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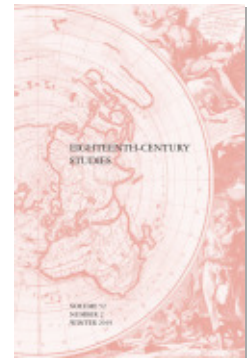
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Pietism: Towards a Topography of Religious Feelings in
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ANXIETY, AFFECT, AND THE PERFORMANCE OF FEELINGS IN RADICAL PIETISM: TOWARDS A TOPOGRAPHY OF RELIGIOUS FEELINGS IN DENMARK-NORWAY IN THE EARLY ENLIGHTENMENT

Juliane Engelhardt

The maid Brigitte Jensin screamed to heaven. She screamed out of repentance and angst as she realized that, until then, she had lived as a false Christian and a miserable slave of sin. At this moment, the Savior's words flew like lightning into her soul: she understood that it was God who had created feelings of melancholy and despair in her body in order to lead her to this moment of conversion. She collapsed on the floor and cried.

This behavior was associated with the Pietist movement and its doctrine of bodily conversion. It illustrates that feelings are not entirely subjective and detached from time and place, but rather are dependent on historical context. We cannot gain access to people's feelings in the past. What we can do is examine how people spoke of, described, and performed their feelings. This article investigates how the Lutheran reformist movement of Pietism sought to create a religious revival that both relied on older emotional norms and narratives and created new ones. In what then constituted the Danish composite monarchy's core countries—Denmark, Norway, Schleswig, and Holstein—both moderate and radical versions of Pietism were vigorously propagated in the first half of the eighteenth century.¹ As both branches of the movement promoted a distinct and pronounced expectation of emotional fervor among believers, it is quite reasonable to study the history of Pietism from the perspective of early modern emotional history. Yet, little research exists on the various ways people actually met these expectations.

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This article is an attempt to explore the emotional dynamics of Pietism a little further. It approaches the topic from different angles, analyzing different types of sources. The first part of this inquiry investigates the explicit and implicit emotional expectations within Pietism. One group of sources for this investigation is devotional literature written by leading Pietist figures, which explains how true believers were supposed to feel in order to be true children of God. A second type of source is the individual accounts written by radical Pietists in Denmark who described their inner feelings in the course of their conversions in the 1730s. Concentrating on uncovering the emotional stages in the transition to becoming a true Pietist Christian, this part of the article focuses on how feelings of melancholy, anxiety, and enthusiasm became meaningful and edifying in the radical Pietist understanding of Christianity. A further facet of this is the performative aspect of these feelings—i.e. how inner sensations of despair or joy were expressed through tears, laughter, and bodily trembling, which manifested the presence of God's light within the convert.

The second part of the article investigates various emotional reactions to the expansion of both Halle-Pietism and radical Pietist congregations among the general population of Denmark-Norway. This research is based on the vast archive of the Church Chancellery, kept in the National Archives in Copenhagen. The archive is well preserved and contains a large number of letters from commoners as well as visitation books from the clergy. In this archival material, people of a traditional Lutheran observation in Denmark and Norway spoke of their emotional reactions when encountering Pietist preaching. Far from every commoner reacted to pastors' expectations of more heartfelt repentance. Thus, this article deals with the conflict between the emotional expectations within radical Pietism and what can be characterized as the unanticipated emotional consequences of the spread of Pietism among the broader population.

An important theoretical source of inspiration for this study has been William Reddy's objection to the popular understanding of feelings as something that overwhelms the subject, consciously or unconsciously. Feelings arise and are navigated, Reddy argues, in the interplay between the subject's past experiences and contemporary social settings and expectations. Emotives, a core concept in Reddy's theory, covers the way people express and perform their feelings through speech acts.² This article seeks to build on this theory by demonstrating how converted Christians performed their inner feelings through "body acts" as they cried, trembled, threw themselves on the ground, and sometimes even kissed each other. These acts reveal quite a different understanding of the nature of these feelings than modern notions of them. In short, the article seeks to contribute both to the history of Pietism as a series of lived experiences and to the history of early modern emotions.

Though comprehensive research has been done on the history of Pietism in Germany and the United States, very little has so far been undertaken on the emotional history of Pietism. For instance, the extensive four-volume publication, *Geschichte des Pietismus* (published 1993–2004) does not treat the emotional history of Pietism as a specific topic. However, Pietism is germane to the history of emotions for two main reasons. First, intense feelings of faith were believed to be a cardinal, constituent element of another of Pietism's core features: the divi-

sion between true and false Christians. Second, radical Pietist congregations were in many ways the quintessence of emotional communities. They gathered people from various social strata and both genders, and provided them with an emotional bond relating to their faith.³

Jonathan Strom has examined Pietist conversion narratives in several works. He disputes that a strict conversion scheme was an inherent feature of moderate Pietist movements, but demonstrates that dramatic conversion narratives were promoted among radical Pietists in the 1730s. Andreas Bähr and Peter Damrau argue that anxiety was not considered an unambiguously negative sensation within Pietism, but a necessary step in a progressive process towards becoming a true child of God.⁴ In endeavoring to develop this theme, the present inquiry is in dialogue with existing research on the emotional practices of enthusiastic movements in Britain and the United States. The work of Thomas Dixon and Monique Scheer on the Methodist movements is especially relevant, as these scholars also examine formations of new emotional communities within old Christian confessions, as well as how members' emotions were performed physically.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Pietism was a Lutheran reformist movement that arose in Frankfurt in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (hereafter: the Holy Roman Empire) in the 1670s. It was initiated by senior pastor Philip Jacob Spener, who focused on the reading of the Bible by laymen and on individual edification. Subsequently, various Pietist movements emerged throughout Northern Europe. An important branch, Halle-Pietism, was developed in Halle by August Hermann Francke who established progressive philanthropic and pedagogical institutions in the city. Halle-Pietism became widespread in Prussia and the Danish-German-Norwegian composite state in the first half of the eighteenth century. In Prussia, Frederic William I (1713–1740) and Frederick II (1740–1786) became protectors of Pietist reforms, especially those focused on schooling for young people.⁵ In the Danish state, the two absolute monarchs, Frederick IV (1699–1730) and Christian VI (1730–1746), promoted Halle-Pietism throughout the realm.⁶ Christian in particular oversaw a thoroughgoing Pietist policy, providing the means and structures to ensure that Pietism was disseminated throughout the population at large, at all social levels, and to all corners of the realm, not least by appointing clergy educated in Halle.⁷ By 1741, six of the ten dioceses in Denmark-Norway employed bishops who were of a Pietist disposition. Confirmation, a Pietist practice associated with personal conversion, was decreed mandatory in 1736 by Christian, who also made it compulsory for the candidates for confirmation to read the Pietist catechism, *Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed* [*Truth unto Godliness*]. The following year, he established the *Generalkirkeinspektionskollegiet* [Church Chancellery], and appointed Pietists as inspectors. The purpose of the department was to increase the dissemination of Pietism in parishes throughout the realm, and to ensure that the religious conflicts that arose from this dissemination were contained.

