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## Filling up the gap?

The use of Lutheran devotional literature by German Reformed Protestants in Early Modern times


### 1. Introduction

When it comes to the question of how much of the ideas and practices of Luther and his followers was received within the Reformed confession, devotional literature seems to have been more open to infiltration by Lutheranism than was dogmatic literature.<sup>1</sup> Although no clear boundaries between the two genres can be drawn, the latter aims more at informing the reader on doctrine, the former more at instructing on living in accordance with that doctrine (Köpf: 1999, 1386–1388; Weismayer: 1999, 1390–1391). Investigation into the area of devotional literature seems to be important for the overall theme of this conference, for in seventeenth-century Europe devotional literature comprised about a quarter of the total book production (Eybl: 2006, 391).

Research in the past few decades into devotional literature in Early Modern Europe has shown that devotional works from a specific confession, however much they contained of confessional *propria* or however much they were intended as a means of religious disciplining by the church and by the confessional state, always stood in relation to the literature of another confession. First, they could be offered as an alternative to literature from another confession, as was the case with devotional literature in England and the Netherlands about 1600, which was intended as an alternative to pre-Reformation or Roman Catholic equivalents – very popular as they presumably still were among Protestants (Walsham: 2000, 104–107; Op ‘t Hof: 2001, 375–376). Second, devotional writings or elements of them were exchanged between confessions: between Roman Catholics and Protestants, such as the Jesuit Herman Hugo’s *Pia desideria* (1624) (Daly/Dimler:

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander Thomson MA (Dordrecht) deserves many thanks for correcting this article regarding English grammar and style, my student assistant Matthias Loeber for formalizing the literature references and bibliography.

1997, 112–255; Dietz/Stronks/Zawadzka: 2009, 31–49; Dietz: 2012),<sup>2</sup> or between Reformed and Lutherans, such as English translations by Reformed translators of German Lutheran works (Flügge: 2012) and German renderings by Lutheran translators of English Reformed works (McKenzie: 1984; Sträter: 2010, 102–111; Damrau: 2006, 96–133). 

Ute Lotz-Heumann and Matthias Pohlig, in their article ‘Confessionalization and Literature in the Empire, 1555–1700’ (2007), come to the following conclusion:

Devotional literature had an ambivalent relationship with the confessionalization process; although it sought to imbue the individual with a fervent piety and thus served as an instrument of religious disciplining, its repertoire of motifs was supraconfessional. Catholic writers made use of Protestant motifs, and vice versa. As devotional literature aimed at furthering piety, confessional differences were much less important than shared interests (Lotz-Heumann/Pohlig: 2007, 54).

However, it has turned out also that a text from another confession was not always borrowed in another confession unchanged (1) or directly (2). As regards the first aspect, the source text was adapted in several ways. Firstly, doctrinal elements, for example those regarding the relationship between justification and sanctification, on predestination and on the Lord’s Supper, were adjusted to the confession of the translator and the intended readership. Secondly, in a preface, readers could be warned to be cautious regarding certain deviations from their own doctrine that would be encountered while reading the book (Van de Kamp: 2012a, 6–11).

Second, a text was not always taken over directly, as is demonstrated by recent research into Dutch Protestant adaptations of the aforementioned emblem book by Hugo, *Pia desideria*. Printers, publishers and illustrators of Dutch Protestant editions of this book did not directly copy the texts and illustrations from the Roman Catholic original or from Catholic editions, but rather borrowed these materials from Protestant editions abroad (Dietz: 2012).

The question arises how small religious communities who had relatively little capacity to produce their own devotional literature – or who were impeded from doing so by circumstances such as war – produced their own devotional literature, and to what extent they used devotional literature from other confessions. In this contribution, I will use the example of the Reformed in the Old Empire in early modern times as a case study. The Reformed in Germany were small communities scattered throughout the Empire. In some territories, like the Palatinate, they suffered to a greater or lesser extent during the Thirty Years’ War, or in the Lower Rhine region during the Dutch-Spanish war (Benedict: 2002, 202–229; Wolgast: 2011). As one may imagine, during this time it was quite difficult for Reformed theologians and other Reformed Christians to write devotional books.

