviour to give shape to each person's life within the world.

Through these images of the *other*, Scriver provided his readers with a mirror in which they could view themselves (Self 1) from a third person vantage

point (Self 3) in order to gain a psychological distance from the limitations of their own experience. Gotthold's commentary then provided them with a renewed hermeneutical perspective by which they could reflexively evaluate (Self 2) their subjective and social experiences in relationship to a Lutheran *theologia crucis*. This formative function, moreover, was not limited to narrative of the text. Scriver's hermeneutical vision was built upon an emblematic cosmology in which the whole world and every detail within it was understood to be part of the larger *Book of Nature* so that the formative vision which Scriver presented to his readers within the pages of his *zufällige Andachten* flowed freely into the fabric of their daily lives so that the whole of their existence became the context in which their spiritual and identity formation could take place.

It is significant to note that the movement inherent within Scriver's devotional piety differed markedly from that expressed within Ignatian spirituality which dominated the missionary efforts of the Jesuit order throughout the seventeenth century. Ignatian spirituality was built upon a practice of *spiritual exercises* in which retreatants were taken out of the world in order to engage in an introspective process of self-discernment in conjunction with a reading of the Gospel narratives. The experience was highly structured in order to lead the person to identify with the suffering Christ in order to lead them back into the world with a renewed commitment to obedient discipleship. The movement within Scriver's spirituality is markedly different. Instead of taking his readers out of the world, the zufällige Andachten lead them back into it as the place in which their religious formation took place. Rather than emphasizing an

introspective examination of conscience as the fulcrum upon which his system turned, Scriver drew his readers out of themselves so that they could learn to see themselves more clearly in the face of the *other*. As Blake Lee Spahr has noted, the baroque was seen as both "active and passive, masculine and feminine, a truly hermaphroditic symbol of the *Schein* it emanates and the *Warheit* it embodies."[48] In developing this concept of the other as a mirror, Scriver thereby inverted the patterns of the *devotio moderna* upon a distinctly Lutheran approach to the spiritual life which embedded the religious life of the individual within the experience of community, placing the cross of Christ squarely within the midst of it. By doing so, he allowed his readers to both affirm the reality of human frailty and suffering and at the same time to transcend it.

Scriver's emblematic treatment of the *other* is particularly noteworthy in this regard. Children, men, and women all served as useful *exempla* of the human condition; and although the matter of gender is clearly visible within his writings, it recedes into the background behind the veil of his call to piety. As a result, he was able to highlight the religious worth and significance of every individual no matter their gender or age. What we find, as a result, is similar to that of Christine Peters' conclusions regarding the religious climate for women within late medieval and early modern English protestantism.[49] Through an examination of religious iconography and church warden records, she concluded that the piety which developed within post-Reformation England was not as hostile toward

[48] Blake Lee Spahr, "The Mirror and Its Image in Seventeenth-Century German Literature," *The German Baroque: Literature, Music, Art*, edited by George Schulz-Behrend (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), 65.
[49] Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety*.

women as commentators like Eamon Duffy have suggested.[50] This certainly is evident within Scriver's devotional writings in which women as well as children were upheld along side images of men as examples of both a broken human condition as well as positive examples of faith. Through these images, moreover, Scriver was able to provide a positive foundation upon which a society which had been torn apart by war could be rebuilt.

Unlike Peters' study, however, this present work is not one of social history. It is a focused more upon a history of ideas as handed down within the context of Europe's devotional cultures. As a result, I have not demonstrated the actual impact which Scriver's writings had upon the societies of Europe. That would require additional research in church and city records in order to determine how Scriver's writings actually contributed towards a change in social behaviour. This is, however, a study in religious ideas as presented within Scriver's devotional writings and the way in which the notion of the *self* was constructed within them. As a result, it provides us important clues as to the impact that different theologies and devotional movements contributed to the ongoing cultural discussion of what it means to be human.

[50] See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale UniversityPress, 1992).