The king's efforts to revive Christian fervor were met with sympathy in certain parts of the population and considerable opposition in others. Particularly controversial was the distinction between true and false Christians, a key element

of Halle-Pietism. The clergy of traditional Lutheran observation argued that this distinction ran counter to the basic Lutheran doctrine that every believer is justified through faith alone: the principle of *sola fide*. The conflict intensified when some of the pastors refused absolution to their parishioners because they believed them not to be genuinely repentant of their sins, denying them the Eucharist. Many reacted with anger, as this singled them out as false Christians in the eyes of their fellow parishioners. Others became anxious at the prospect of not receiving God's forgiveness of their sins.

In parallel with this tension within the Lutheran communities, radical congregations arose in several places in the realm, primarily in Copenhagen, Northern Jutland, and Bragernes, south of Oslo. Radical Pietists were characterized by separatism, as their congregations broke off from the established church. These non-conformists were both men and women, and people of high and low social standings participated in worship on an equal footing. Sometimes women even preached, although this was against Danish Law. Affective union with God and Millenarian expectations were core features of their religiosity. In this way, Danish Pietism resembled radical Pietist movements in the Holy Roman Empire.⁸

One episode that gave strong impulses to the radical communities in Copenhagen was a visit by Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf to the royal family in Denmark in connection with the coronation of Christian VI. Zinzendorf was the founder of the Moravian community, a radical Pietist wing established in 1727. The community emphasized the emotional life of the believer, fluctuating between deep sorrow at the crucifixion of Christ and ecstatic joy at his atonement for the sins of man. Zinzendorf was apparently hoping to initiate a close partnership with the royal family, but did not succeed in doing so. The moderate Halle-Pietism became the official direction of the church during Christian's reign. However, Zinzendorf inspired Moravian congregations to emerge outside the established church in Denmark, and Moravians received permission to begin missionary work in the Danish-governed West Indian islands and Greenland in 1732 and 1733 respectively.⁹

TRUE AND FALSE CHRISTIANS

A pivotal point of reference among Pietists was the distinction between true and false Christians. True Christians, leading Pietist figures explained in devotional writings, acquired their faith in a heartfelt way. Genuine faith, furthermore, manifested itself in charity, hard work, and refraining from unnecessary material consumption. Here, Pietists established a distinction between orthodox Lutheranism, which they often described as a book-learned belief system, and their own vibrant faith.¹⁰

Scholars disagree on whether Pietists believed it was necessary to follow a strict scheme in order to convert from false to true faith. Gisela Mettele argues for a distinction between the notion of "rebirth," designating an instantaneous experience, often with an exact date and hour, and the notion of "renewal," which was a longer process of conversion.¹¹ Jonathan Strom argues that an actual conversion experience was not an integral part of either Spener's or Francke's descriptions of coming to faith.¹² His research shows that a rather dramatic *Busskampf* model of

conversion, which involved intense spiritual struggles and a moment of rebirth, became widespread among radical Pietists in Dargun in the northern part of the Holy Roman Empire from the 1730s. Here, Duchess Augusta, Christian VI's maternal aunt, endorsed *Busskampf* conversions and thereby attracted severe criticism, not merely from the traditional clergy but also from Halle-Pietists.¹³

In the Danish realm too, it is important to distinguish between a moderate process of renewal and an actual experience of rebirth. In the authoritative documents of official Danish Pietism, conversion is referred to as a lasting, lifelong process. In *Den Daglige Fornyelse* [The Daily Renewal], translated into Danish in 1739, Francke explained that every day should be a day of renewal, excitement, and receiving new light and new strength. This view was also expressed in the Danish catechism, *Truth unto Godliness*. Its author, the court chaplain Erik Pontoppidan, explained to the candidates for confirmation that they should root out sinful thoughts and feelings and renew their Christian faith on a daily basis.¹⁴

Paradoxically, Francke's own conversion experience in his youth seems to have led to an understanding of conversion as an intense inner struggle with specific emotional stages, at least among radical Pietist groupings. Francke's conversion narrative was not published until after his death in 1727, probably because it was considered controversial. In his narrative, Francke outlined a process of conversion beginning with religious self-confidence, followed by an awareness of his sinful conduct, which produced strong, persistent emotions. He became increasingly melancholy, until one day he experienced an emotional breakdown, accompanied by intense anxiety. Then, at that exact moment, he suddenly felt the presence of God, which led immediately to repentance and relief.¹⁵ Later, Francke abandoned his radical sympathies, or at least did not speak of them publicly. When Francke developed his pedagogical institutions in Halle, he emphasized teaching children labor discipline and strict self-control.¹⁶

Elements of Francke's narrative appeared in many subsequent narratives by Danish Moravian converts, including the seven I explore below. Each is embedded in the convert's individual autobiography, the so-called *Lebenslauf* ("course of life"). They all describe conversions that took place in the 1730s. Although the conversions did not follow a strict scheme, they contain clear similarities both with Francke's narrative and other Moravian narratives. There are two copies of each *Lebenslauf*; one was sent to the Moravian leaders in Herrnhut, the other kept among the Danish Moravian congregation. Today, the latter are housed in the Danish National Archives.¹⁷ They were written by George Traneker (schoolteacher, 1717–1802); Lorenz Prætorius (public servant, 1708–1780); Gertrud Marie Prætorius (wife of Lorenz, 1715–1804); Georg Jacobsen Wemenhoy (private teacher, 1713–1787); Brigitte Jensin (maid, 1705–1794); Peter Isager (wealthy merchant, 1709–1778); and Peter's wife Margaretha Isager (1713–1792). All were native Danes, but wrote their narratives in German, except Traneker, who immigrated to England and wrote his *Lebenslauf* in English. The six remaining converts were among the founders of the Moravian colony of Christiansfeld in southern Jutland in 1773.