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2 For an example of a similar transference from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism Gregory  1994, 238–268.

The German Reformed are an interesting case for our topic, because in many territories they had earlier been Lutherans and had from the 1560s onwards converted to the Reformed confession, a transference process which was called the Second Reformation by earlier scholars and which is nowadays named Reformed confessionalization (Schilling: 1986). While in most cases this change took place after some decades of commitment to Lutheran doctrine and practice by the theologians and church members who converted to the Reformed confession, the new doctrines, church government, liturgy and rituals were often a compromise between the extremes of Gnesio-Lutheranism on the one extreme and Genevan Calvinism on the other. For example, in the city of Bremen, in spite of the efforts of the Reformed theologian Christoph Pezel, the church did not gain permission to establish a consistory and to exert discipline over its members autonomously. Also remaining intact were the established preaching order, with fixed pericopes for each worship services, the hymnbook and the practice of private communion (Veeck: 1909, 57–65).

The question then arises of how the change from the Lutheran to the Reformed confession affected the area of devotional literature: to what extent did the Reformed make use of Lutheran devotional literature? To answer this, first, I will give an overview of the devotional literature produced by and for the German Lutherans as well as by the German Reformed in Early Modern times. Second, I will ask the question of to what extent they took over elements of Lutheran devotional writings.

## 2. Devotional literature produced by and for the German Lutheran and the German Reformed in Early Modern Times

Within German Lutheranism, the following books seem to have been the most popular:<sup>3</sup>

<i>Author</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Theme of title (in English)</i>	<i>Number of editions</i>
Johann Arndt	Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum (Illg: 2011)	1605–1610	True Christianity: imitation of Christ	before 1740: 95 eds.
Lewis Bayly	Praxis Pietatis 1 (Van de Kamp: 2009, 269–280)	1631	practice of piety	before 1750: 69 eds. (both Reformed and Lutheran)

<sup>3</sup> This ranking list was composed using data from Lehmann: 1980, 115–116, as well as from the literature on the individual works. See for an overview of early modern German devotional literature Mohr: 1982.

(Continued)

Author	Title	Period	Theme of title (in English)	Number of editions
Joseph Hall	Praxis Pietatis 2 (Damrau: 2006, 74–79)	1633	meditation	before 1750: 62 eds. (both Reformed and Lutheran)
[Emanuel Sonthom]	Güldenes Kleinot der Kinder Gottes, das ist, der wahre Weg zum Christenthumb (Damrau: 2006, 59–70)	1632	conversion	before 1750: 51 eds.
Thomas à Kempis	De imitatione Christi (Habsburg: 2011)	1418–1427	imitation of Christ	in German translated: 1500–1600: 16 eds.; 1600–1700: 27 eds., in total 43
Heinrich Müller	Himmlicher Liebeskuß (Strom: 1999, 222–238)	1659	love of God	before 1740 29 eds.
Christian Scriver	Seelenschatz, 5 volumes (Serkova: 2013)	1675–1692	passage of the soul from state of misery to eternal life	before 1740: 19 eds.

A couple of other books were also very popular (edition counts were not readily available to me):

Philipp Nicolai, *Freuden-Spiegel des Ewigen Lebens*, 1599 (Mirror of joy of eternal life)

(Morgenstern: 2000)

Johann Gerhard, *Meditationes sacrae ad veram pietatem excitandam*, 1607 (Sacred meditations stirring up to true piety) (Steiger: 1998).

Joachim Lütkeemann, *Vorgeschmack der göttlicher Güte*, 1653 (Foretaste of divine goodness) (Deuper: 2013).

Johann Habermann, *Christliche Gebette für allerley Not und Stende der gantzen Christenheit* (1567) (Christian prayers for all distresses and all estates of the whole of Christendom, a prayer book) (Steiger: 2009).