Chapter Seven:

Concluding Comments

"That which was proper he also taught, he lived what he said," so much so that "he himself was a living model of [Christian] dogma."[1] Such was the opinion of an unnamed theologian about Scriver's importance as a devotional writer witin the history of Lutheranism. It is interesting to note, however, that while this quote lives on within Scriver's biographies, the name of the person who had penned it has long since been forgotten. What these words illustrate is a perception that Scriver had exemplified an ideal of a theologically integrated model of *personhood,* both within himself, as well as within the body of his devotional writings. This was undoubtedly also what Samuel Schmidt was aluding to in his eulogy as he stood over the place of Scriver's grave and called him by the name of "Gotthold," the main character from Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten*. Schmidt then reminded those who had gathered that the voice of their beloved pastor was not truly gone, but that it lived on, within every word and syllable of his *zufälliger Andachten* and other devotional books. Like the angelic messenger from Book 8 of Augustine's *Confessions*, Schmidt was encouraging them to "take and read" and by so doing to own the power (*Kraft*) and force (*Nachdruck*) of Scriver's voice for themselves. Schmidt's comments were a call to piety. It is interesting to note that, within this call, we find the the curious constellation of theology, personhood, and the act of devotional reading consciously articulated within the

[1] "Quod decuit docuit, quod dixit idem quoque vixit, exemplar vivum dogmatis ispe sui." Quoted in Becker, 38.

closing decade of the seventeenth century as a part of the living dynamic of Scriver's legacy as a devotional writer.

I have refered to this constellation as curious, not because it was out of place within the cultural context of the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries, but because theology and personhood have not commonly been coordinated within the historical discussions of the early modern *self*. Questions of selfhood or personhood have conventionally fallen under the philosophers gaze or have been treated by social historians; historical theology, on the other hand, has been treated as the possession of specialists in the history of ideas or in the history of Christian thought. Unfortunately, there has been little focus on fostering disciplinary cross-over between the two. While there has been a growing trend to explore religious conception of the self within recent literature, the role of theology is either relegated to the realm of caricatures or is poorly understood. Because of this, a key facet of my argument revolved around the need to better integrate an awareness of theological categories within the historian's work. Indeed, as Robert Kolb and Sabean demonstrate, Christian thought forms still very much dominated the cultural landscape of the seventeenth century.[2] As a result, there is a need for greater attention to be devoted to understanding the way in which theology functioned as a *formative* part of early modern village discourse and not merely one aspect of it.

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[2] Robert Kolb, "Lutheran Theology in Seventeenth-Century Germany," *Lutheran Quarterly* 20:4 (2006): 451. David Warren Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular culture & village discourse in modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

Sabean's *Power in the Blood* went a long way to illustrate how differing conceptions of piety impacted village discourse throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries. The problem is that historians have tended to rely upon established caricatures within their investigations of personhood within the past. Bynum had already pointed this out in the 1970s when she took aim at the way in which Colin Grant tried to trace the modern fascination with interiority as a definition of selfhood into the literatures of the eleventh and twelfth-centuries. We find the same in Sabean's work where he too stumbled over trying understand the dynamic of individuality as though this were the end-all-and-be-all of personal identity within the early modern world. At the same time, he recognized that there was something more going on which he could not quite articulate, forcing him to conclude that "it is hard to get away from the notion of the individual to which we have been socialized."[3] On the other hand, we find scholars like Luhmann, Erdei, and Damrau who have argued that the contribution of theological discourse to seventeenth-century constructions of the self amounts to nothing more than a paving-of-the-way for a radical form of affective-interiority. Neither of these solutions has proved to be adequate so much so that recent voices, such as Smith and Reiss, have argued for a new approach in which historical constructions of selfhood become themselves the object of historical investigation.

This is precisely the approach which I have taken with regard to Scriver's devotional piety. A careful reading of Scriver's *Chrysologia catechetica* as well

[3] Sabean, 208.

as his *zufälliger Andachten* revealed that his theological anthropology, rather than supporting a claim toward a radical interiority, was built instead upon an extrinsic conception of person. Scriver had built this understanding upon Luther's conception of faith as a receptive quality of the soul. As a result, his piety required a constant dynamic of dialogical interaction built around a mutual speaking of the Gospel through which, he understood, both faith and Christ to be communicated with the other. Indeed, this is reflected also in Luther's teaching on the Sacraments as external means through which both Christ and forgiveness are communicated to the individual believer. Scriver likewise adopted this understanding into his own theological thought, emphasizing the role of community as the place in which this Gospel message was to be shared and echoed as a communal act of *lectio divina*. He thus understood the individual to be constituted outside of herself within the dynamic social context of social interactions.

It is here that Scriver's piety must be differentiated from that of Arndt's. Whereas Scriver began with a theological anthropology that placed the individual into the context of her community as the place in which her spiritual formation took place, Arndt's drew the individual inwards in a perpetual spiral of self-mortification. Likewise, Scriver's insistence upon a clear distinction between justification and sanctification within his soteriological understanding must be contrasted to Arndt's insistence that both be present for salvation to be acquired. On these two points alone, Scriver stands apart from the general tenor of Arndtian spirituality and far closer to Luther's own theological position. As a result, the

assumption that Scriver's piety stood uncritically within the tradition of Arndtian cannot be sustained.