In these *Lebensläufe*, the converts describe how early in their lives they had feelings or specific experiences of being in contact with the Savior, but that they were also deeply worried about being worthy of salvation. Several of them

had periods in their youth during which they lived sinfully, being occupied with worldly amusements. For instance, Traneker describes how he “became more and more a miserable slave of sin;” L. Prætorius writes that “Die Welt gefiel mir, und sie liebte mich” [the world appealed to me and loved me]; and Wemenhoy refers to himself in his youth as a “Weltmensch” [a man of the world] and a “Sklave der Sünde” [slave of sin]. In some cases, conversion is occasioned by serious illness or an event such as breaking a leg. In others, the future convert experiences growing feelings of melancholia, misery, and restlessness. G.M. Prætorius explains that “Ich verfiel in eine Melancholie, in welcher mich nicht in der ganzen Welt trösten konnte oder vergnügen” [I fell into a state of melancholy in which nothing in the world could console me or give me enjoyment]. In her account, Brigitte Jensin describes how as a young person she was anxious and cried a great deal. When she moved from her hometown of Næstved to Copenhagen, she embarked on a sinful way of life. Her anxiety worsened and she prayed to God to help her escape her “verlorner Zustand” [false way of life].

In five of the seven narratives, the feelings of melancholia and unrest culminate in an emotional breakdown involving deep anxiety. In certain cases this is manifested physically, with the convert falling face down on the ground, weeping. In others, the converts fall to their knees and cry, or even scream until suddenly they see the crucified Christ before them and feel the presence of God in their hearts. Following Mettele’s terminology, this may be characterized as an instantaneous “new birth.” In the two remaining narratives, conversion is described as a longer process of “renewal,” although they too include experiences of being touched by God. All seven authors describe experiencing an overwhelming sensation of the love of God. A turning point then occurs as they realize that it is God who has led them through these emotional stages and made them aware that, until now, they had only been pretending to be Christians. It is also God, they say, who has created these feelings of melancholy and anxiety within them that led them to acknowledge the need to fundamentally change their feelings and daily behavior. Traneker describes the emotional stages of his rebirth as follows:

In this state of mind between great anxiety and a glimmering hope, I remained about four weeks, till one morning, when I felt my condition unbearable, I kneeled down, and laid, with broken words and sighs, my very wretched state of heart before our dear Saviour, and implored him, to have mercy on me, a miserable sinner. At that moment he manifested himself to my heart, as wounded and bleeding to death on the cross also for me, and forgave me all my sins. It was really to me, as tho’ I had seen him bodily hanging on the cross, full of blood and wounds and in a dying condition. It is impossible for me to describe what then I felt; I threw myself prostrate before him, and wetted the ground with my tears of love and gratitude. I felt my heart burning with love for him, and gave myself, soul and body up to him, to be his own forever. This overpowering sensation of his love and grace lasted in the same manner for several weeks; and many a time did I walk the streets with tears running down my face, when meditating on his love and bitter sufferings for me, and the texts of scripture treating of the great matter, which I had learned before as a part of Divinity, came now spontaneously into my mind with such a powerful and new impression, as tho’ it had never before.¹⁸

As Traneker writes, he alternated between anxiety and hope until the exact moment of rebirth, when he saw Jesus and burst into tears. Unlike Francke, the Danish converts also had experiences characteristic of members of the Moravian Community in that they beheld the Savior, dripping blood and with an open wound in his stomach, hanging on the cross and saying, “Das hab ich alles für dich gelitten... um dir meine grosse Liebe anzuzeigen” [all this have I suffered for you... in order to show you my great love for you].¹⁹ In spite of this macabre vision, the converts found peace as they realized that the bloody crucifixion of Christ was the path to reconciliation with God. Then a restless energy emerged. Traneker describes wandering aimlessly through the streets of Copenhagen with tears of repentance running down his face. All seven converts traveled to spread the word of God and meet their fellow believers, including throughout Denmark, Norway, the Holy Roman Empire, the Netherlands, and Britain.

Many of these authors describe their feelings as spontaneous occurrences of divinely-inspired sensations. Although there is a buildup, the actual conversions take place in an instantaneous, even abrupt manner. As Traneker explained: “These words [from the crucified Jesus] flew like lightning into my heart; a flood of tears gushed out of my eyes, it was as if my heart would split asunder.”²⁰ Here, it should be noted that the overall structures of the conversion narratives are very similar, not merely to each other, but also to German Moravian *Lebensläufe*.²¹ Furthermore, the narratives were written long after the conversions had occurred, and not for private reasons: they were meant to be read aloud at the writer’s deathbed. Subsequently, they were sent to the center of the Moravian Church in Herrnhut in Bohemia (as were thousands of other Moravian *Lebensläufe*) where some were published as descriptions of exemplary Christian lives. All this suggests that the narratives are idealized expositions of the course of conversion. The writers’ use of well-known literary topoi, such as experiencing “a flood of tears” and being “a slave of sin,” also indicates that their narratives were designed to conform to the conventions of a specific genre of writing.