Johannes Crüger, *Praxis pietatis melica*, 1647 (The practice of piety in songs), a hymnbook (Korth/Miersemann: 2015).

Very little is known of German Reformed devotional literature of the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century (Mohr: 1982, 62–63). A relatively popular and important work seems to have been Paul Crocius' translation of Jean Crespin's *Livre des martyrs* (1554). This was published in 1590 as the *Märtyrbuch* and afterwards as *Groß Märtyrbuch und Kirchen-historien*. Six editions in all appeared, the last in 1721. The work seems to have been among the core reading matter of Reformed youth (Hollweg: 1957, 418).

From about 1600 onwards, and even more pronouncedly from about 1650, English Reformed devotional books were translated into German (McKenzie:

1984; Sträter: 1987; Damrau: 2006; Van de Kamp: 2011). Most of them were of a Puritan nature and addressed an existential and intensive form of Christian living. Topics of these works included conversion and regeneration; the practice of piety in daily life, on Sundays and on emergent occasions; meditation and self-examination. The most popular books of the genre in England were those by William Perkins, Lewis Bayly, Joseph Hall, Daniel Dyke, John Bunyan, Richard Baxter and others. 1600–1750: 690 transl., 1700 editions

From the 1690s onwards, Boehmistic works too were published in German translation, by authors such as Thomas Bromley, John Pordage and Jane Leade, the latter of whom founded the ecumenically-oriented Philadelphian Society in 1697. During the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, also translated into German were skeptical works by authors such as Thomas Browne (*Religio medici*), as well as works by Deists (Voigt: 2003) such as Matthew Tindal; by opponents of Deism, such as Joseph Butler; and by Arians such as William Wilston.

German Reformed Protestants in Hanau, Oppenheim and Herborn were among the first who translated, published and printed Latin and German translations of these English books (Sallmann: 2007, 217–227; Sträter: 2010, 211–224). From the 1620s onwards, a network of Palatine scholars and theologians made efforts for the translation of English devotional literature. Not only did they collect manuscripts and translate books, but in 1633 an attempt was also made to arrive at a more systematic approach. In that year, a group of Reformed theologians and ministers from Wetteravia and the Palatinate – the latter territory was severely stricken by the War – directed a request to the Churches of Great Britain and Ireland for the publication of a compendium on practical divinity drawn from English devotional books. The request was repeated in 1654, but in all probability the envisaged project did not succeed, for such a compendium was never printed. Incidentally, from the 1630s onwards, German translations that had been adapted to Lutheran doctrine began appearing.

Some German Reformed ministers also used English devotional literature to compile their own books. An example is *Homo novus. Das ist: ein new, gelehrt vnd gottseliges Tractätlein, von deß Menschen Wider-Geburt* (1658) (A new man. That is: a new, learned and pious treatise on the regeneration of men) by Petrus Streithagen, who belonged to the aforementioned Palatine network. This counts as the first German Reformed treatise which treats of the topic of regeneration. A second edition appeared in 1670 (Van de Kamp: 2012, 238–265).

A similar example is that of the minister Theodor Undereyck, who moved from Kassel to Bremen in 1670 and who published his *Christi Braut unter den Töchtern zu Laodicea* (The Bride of Christ among the daughters of Laodicea) in that year (Van de Kamp: 2015, 247–260).<sup>4</sup> His initial design in writing this book

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4 I collected these data on Undereyck during my Fritz-Thyssen fellowship for research on

was to give an overview ‘des wahren Christentums’ (of true Christianity, cf. Johann Arndt) by drawing from theological literature, particularly from English writers. However, charges by fellow Reformed Christians and ministers that Undereyck’s emphasis on the true power of piety, on regeneration and sanctification, was sectarian, led him to transform his aim: it became an apologetic book to defend his stance on Christianity. The main proposition or thesis of the book is that only God is able to satisfy the soul of man by faith. The surest hallmark of faith is that one loves God more than he loves the world. Yet this, according to Undereyck, does not mean that a regenerate Christian has no more frailties while on earth. Undereyck is of the opinion that only very few people are born again, because many deceive themselves regarding this issue. Finally, he gives an overview of means to further saving faith: namely by living an ascetic life, which among other ways is attained by avoiding *adiaphora* (things indifferent to salvation).

