

Hallesche Forschungen

Im Auftrag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle
herausgegeben von
Hartmut Lehmann, Thomas Müller-Bahlke,
Udo Sträter und Johannes Wallmann

Band 16

Benjamin Marschke

Absolutely Pietist

Patronage, Fictionalism, and State-Building
in the Early Eighteenth-Century
Prussian Army Chaplaincy



Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle
im Max Niemeyer Verlag Tübingen



Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

ISBN 13: 978-3-484-84016-4 ISBN 10: 3-484-84016-1 Max Niemeyer Verlag
ISSN 0949-0086
ISBN 13: 978-3-931479-67-1 ISBN 10: 3-931479-67-6

© Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen 2005

Ein Unternehmen der K. G. Saur Verlag GmbH, München

<http://www.niemeyer.de>

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlages unzulässig und strafbar. Das gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.

Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier

Printed in Germany

Satz: Dr. Gabriele Herbst, Mössingen

Druck: Laupp & Göbel GmbH, Nehren

Einband: Buchbinderei Geiger, Ammerbuch

Contents

Acknowledgements	VII
Introduction	1
1. The problem	3
2. The sources and methods	10
3. Definitions and parameters	15
CHAPTER 1	
Developments in the Chaplaincy in Prussia through the Middle of the Eighteenth Century	20
1. The reign of Elector Friedrich Wilhelm	20
2. The reign of Elector/King Friedrich III/I	22
3. The reign of King Friedrich Wilhelm I	25
4. The reign of King Friedrich II	36
CHAPTER 2	
A Day in the Life of a Prussian Army Chaplain – A Social and Everyday History of Prussia Army Chaplains	39
1. Introduction	39
2. John Q. Chaplain	42
3. The creation of a chaplain	50
4. The life of a chaplain	56
5. Conclusions	68
CHAPTER 3	
»Gute Christen sind treu, andere nicht.« – Pietist Army Chaplains	
Disciplining the Prussian Army	69
1. Introduction	69
2. Historiography	72
3. Military disciplining?	75
4. Moral policing?	78
5. Internal discipline	81
6. Social integration	87
7. Conclusions	90
CHAPTER 4	
Vom Feldpredigerwesen zum Militärkirchenwesen – The Centralization and Bureaucratization of the Chaplaincy	92
1. Introduction	92
2. The chaplaincy before bureaucratization	95

3. The bureaucratization of the chaplaincy	99
4. The bureaucratized chaplaincy	105
5. Epilogue	113
6. Conclusions	115
CHAPTER 5	
»Unsere Parthey« – The Chaplaincy, Halle Pietism, and Factionalism in Absolutist Prussia	117
1. Introduction	117
2. Conflicts within the Pietist network regarding the chaplaincy	121
3. The Pietist faction at work in the chaplaincy	137
4. Epilogue – The Pietist network shatters	153
5. Conclusions	155
CHAPTER 6	
Patrons, Brokers, and Chaplains – Pietist Patronage in the Military Church	158
1. Introduction	158
2. The motivation	162
3. The pattern	170
4. Johann Ulrich Christian Köppen	172
5. The Potsdam Military Orphanage	178
6. Epilogue	181
7. Conclusions	183
Bibliography	185

Acknowledgements

This project was made possible by financial support from several sources. For supporting my research and writing I am grateful to the Center for German and European Studies for a Pre-Dissertation Research Fellowship during Summer 1998; to the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst for an Annual Stipend during 1999–2000; to the UCLA Graduate Division for a Pre-Dissertation Writing Fellowship during 2000–2001; to the Universität Erfurt/Forschungsbibliothek Gotha for a Carl Schurz Fellowship for Doctoral Studies during Summer 2001; and to the Max Planck Institut für Geschichte for a Doctoral Fellowship during Spring 2002.

I cannot hope to thank everyone who helped me with this project. I acknowledge particular help with specific chapters in the first footnote of each chapter, but that does not begin to sum up the advice and aid that I have enjoyed over the last eight years.

During the course of researching and writing this book I met dozens of helpful and patient archivists and librarians in the States and in Germany. I owe special thanks, though, to Brigitte Klosterberg and the entire staff at the Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen – fabulous sources aside, their extraordinary hospitality and kindness have made my repeated visits to Halle more like homecomings than research trips.