When the Danish conversion narratives are contextualized in a broader historical picture, it becomes evident that they drew on a discourse of conversion that originated in the early Christian church. For instance, there are structural similarities with Augustine’s *Confessions*, in which the Church Father establishes a clear distinction between the course of his life before and after his conversion: from darkness, emotional misery, and moral laxity to a new life in light, once true faith had penetrated his heart. As he reached the height of his misery, the actual moment of conversion occurred, during which Augustine cried streams of tears, threw himself on the ground, and spoke directly with God. He then read the Bible and was left with peace in his heart. Though *Confessions* dates to the fourth century, it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that the autobiographical conversion narrative appeared as a popular genre, especially in the works of the English Puritans Richard Baxter and John Bunyan.²² As in Augustine’s work, melancholy played a pivotal role in their devotional writing as well. In Richard Baxter’s *The Poor Man’s Family Book* (1674), for instance, readers are continually reminded that their earthly existence could end soon. Baxter elicits the reader’s eschatological concerns throughout the book with questions such as: “Are you sure to live another Week, or Day or Hour?”²³ He also stresses that believers cannot

rely on God to redeem them: “Do you not know that there are some Men that God hath told us that he will not save?... Christ saveth not all Men: What Hope have you that he will save you more than others?”²⁴ Anxiety about being saved should always be present in the consciousness of the believer even during his day-to-day life, which Baxter conceptualizes as an hourglass, in which every minute should be spent in useful preparation for the afterlife.²⁵ John Bunyan’s widely read novel *Pilgrim’s Progress* (1678) also exemplifies the Puritan emphasis on anxiety through the main character Christian, who continuously attempts to ward off his inner anxiety about being denied salvation.²⁶ In words later famously paraphrased by Max Weber, Christian describes the psychological effect of this anxiety as living in an “Iron Cage of Despair.”²⁷

It is reasonable to conclude that a conversion morphology existed in ascetic Protestant movements by the early eighteenth century, and that the conversion narrative constituted a literary genre with specific conventions. In Lutheran countries, this conversion morphology was revived by Francke during the radical period of his youth, and again by radical Pietist communities in the 1730s. A shared element in these narratives is that sincere distress was not merely a causal circumstance, but was a requisite part of the conversion process. Distressing feelings, in other words, are described as necessary steps to becoming an enthusiastic believer. In this way, an emotional breakdown was a step on the way toward—and in fact a precondition for—a religious breakthrough. Strom offers an example of this in his research. Among radical Pietists in Dargun, he notes, the depths of a convert’s distress was sometimes questioned, implying that a thorough *Busskampf* was a necessary precondition for salvation. Faced with this questioning, one convert readily explained that he had indeed felt “as if two millstones lay upon his heart,” thereby reassuring his fellow believers that he had indeed been in deep distress.²⁸

The *Lebensläufe* involve what Reddy describes as a performative contradiction, in that the converts spoke and wrote with the intention of communicating their sincere and spontaneous feelings.²⁹ Probably the converts sincerely expressed the feelings they found within themselves, and they were actively navigating them in accord with their religious beliefs. Thus, the conversion narratives reflect the ability of the writers to internalize and personalize the emotional expectations of their Moravian communities.³⁰

BODILY PERFORMANCE OF AFFECTIVE UNIFICATION WITH GOD

An interesting feature of the Danish Moravian narratives in terms of relating them to the history of emotions is that all seven converts describe how their feelings arose as sensations in their bodies. Furthermore, their bodies were open for divine intervention: God created the sensations of melancholy, anxiety, and repentance within them with the specific purpose of awakening them, while at the same time protecting them. Other re-born Danish Christians also described their experience of God’s presence as an inner light in their bodies—as the Holy Spirit’s pervasive power.³¹ The German historian Andreas Bähr has suggested that affect is a more precise term than feeling to describe the converts’ sensations during their rebirth experiences. Affect, Bähr explains, transcended bodily boundaries for the converts and implied a spatial dimension in which the subject was not a fixed entity.

In contrast, modern emotions are seen as relating to individual mental events and are based on an understanding of the subject as a clearly defined psychological entity.³² In this sense, radical Pietism had more in common with older Lutheranism than newer Protestantism, in which the subject's inner feelings are considered the source of religious emotions.³³ The early modern understanding of being in affect was connected to a more general understanding of feelings defined as bodily phenomenon and experiences.³⁴ Subjectivity was related to how the body was perceived, and the body was not seen as clearly separate from the outside world.³⁵

This state of affect was most often expressed physically through visible tears. This was not the mere shedding of a few tears. In Traneker's account, for instance, he collapsed physically and soaked the ground with his tears. Similarly, L. Prætorius threw himself to the ground at the moment of conversion and prayed in despair. Jensin described how she reached a religious breakthrough when her brother helped her towards redemption, at which point she "melted into tears." When Jesus spoke to her, she was so overwhelmed with joy that she felt her soul was escaping her body.

Similar emotional practices occurred in other European religious communities. Thomas Dixon and Monique Scheer have described how participants in Methodist congregations cried frequently and vehemently, as well as moaned, shouted, and spoke in tongues. These displays of feeling were expressions of the sorrow felt by the participants at their personal iniquity, but also expressions of joy in God's love and salvation through Christ.³⁶ Another example is the Quakers, whose name derives from the bodily trembling they experienced when God's inner light shone within them. In the Holy Roman Empire, the autobiography of the radical Pietist Johann Friedrich Rock provides an excellent illustration of how the state of divine inspiration and affect manifested itself physically.³⁷ In his account, he explains how for a while he had felt miserable, but then God sent him an invitation to a gathering held by Pietists in his hometown. When he entered the house of the gathering, the group was already in motion, and the participants, although they did not know each other beforehand, shed tears together and confessed their sins to each other. Rock then spontaneously fell to the ground and burst out laughing. Minutes later, his body became paralyzed with an anxiety so strong that he was unable to describe it, until God brought peace into his heart. In recounting this episode, Rock was not merely describing intense spiritual struggles, fluctuating between despair and moments of overexcited relief: he was also relating how his physical self reacted to being in a state of affect.