To support his views, Undereyck invoked quotations from theologians of the past and from his own time. If one looks at the authors, Undereyck quotes most from John Calvin (6,9 %). Broken down in terms of periods and movements Undereyck quotes most from Puritanism (27,2 %), Reformed orthodoxy (21,9 %), the Reformation (17,3 %), the Further Reformation (9,6 %) and the Early Church (9,5 %). A second edition of *Christi Braut* appeared in 1697.

Undereyck published several other devotional books. In 1678, a popular dogmatic (*Halleluja, das ist, Gott in dem Sünder verkläret. Oder, des Sünders Wanderstab zur Erkänntnis, Geniessung, und Verklärung Gottes, alß des höchsten Gutes*, Hallelujah, that is, God glorified in the sinner. Or, the sinner’s walking-staff to acknowledge, enjoy and glorify God as the highest good) appeared, in which he pays much attention to topics such as faith and assurance. He had the intention of writing a second volume on the practice of piety, a wish he probably never managed to fulfil. Finally, Undereyck wrote two catechisms for simple folk.

The second German Reformed author who wrote a handbook on the practice of piety was Wilhelm Diedrichs (Dieterici) of Lippstadt. In 1680, his *Der wahre inwendige und auswendige Christ, das ist, klare und gründliche Abbildung eines rechtschaffenen Christen* (The true internal and external Christian, that is, a clear and thorough illustration of a righteous Christian) appeared. It consists of two parts: the first on the internal nature of a Christian, the second on the external, namely his conduct. Diedrichs considers contemporary Christianity as being in deep decay and he elaborates on the causes for this. What he regards as true Christianity is inward Christianity (der wahre inwendige ... Christ), which consists of communion with God, purification of the heart and an inner practice

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Pietism and the Enlightenment, at the library of the Francke Foundations at Halle (Saale) in 2012.

of serving God. However, this inward Christianity also affects one's attitude and acts towards God, himself and his neighbor. This is described in the second part, where Diedrichs gives a detailed overview of the duties of a Christian in hearing the Word of God, the use of the sacraments, prayer, profession, conversations, eating and drinking, pleasures, clothes, contact with the ungodly and with the godly. This work quotes many contemporary English and Dutch theologians. Diedrich's book accumulated four editions, the last one in 1739 (Goeters: 1993, 271).


The Reformed weaver Gerhard Tersteegen from Mülheim an der Ruhr, who was also active as organizer of conventicles, published, among others, *Auserlesene Lebensbeschreibungen Heiliger Seelen* (1733–53, Excellent biographies of holy souls). It is striking that all those whose biographies are included in the work are Roman Catholics. Most of the biographies concern subjects from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mostly women. The persons addressed are included as examples not only because of their life conduct, but particularly because of the work of God in their inner life and because of the many tokens of God's grace to them. The first biography included is that of the Eremite Gregorio Lopez (1542–1596), which illustrates that seclusion, according to Tersteegen, is a mark of the true life with God (Goeters: 1995, 399; Meyer: 2002, 228–229).<sup>5</sup>

### 3. The use of Lutheran devotional literature by the German Reformed

The second question is to what extent the German Reformed made use of Lutheran devotional literature from another confession. In the research literature and in my own investigations, I have found several indications that reading and quoting Lutheran devotional works was quite common among the German Reformed.