Without the guidance and support of my colleagues and patrons this project would have foundered long ago. The peer pressure and healthy competition among my fellow graduate students at UCLA drove me ever harder to improve upon and finally complete this project: more importantly, the respect and fondness that has developed between us is the stuff of which lifelong friendships are made.

David Sabean and Geoffrey Symcox both managed to perfectly balance their dual *Doktorvater* roles as sympathetic intellectual guides and stern supervisors. Of course my material survival during graduate school (and since) is largely due to their brokerage and advocacy on my behalf. The gratitude, admiration, and affection that I feel towards them is personal as well as professional: suffice to say that it is a source of great pride that they pronounced this work acceptable, and it remains my greatest anxiety that I will embarrass them.

Hans Medick pointed me in the right direction when he visited UCLA my first year of graduate school. Hans taught me to see the greater significance of the Prussian army chaplaincy, and his patient readings of my work and discussions with me were much-needed and are much-appreciated. Thomas Müller-Bahlke let me use his archive, despite his well-founded skepticism, and he gave me my first opportunity to publish on the chaplaincy and on *Preußentum und*

Pietismus. Hartmut Lehmann introduced me to the modern-day network of scholars studying Pietism, and in retrospect his dedicated encouragement and promotion of me and my project have convinced me that he believed in my work and in me more than I ever did. I am profoundly grateful for his (and Silke's) kind support and advice, both professional and personal.

Finally, I am indebted to my family and friends outside academia for their support and tolerance of me and my Prussian army chaplains over the last eight years. I have imposed on them all in various ways, and they have all inexplicably stood by me despite my stunning ingratitude, puerile impatience, infuriating obstinacy, and petty tirades. My parents and my little sister, especially, not only always put up with my insufferable behavior, but also continued to offer their unconditionally generous support of my impractical choice of career.

My favorite person in the whole world, my long-suffering wife, Marianne, has stood by me through years and years of research and writing, even though I never promised her anything but a lifetime of more of the same. Of course, she and I do not keep track of such things, but if we did, then I would owe her debts that I will never be able to repay.

Ben Marschke
Billings, Montana
September 2004

Introduction

This book presents research and analysis on the military chaplaincy in early eighteenth-century Prussia as a means of exploring several central issues in early modern European history.¹ In general, the chaplaincy serves as an ideally situated case study in the histories of early modern disciplining, bureaucratization, factionalism, and patronage. In particular, the chaplaincy functions as the single most significant intersection of Halle Pietism and the Prussian state.

The roots of the chaplaincy in Prussia can be traced to the middle of the seventeenth century. Chaplains were appointed by regimental or garrison commanders as members of their personal staffs. Appointees were examined and ordained by the civilian church. This pre-modern system was open to abuse, as evidenced by the repeated edicts attempting to regulate the preachings and behavior of chaplains.

All this changed under the rule of Friedrich Wilhelm I (1713–1740), who regularly attended the church services performed by Lutheran army chaplains alongside his troops rather than the services performed by his own Calvinist court chaplains. The pious »Soldier King« auditioned and selected chaplains himself. It was under Friedrich Wilhelm's reign that the chaplaincy was transformed from a disorganized, unofficial apparatus into a bureaucratized, centralized, and hierarchical state organ.

The institutionalization of the chaplaincy resulted from the cooperation of the Halle Pietists and Friedrich Wilhelm. Friedrich Wilhelm showed an open affinity for Halle Pietism, and it was under his reign and with his support that August Hermann Francke's movement came to control the Prussian Lutheran church. In 1717 Friedrich Wilhelm appointed Lampertus Gedicke as the first *Feldpropst* (»Field Vicar«). Gedicke was made responsible for the examination, ordination, and supervision of all military chaplains in Prussia. Gedicke was a solid Pietist, and with his appointment Halle Pietists came to control the nascent military church. Francke's allies used this power base and the access to the King that it afforded them to check their various opponents, to further expand their own influence in Prussia, and even to sabotage Friedrich Wilhelm's own religious policies.

The chaplaincy serves as an intersection of many different issues in early modern historiography, and therefore this research project is a synthesis of rather diverse areas of study. I use the chaplaincy and the rich body of primary

¹ I owe special thanks to Dan Ryan, Tami Sarfatti, Teresa Barnett, Britta McEwen, Kelly Maynard, and Claudia Verhoeven and the other members of David Sabeau's reading group for their comments and criticisms of earlier versions of this introduction.