What did re-born Christians want to communicate with these performances of being in affect? These embodied feelings had a rational basis on their own terms; because sensations were understood as coming into existence through the body and only thereafter entering the mind, it is only natural that intense sensations were expressed through the body. This was the visible evidence of God's possession of their minds and souls. The converts were carrying on a tradition dating to antiquity, according to which enthusiasm meant that God had moved their mind and bodies.³⁸ Moreover, recent affect theory has pointed out that early modern emotions were much more overtly social than individual and inward, as we tend to understand emotions today. This also has to be taken into account when trying to understand the emotional outbursts during religious gatherings.³⁹

Yet, since emotions create communities, they simultaneously have the ability to demarcate and exclude. Tears and bodily trembling were not occasional details or accidental anatomical reactions: they had addressees.⁴⁰ The trembling, the crying, and the shared emotional experiences of melancholy, anxiety, and joy provided a sense of solidarity among participants. The performative practices were also practices of distinction and differentiation from Christians who had not been re-born.

That Pietism contributed to the creation of new emotional communities is evident in the Danish sources. Several of the seven Moravians studied here recounted how they had formed a strong bond of fellowship with other Moravians. Following their conversion, they wrote that they had not only entered a new community of faith, but also that they were united with their fellow believers through a strong bond of intimacy of the heart, or “*Herzensvertraulichkeit*,” to use Lorenz Prætorius’s term. Some even describe rejecting their parents, siblings, and old friends as they entered this new community, and experiencing strong feelings of solidarity with their new co-religionists. In these newfound communities, converts physically practiced their inner love by performing *agape* (Christian charity) in a variety of ways, such as washing each other’s feet and eating *Liebesmähler* [love feasts] together. This is an example of what Reddy terms emotives: inner emotions were not only expressed through speech acts, but also through bodily practices and in social interactions.

THE TROUBLE AT THE GOLDEN OX

How did people outside the separatist conventicles react to them? Although we do not know whether there were popular reactions to Moravian conventicles specifically, we do have evidence of strong opposition to other separatist conventicles. One example comes from the case of the pastor at the Pietist orphanage (the *Waisenhaus*), Enevold Ewald, and his mother-in-law Marie Wulf, who held revivalist meetings at an inn called *Den forgyldte Okse* [The Golden Ox], situated in the heart of Copenhagen. The meetings in The Golden Ox caused sufficient anger and unrest among the inhabitants of Copenhagen that Christian VI established a commission to conduct an inquiry into the activities of Ewald and Wulf. When the owner of the inn and the other tenants were questioned, they told of meetings beginning late in the afternoon and continuing throughout the night. Judging by their clothing, the participants included ordinary citizens, courtiers who arrived and departed in carriages, and many pastors, officers, and students. Both men and women participated, which is noteworthy since they were probably not segregated during the meetings. One of the witnesses in the inquiry was a tenant, Hans Niemand, who observed that the participants kissed each other when they arrived at and left the gatherings. He added that he had had several theological discussions with Ewald and Wulf, including on the administration of the confessional by the traditional clergymen. According to the church ritual, the pastors were obliged to give absolution to every parishioner who repented. In this ritual, Wulf maintained, the established church “*var liig, som en Kroee Stue*” [was like a pub]. Wulf had explained to Niemand that by this she meant that people could sin all they wished if they subsequently attended the confessional and received immediate forgiveness. Niemand had asked her what would happen if the confessional were abolished,

and she had replied that many Pietist pastors had already done this. Yet this had not proved an impediment to carrying out the church ritual, since there were so many ungodly pastors who were ready to take over.⁴¹

Wulf's comparison of the confessional to a pub had a huge emotional impact on Niemand. He informed the commission that his conversation with Wulf had given him so many scruples that he had had many sleepless nights, filled with troubling thoughts and feelings of disgust for Wulf. He added that he had heard trembling voices and crying from the Pietistic meeting, which lasted an inordinate length of time. He had often heard tumult, which culminated at three or four o'clock in the morning and was so loud that both the ceiling above him and the bed beneath him shook. The meetings then often dissolved in laughter. Finally, he and other tenants maintained that they had been attacked on the street by a mob, including little boys, who mistook them for Pietists.⁴² This was confirmed by the owner of the inn, Peder Mortenson, who also complained that the meetings had caused major disturbances. On several occasions, crowds had gathered in front of the inn. Moreover, Mortenson was resentful that *The Golden Ox* was nicknamed "Den hellige Okse" [The Holy Ox] by commoners.⁴³ The frustration of these witnesses was also attested to in letters sent to Erik Pontoppidan. According to these, many commoners in Copenhagen were indignant that "hver Dag taltes om Mord og Blodbad. Nogle spaar, at der i Marts skulde blive et Blodbad paa Amagertorv" [every day there are rumors of murder and bloodbath. Some predict there will be a bloodbath on Amagertorv in March].⁴⁴ However, the commission concluded that Wulf had not committed any misdemeanors. Ewald was sentenced for preaching Millenarianism, but was not punished further.

INTENDED AND UNINTENDED FEELINGS

Witness accounts suggest that the congregations at *The Golden Ox* underwent collective experiences of divine inspiration and affect, which also occurred in other radical congregations, such as those described by Rock. Niemand's claim that the participants kissed each other when meeting and leaving is likely true. In Northern Jutland in the 1740s, there was a so-called "kissing sect," which also caused disturbances. This practice of kissing was probably influenced by Paul's concluding advice in the Epistle to the Romans: "Greet one another with a holy kiss."⁴⁵ Moreover, it was a physical performance of members' belief in *agape* as the essence of the Gospel. When the commission questioned her, Wulf explained that God's re-born children were recognizable by their mutual love for one another. In a brief letter in which she wrote her statement to the government commission, she used the words "kærlighed" [love] and "elske" [affection] no fewer than twelve times.⁴⁶

The accounts from Copenhagen provide evidence of reactions from people raised in a Lutheran tradition who were not immediately sympathetic to Pietism. Numerous letters kept in the archives of the Church Collegium reveal that inhabitants throughout the realm reacted in similar ways. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that this opposition was not only directed against the radical communities, but also against pastors who were educated in Halle and supposedly moderate. A serious source of anger was their distinction between true and false Christians, especially since it resulted in some priests refusing to give absolution to all parishioners.