Chapters five and six represent what is perhaps the heart of this study. Looking at Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten* through the lens of devotional reading practices, I considered the way in which this text *functioned* as a work of spiritual direction. Jennifer Bryan argued that the reading of devotional literature in late medieval England taught private readers to "see themselves" and "to reflect on what they saw, initially as a habit of reading and then as a habit of mind."[4] Unlike Bryan's study which focused on the development of private reading practices, we know that Scriver's *Andachten* were widely used as a part of family devotions. These chapters looked at the way in which both Gotthold and various other images of children, men, and women did indeed help their readers 'see themselves' as well as help to train their readers into a way of seeing the world and interacting within their social environment based upon the resources of Scriver's Lutheran theological tradition. I brought together insights from medieval practices of devotional reading (*lectio divina*) and Luther's evangelical adaptation of this tradition (*oratio – meditation – tentatio*) with Rom Harré's discussion of the multiplicity of the self in order to develop a Lutheran theory of devotional reading as it appears in relationship to the text of Scriver's *Andachten*. Rather than laying down specific formulas for who or what the self ought to be, Scriver's *Andachten* functioned as a catalyst to help induct its readers into a

[4] Jennifer Bryan, *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia Press, 2008), 3.

theologically grounded way of seeing and interacting with the world as well as the people within it.

When viewed in this way, it becomes evident that devotional texts such as Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten* served an important social role, as catalysts of identity formation through, what Lance Lazar called, a process of devotional modeling.[5] Through a reading of Scriver's *Andachten*, people were introduced both to the content of Scriver's theological vision but also to a theologically constructed way of viewing the world. Scriver discussed this, not only in reference to individual articles of faith and belief as he brought them to bear upon the commonplaces of everyday existence, but also in the way in which he argued for an enchanted view of the world. His adaptation of medieval exemplarism with its emphasis upon creation as a Book of Nature, combined with Luther's *theologia crucis*, allowed him to provide his readers with a devotional method that transformed their perception of the world away from memories of death and loss as they had experienced it through the Thirty Years' War and transform the whole of their daily experiences into a reflection of divine grace and comfort.

Within historical literature, especially studies of the baroque emblem, this dimension of seventeenth-century devotional culture has been discussed in terms of dying vestiges of a medieval worldview.[6] This *baroque exemplarism*, if I can

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[5] Lance Lazar, "The Formation of the Pious Soul: Trans-alpine Demand for Jesuit Devotional Texts, 1548-1615," *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan*, edited by John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerband, and Anthony J. Papalas (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 290.

[6] See Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem: Strucutral Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 33-34.

call it such, has been discussed in terms of a literary *Kunstform* or a poetic novelty, but little has been done to develop its significance as a *Denkform* within early modern devotional thought. Scriver's *Andachten* illustrate, however, that it was a worldview which was very much alive within the second half of the seventeenth century. As a result, there is room to question these assumptions about the intrusion and persistence of these so-called medieval thought forms into the dawning era of modernity. Indeed, there has been a tendency to treat these as an inferior expression of culture within a time which was building towards an age of human enlightenment.[7] Such a positivist view of history, however, obscures the continuity which did exist between medieval and early modern times. Indeed, as Christine Peters has pointed out, it is more likely that people thought of their lives and daily experiences in terms of a continuity rather than a discontinuity.[8] In relationship to Scriver's *Andachten*, certainly the war would have impacted people's self-perception during this time. This discontinuity, however, would not have been viewed in terms of a grand periodization of historical eras but as a disruption and destabilization of the continuity of daily life. The simple fact that Scriver was able to draw upon this tradition of exemplarism in the writing of his *Andachten* points to its currency within the general population. Its use by Martin Opitz, Gryphius, Harsdörffer, and so many others, likewise illustrates that this way of viewing the world was still very much alive. Similarly, Scriver's integration of mystical themes, such as the union of Christ with the soul, have

[7] Daly, 33.
[8] See, for example, Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2.

been discussed in terms of a discontinuity with Luther's theological tradition and a dependence upon medieval sources instead. As I point out in chapter four, however, these themes are very much present within Luther's own theological writings as well.[9] It is more helpful, as a result, to consider how Scriver configured his own theology based on the various sources which were available to him.