In 1735, in the parish of Hygum in Schleswig, for example, the parishioners complained in a letter that the local pastor only prayed for those parishioners whom he called converted, and who attended congregations in his house. All others were called sodomites (i.e. morally depraved). In the parish of Saltum in Northern Jutland, sixty-eight parishioners complained that their pastor would not give them absolution, and, furthermore, that the children attending confirmation classes came home crying since the pastor had called them sodomites and told them they would not be blessed. These strong reactions were probably also caused by concern for their fate in the afterlife. As the peasants in Saltum wrote: "Præsten giver os ingen trøst, men Gjør os en Grubling i vor hierte og tanke" [The pastor gives us no comfort, but only causes our hearts and minds to brood].⁴⁷ Although this was contrary to what the church ritual prescribed, the King showed his understanding of the clergymen's qualms of conscience, and hired curates to serve the confessional.⁴⁸ However, this too caused a great deal of concern, as many Danes complained that Pietist preaching made people melancholy. One example is the leading author of the Danish-Norwegian Enlightenment, Ludvig Holberg, who criticized the separatist conventicles for promoting despair and for confusing melancholy with fear of God. Their worship, Holberg wrote, was only a stirring up of feelings that rose and fell with unpredictable affect and excitement. This, he held, was the opposite of true religion, which was proved through reason.⁴⁹ The accusations of causing melancholy are given added weight by two bishops in Zealand and Norway who were each sympathetic to Halle-Pietism, Peder Hersleb and Eiler Hagerup. In private correspondence, the bishops expressed their concern that many fell into a dark and melancholic state of mind after hearing Pietist sermons.⁵⁰ Parishioners who were ejected from the confessional became uncertain of their afterlife and were thrown into despair. Furthermore, they were upset that they were identified, quite visibly, as ungodly in front of their neighbors and fellow parishioners. In sum, they not only feared religious punishment, but also public shaming.

The principal reason for the conflict between Pietists and traditional Lutherans was that the Augsburg Confession, the central confession of faith of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Denmark, prescribed that every man was justified through faith alone. This gave people the certainty of receiving divine salvation. As the preaching of Pietism challenged this certainty, it probably caused feelings of eschatological anxiety among the population at large. This reveals a different understanding of time than we have today. In eighteenth-century Denmark, the existence of the soul did not stop with mortal existence; it was therefore crucial to have the reassurance of justification at death. This indicates that feelings prevalent among radical Pietists, and presumably early modern feelings in general, cannot be understood as modern emotions, as they were embedded in different understandings of time and space.

Yet another reason why the spread of Pietism generated widespread opposition was that Denmark-Norway was, traditionally, almost entirely Lutheran. Minorities such as Jews were permitted by royal decree to live in Copenhagen and in Fredericia in Jutland, and the inhabitants of Altona, the southernmost city in the Danish kingdom, enjoyed religious freedom. However, this did not influence the religious practices in the realm as a whole, since almost the entire population outside these cities belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Denmark. The

oldest statistics on inhabitants' religious affiliation are from 1840. They show that only 0.4 percent of the population of the kingdom of Denmark at the time belonged to confessions other than the Evangelical Lutheran Church.⁵¹ This explains why inhabitants in the 1730s were suspicious of changes in church ritual and any deviance from what the Augsburg Confession outlined, even if the Pietists regarded their movement as a resurrection of the Lutheran Reformation. This situation was different from that in many other Protestant countries at the time, including the Holy Roman Empire and Britain, whose populations were more used to religious pluralism. Still, recent work by Ryoko Mori and Daniel Jütte has shown that strong reactions and sometimes even violent assaults on Pietist congregations and Jewish communities also took place in Germany.⁵²

CONCLUSION: OLD FEELINGS, NEW EMOTIONS?

This article has shed light on how two Pietist revivalist movements, Halle-Pietism and radical Pietism, became lived experiences among the population in Denmark-Norway in the early Enlightenment. The sources examined reveal a paradox in the emotional history of Pietism: a clear social expectation was established that everyone should have a personal experience of specific religious feelings. Intense faith, enthusiasm, and melancholy were constituent elements of Pietism as a social movement. The Pietist revival created new communities that structured both what the participants were supposed to feel and how they expressed their feelings. A key feature of radical Pietist communities was believers' experience of God as the creator of specific internal sensations. These sensations were expressed through bodily practices in groups in which the participants laughed, cried, kissed, trembled, and fell on the floor in states of ecstasy. Such actions demonstrated that God had taken possession of their souls and that their faith was genuine.

Pietists' efforts to make every believer doubt whether he or she was a true Christian did not always have the effect they desired. Though many inhabitants of the Danish realm did indeed begin to doubt, not everyone turned this doubt inwards and searched their heart and soul as the authoritative texts demanded. Many projected their anxiety about their fate in the afterlife outwards in the form of angry written complaints about pastors and attacks on places where the Pietists met. This fear of not being redeemed was reinforced when pastors' denial of the Eucharist to parishioners was sanctioned by the highest political authority in the realm: the King. Many parishioners evidently felt that they were entitled to receive Communion, and when they were denied it, were identified as false Christians in front of their local communities. The Pietists' preaching likely also instilled uncertainty about their future salvation. Niemand's description of his nights of insomnia clearly demonstrates that Ewald's and Wulf's disapproval of the general admittance to the Eucharist tormented his soul, leading him to become distraught. These common reactions reveal that many did not experience Pietism as a reassuring theology. Therefore, it is reasonable to distinguish between different forms of anxiety. The belief that good fear was necessary to be a true Christian was embraced by those who were able to employ anxiety in a constructive and devotional way and thereby strengthen their faith. Others, by contrast, were unable or did not wish to navigate their anxiety in this way. Among these people, the emotional expectations within Pietism caused considerable despair and anger.

Several scholars have argued that, despite its often gloomy tone, Pietism promoted modernization in several areas. Examples include the movement's strict focus on individual reform and spiritual edification. Focusing on the influence of Pietism on modern emotional categories, this article has argued that equating Pietism with modernization is not that simple: Pietism both relied on old understandings of feelings and created new understandings. The belief that God brought the believer into a state of affect and that feelings arose in the body, such as both Pietists' and conventional Christians' acute worries about the afterlife, stands in contrast to modern understandings of emotions. However, within Pietist communities there was a focus on individual experiences of coming to faith. These communities also expressed clear expectations of continuous spiritual renewal and emotional involvement. These communal expectations point forward in time, and also outside of the religious sphere. Indeed, the communities can be characterized through what Reddy describes as forms of emotional refuge, paving the way for "the enthusiasm for emotional expression and intimacy" that spread throughout Europe in the eighteenth century, and which is close to the modern understanding of emotions.⁵³

Regarding the cultural and societal repercussions of Pietism in Denmark-Norway, some final context should be provided. The written complaints to the Church Chancellery stopped almost overnight with Christian VI's death in 1746, probably because his son, Frederik V, put an end to his father's policy of allowing clergy to deny parishioners the Eucharist. Nevertheless, Christian VI's efforts to employ clergy sympathetic to Halle-Pietism throughout the realm, together with the mandatory reading of Pontoppidan's catechism, laid the groundwork for a widespread revival movement within the Church of Denmark that spread among the peasant population between 1790 and 1840. In Norway, a lay movement arose from 1796 onwards, with Hans Nielsen Hauge its leading preacher. Both movements had the same religious focus as Francke's Pietism: namely, conversion, strong emotional involvement, discipline, and practical enterprise.

NOTES

1. Norway and Denmark were united in a twin kingdom in 1380 (Sweden and Finland were added to the kingdom in 1397 and 1448 respectively), and Norway brought the crown colonies of Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland into the union. The Danish monarch was the ruler of the entire realm until the peace agreement in Kiel in 1814, when Norway entered a separate union with Sweden. The composite state also included the German duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.

2. William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), 96 ff., and esp. 105–6.

3. Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 2006), 24–25.

4. Andreas Bähr, "Fear, Anxiety and Terror in Conversion Narratives of Early German Pietism," *German History* 32, no. 3 (2014): 353–73; Peter Damrau, "Tears That Make the Heart Shine? 'Godly Sadness' in Pietism," in Mary Cosgrove and Anna Richards, eds., *Edinburgh German Yearbook 6: Sadness and Melancholy in German-language Literature and Culture* (Camden House, 2012): 19–33.

5. James Van Horn Melton, "Pietism, Politics, and the Public Sphere in Germany," in *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe*, ed. James E. Bradley and Dale K. Van Kley (Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 294–333.

6. For the Pietist policy of Christian VI, see Juliane Engelhardt, "Pietismus und Krise. Der halle-sche und der radikale Pietismus im dänischen Gesamtstaat," *Historische Zeitschrift* 307, no. 2 (2018): 341–69.
7. Manfred Jakobowski-Tiessen, "Der Pietismus in Dänemark und Schleswig-Holstein," in Martin Brecht and Klaus Depperman, eds., *Geschichte des Pietismus*, 4 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 2:454.
8. Wolfgang Breul, Marcus Meier, and Lothar Vogel, eds., *Der radikale Pietismus: Perspektiven der Forschung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011); Hans Schneider, *Gesammelte Aufsätze I. Der radikale Pietismus*, ed. Wolfgang Breul and Lothar Vogel (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2013); Douglas Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press, 2013), 147–78; Claudia Wustmann, *Die "begeisterten Mägde." Mitteldeutsche Prophetinnen im Radikalpietismus am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Kirchof & Franke, 2008).
9. Michele Gillespie and Robert Beachy, eds., *Pious Pursuits: German Moravians in the Atlantic World* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Jan Hüsgen, *Mission und Sklaverei. Die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine und die Sklavenemanzipation in Britisch- und Dänisch-Westindien* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016).
10. Johann Arndt, *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* (Magdeburg: 1610); P.J. Spener, *Einfältige Erklärung Der Christlichen Lehr, Nach der Ordnung deß kleinen Catechismi deß theuren Manns Gottes Lutheri: In Fragen und Antwort verfasst, Und mit nöthigen Zeugnißsen der Schrift bewehret* (Frankfurt: 1677); A.H. Francke, *Der Seegen Gottes in der leiblichen Arbeit* (Halle: 1699); A.H. Francke, *Die Pflicht gegen die Armen* (Halle: 1702); A.H. Francke, *Der rechte Gebrauch der Zeit / So fern diesselbe gut / und so fern sie Böse ist* (Halle: 1713); A.H. Francke, *Das Zeitliche Leben als eine Saat-Zeit* (Halle: 1729); Erik Pontoppidan, *Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed, udi en eenfoldig og efter Muelighed kort, dog tilstrekkelig Forklaring over Sal. Doct. Mort. Luthers liden Catechismo* (København: Det Kongelige Danske Vajsenhus, 1738).
11. Gisela Mettele, "Constructions of the Religious Self: Moravian Conversion and Transatlantic Communication," *Journal of Moravian History* 2 (2007): 7–35.
12. J. Strom, "Pietist Experiences and Narratives of Conversion," in Douglas Shantz, ed., *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 293–318.
13. J. Strom, "Pietism and Conversion in Dargun," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 39 (2013): 150–92, esp. 167–71.
14. A. H. Francke, *Den daglige Fornylse* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Vajsenhus, 1739); Pontoppidan, *Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed*, 119, 128–40 and 186–87; Henrik Horstbøll, "Pietism and the politics of catechisms: The case of Denmark and Norway in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 29, no. 2 (2004): 143–60.
15. Francke's conversion experience has appeared in several publications. The version used here is from Marianne Beyer-Fröhlich, *Pietismus und Rationalismus* (Darmstadt: P. Reclam, 1970). This volume contains several similar conversion narratives. See especially, Johann Konrad Dippel's *Christiani Democriti*.
16. Veronika Albrecht-Birkner and Udo Strätens, "Die radikale Phase des frühen August Hermann Francke," Breul, *Der radikale Pietismus*; on discipline in lifestyle, see esp. Francke's *Schriftmässige Lebens-Regeln* (Halle: 1717).
17. Håndskriftssamlingen V, Q9–Q10. Knud Heibergs samlinger til pietismens historie. Rigsarkivet [National Archives in Copenhagen, henceforth NAC]. All the quotations are translated by the author of this article.
18. Lebenslauf entitled *Our dearly beloved and much respected Brother George Traneker, who departed this life happily the 15th May 1802 at Fylneck, has left the following written account of himself*. The document is kept in Håndskriftssamlingen V, Q9–Q10. Knud Heibergs samlinger til pietismens historie, NAC.