Particularly interesting is Scriver's relationship between Gender and piety. Within chapter six, I discussed this in relationship to images of the other within his *zufälliger Andachten*. We should not expect that Scriver's social expectations of men and women would have been all that different from that expressed by others from the same time period. It is remarkable to note, however, that within Scriver's discussion of children, men, and women as well as people from within all stations of life, that he was able to relate to each one as a mirror of the soul. Thus, while Scriver acknowledged gendered differences within the cultural context of his day, he likewise presented a form of piety in which each person, regardless of gender, could be read and interpreted as a universal emblem of the human condition. Rather than dividing individuals from one another, this treatment of persons, regardless of their gender or social status, helped to build a positive social environment in which people could find a place and identity both within themselves and in relationship to their neighbour.

[9] See, for example, Bengt R. Hoffman, *Luther and the Mystics: A re-examination of luther's spiritual experience and his relationship to the mystics* (Minneapolis: Augburg Publishing House, 1976); also Jared Wicks, *Luther and his Spiritual Legacy* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1983).

More work could certainly be done with Scriver's *zufälliger Andachten* and the rest of his devotional writings. Within this study, I have tried to place Scriver's *Andachten* historically in relationship to the time period in which he lived. In the end, however, it remains a study focused on the text with an emphasis on the history of ideas. As a result, there is no indication given as to how Scriver's *Andachten* or his other devotional writings were later received, or how they influenced later writers and thinkers. Give that devotional movements are better understood as being contiguous rather than continuous, as Daniel Bornstein has pointed out,[10] consideration should be given as to what influence the shape of Scriver's spirituality had upon later devotional writers.

Müller points out that Spener and Scriver had both spent some time together and had also exchanged a number of letters. Spener appears to have been somewhat of an admirer of Scriver's.[11] It may be worth asking to what extent can we see the imprint of Scriver's piety within Spener's own work as a devotional writer. Were Spener's *collegia pietatis* modeled after the social dynamic of Scriver's devotional anthropology or was this a new innovation within Spener's spirituality? It could also be asked whether Scriver's Gotthold served as a source of inspiration for the later pietist conversion narrative? Given that Scriver's *SeelenSchatz* as well as his *zufälliger Andachten* were commonly found circulating together with Arndt's *Wahres Christentum*, it should also be explored as to what extent the difference between their respective theological positions on

[10] Daniel E. Bornstein, *The Bianchi of 1399: Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 62.
[11] Holger Müller, *Seelsorge und Tröstung: Christian Scriver (1629-1693)* (Waltrop: Hartmut Spenner, 2005), 68-94.

questions of anthropology, soteriology, and sacramentology became lost along the way? Scriver's influence upon the shape of Bach's theology, Kierkegaard's philosophy, as well as Carl von Linné's work as a botanist could likewise be explored.

As Tepfenhardt has pointed out, Scriver was a well read individual who kept abreast of both world literatures as well as social developments within his time.[12] One finds, not only, rich interaction with both the biblical text as well as a wide range of patristic writers, but also occasional references to the Talmud and the Qur'an within his works. Tepfenhardt, Udo Sträter, and Peter Damrau have contributed some insights into some of the international sources which Scriver read. His profile as a scholar and an academic theologian, however, has only started to be addressed. Further study into both his theology and his impact as a devotional writer will only contribute toward a better understanding the religious landscape – as well as the broader cultural landscape – of the *terra incognita* of seventeenth century.[13]

What has captured the attention of so many over the past three centuries, however, is the way in which Scriver forged a dynamic unity between the doctrinal resources of his Lutheran theological heritage and a living expression of Christian piety. As a result, Scriver's contribution to the cultural landscape of seventeenth-century Europe cannot be separated from early modern discussions

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[12] Waltraud Tepfenhardt, *Emblematische Strukturen in Christian Scrivers Gottholds Zufäliger Andachten* (A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (German) at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980), 25.

[13] Andrew Landale Drummond, *German Protestantism since Luther* (London: The Epworth Press, 1951), 11; also Kolb, *op. cit*..

regarding personhood and identity formation. As Scriver demonstrates, theology was very much alive as a part of village discourse and therefore framed people's discussions about the good, proper behaviour, and what it means to be human. As Rudolf Bohren has written, however, "You've just got to read Scriver!"[14] It is here where any further work must begin.

[14] Rudolf Bohren, "Barocke Therapie – Christian Scriver," *In Der Tiefe der Zisterne. Erfahrung mit der Schwermut* (Münschen: Kaiser, 1990), 186.

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