19. The quotation is from Jensen's Lebenslauf, which is entitled, *Unsere selige Schwester Brigitte Jensen hat folgende schriftliche Nachricht von sich hinterlassen*. The document is kept in Håndskriftsamlingen V, Q9–Q10. Knud Heibergs samlinger til pietismens historie, NAC.
20. See note 18.
21. Mettele, "Constructions of the Religious Self," 20–34.
22. Bruce Hindmarsh, "'My chains fell off, my heart was free': Early Methodist Conversion Narrative in England," *Church History* 68, no. 4 (December 1999): 910–29. English Methodists also wrote countless personal conversion narratives. Stylistically, they by and large follow the same pattern as the Moravian narratives.
23. Richard Baxter, *The Poor Man's Family Book* (1707), 147
24. *Ibid.*, 149–50
25. *Ibid.*, 200–3
26. John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003).
27. *Ibid.*, 34
28. Strom, *Pietism and Conversion in Dargun, 179–80*. The translation is by Strom.
29. William Reddy, "Against Constructivism: The historical Ethnography of Emotions," *Current Anthropology* 38, no. 3 (June 1997): 327–51, esp. 332; Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 170.
30. J. Strom, "Pietist Conversion Narratives and Confessional Identity," in David M. Luebke et al., eds., *Conversion and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 135 and 144.
31. Magnus Berg, *Denne sidste Verdens Tids Speil*. Handwritten manuscript, 1721; same author, *En lys Sandheds Brille*. Handwritten manuscript, 1731. Both are kept at The Manuscript Collection at The Royal Library in Copenhagen (henceforth MCRL).
32. Bähr, "Fear, Anxiety and Terror in Conversion Narratives of Early German Pietism," 355, 362, and 364. See also Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003), chaps. 2 and 3.
33. Monique Scheer, "Protestantisch fühlen lernen. Überlegungen zur emotionalen Praxis der Innerlichkeit," *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 15, H. 1: 179–93. In this article, Scheer explains how Protestantism in the middle of the nineteenth century directed attention to the inner emotions—i.e. the entire heart, soul and mind of the believer—and to the believer's practicing of this fervor.
34. Karin Johannisson, *Melankoliska Rum. Om ångest, leda och sårbarhet i förfluten tid och nutid* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 2010), 43–44.
35. Barbara Duden, *The Woman Beneath the Skin: A Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1991), 123; Ulinka Rublack, "Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and Emotions," *History Workshop Journal* 53, no. 1, (Jan. 2002): 1–16.
36. Thomas Dixon, "Enthusiasm Delineated: Varieties of Weeping in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Litteraria Pragensia: Studies in Literature and Culture* 22 (2012): 59–81; Scheer, "Protestantisch fühlen lernen."
37. J.F. Rock, *Wie ihn Gott geführt und auf die Wege der Inspiration gebracht habe*, ed. Ulf-Michael Schneider (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999).
38. Marsilio Ficino, *Kommentar til Platons Symposium, eller Om eros*, ed. Leo Catana (Copenhagen: Copenhagen Univ. Press, 2013), 70–74 and 297–300.
39. Susan Broomhall, ed., *Early Modern Emotions: An introduction* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2017), 12
40. Christian Soboth, "Tränen des Augens, Tränen des Herzens. Anatomie des Weinens in Pietismus, Aufklärung und Empfindsamkeit," in Jürgen Helm and Karin Stukenbrock, eds., *Anatomie. Sektionen einer medizinischen Wissenschaft im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003), 293–315.

41. Kirkehistorie under Frederik IV og Chr. VI. Kall. 477, MCRL. Hans Niemand's testimony is dated 12 March 1734.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. H.F. Rørdam, "Uddrag af E. Pontoppidans kirkehistoriske Samlinger," *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (1909–11): 324–25. Amagertorv is a square in the center of Copenhagen, close to where The Golden Ox was situated.
45. Cf. Romans, 16: 16.
46. Wulf's letter is kept at Ledreborg 398, 2^o, Religionssager i København 1733–1734, MCRL.
47. Breve og Aktstykker til den danske Kirkehistorie under Friderik IV og Christian VI, især angaaende de pietistiske Stridigheder. Kallske saml. No. 102, fols. 106–7. The letter is dated 1 April 1745, MCRL. Frederick I of Brandenburg-Prussia also allowed pastors to exclude the "unworthy" from communion.
48. Aktstykker og Dokumenter til den Danske Kirkehistorie under Christian VI., vols. 1, 6, 14, 16, and 20. Ny Kgl. Sam. 1155 a, MCRL.
49. Ludvig Holberg, *Betænkning om Conventicler, skreven 1733*, <http://holbergsskrifter.dk/holberg-public/view?docId=Conv%2FConv.page&toc.depth=1&brand=&chunk.id=start>
50. Ibid., not paginated.
51. Statens Statistiske Bureau, *Befolkningsforholdene i Danmark i det 19. Aarhundrede* (København, 1905), 71. This number only rose slowly, even after 1849 when Denmark gained its first free constitution, and thereby freedom of religion. In 1901, only 1.3 percent of the population were not members of the Church of Denmark (*Folkekirken*).
52. R. Mori, *Begeisterung und Ernüchterung in christlicher Vollkommenheit. Pietistische Selbst- und Weltwahrnehmungen im ausgehenden 17. Jahrhundert*. (Tübingen: De Gruyter, 2004), 60–92; Daniel Jütte, "'They Shall Not Keep Their Doors or Windows Open': Urban Space and the Dynamics of Conflict and Contact in Premodern Jewish-Christian Relations," *European History Quarterly*, 46, no. 2 (2016): 209–37.
53. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 146, and 149. See also G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 1996).