In 1643, the German Reformed translator Theodore Haak, who belonged to the aforementioned network of Palatine men who strived for the transfer of English Reformed devotional works to Germany, and who translated some of these into German himself, mentioned the writings of Johann Arndt. He probably meant Arndt's famous series on true Christianity: the *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* (1605–10). Haak had met in Copenhagen a certain George Mosse, a Dane or German. Since Denmark and most of the northern parts of Germany were Lutheran territories, Mosse probably was also a Lutheran. During the conversation between Haak and Mosse, it turned out that their political

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5 Thanks to Dr. Johannes Burkard  (ünster) for supplying me with these references.



opinions were opposed, but they shared a love for the writings of the German Lutheran Arndt and for the English Reformed Daniel Dyke's *Mystery of Selfe-Deceiving*, which Haak had translated into German. In a letter to a friend on this conversation, Haak wrote that he considered Arndt's writings 'ad veram pietatem dienen' (conducive to true piety) (Barnett: 1962, 170).

In 1656, Samuel Althusius, son of the lawyer and Emden city clerk Johannes Althusius, listed a number of Reformed and Lutheran devotional works in the preface to a translation (Op 't Hof: 2005, 155–160).<sup>6</sup> Samuel, himself minister of the German Reformed Church at Leiden, did this in his translation of the English Reformed Henry Scudder's *The christians daily walke in holy securitie and peace* (1627). He rendered the preface by John Davenport into Dutch, but added, without accreditation, a number of devotional authors to the translation.

Davenport wrote in his preface:

True it is: Many have written on this subject [walking with God, the topic of Scudder's book, JvdK] largely, and worthily, as Master Rogers in seven Treatises, abridged by Master Stephen Egerton; and Master John Downam in a large and useful worke; and that I may not forget him, whom, in some respects I should first have mentioned the Reverend Dean of Worcester Doctor Hall, that true Christian English Seneca. Also Mr. Bolton, whose general directions for comfortable walking with God, are deservedly approved of the most judicious (Scudder: 1627, A11r-v).

The same passage in Althusius' translation reads as follows:

t Is wel alsoo, datter van ende over dese *materie* menige ende velerhande stichtelicke Boecken van verscheyden Godts-geleerde Mannen zijn geschreven ende uyt-gegeven, die niet sonder groote stichtinge van alle Lief-hebbers der saligheydt gelesen ende geuseert worden. Onder de welcke niet de minste zijn de Schriften van Roger, Steffen Eyerton, Perkinse, Iohan Dounam, Ioseph Hall, Bolton, Abrenethy, Dijcke, Taffin, Casman, Iohan Arend, Mollerus, Teeling, en diergelijcken (Scudder: 1656, 2\*3r).

If one compares the translation of this passage with the original, it turns out that Althusius has left out details of the authors and their works. Moreover, he has added some authors: William Perkins, John Abernethy, Dyke (Daniel or Jeremiah?), Jean Taffin, Otto Casmann, Johann Arndt, Martin Moller and Wilhelm Teellinck. The first three, Perkins, Abernethy and Dyke, are all English or Scottish Reformed theologians. The last authors are from different countries and confessions: Taffin, French Reformed; Casmann, German Reformed; Arndt and Moller, German Lutheran; and Teellinck, Dutch Reformed.

With this list of devotional authors, Althusius may have given us a glimpse of the devotional literature available at that time in the Netherlands as well as allowing a glimpse of his own preferences and recommendations regarding this

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<sup>6</sup> See on Althusius Van de Kamp: 2014, 26–30.

genre. It is striking that he not only refers to Reformed, but also to two popular Lutheran devotional authors: Arndt and Moller.

In 1670, Theodor Undereyck's aforementioned first book, *Christi Braut*, appeared. It contains, as I have previously noted, particularly quotes from Reformed theological works, but a lesser part stems from Luther and his followers. Cited are: songs and other writings by Luther (among others, several lines of the song *Christ lay in Todesbanden* (Christ lay in death's strong bands, 1524) (Undereyck: 1670, I:13, 116; II:104), Elisabeth Cruciger (ibidem, I:13), Georg Grünwald (ibidem, II:26) and Hans Sachs (ibidem, III:43); and among later authors: Heinrich Müller (*Himmlischer Liebeskuß*) (ibidem, I:22, 80–81, 128–129, 143, 170; II:65–68, 75–76, 96–99, 118; III:22–24, 102–104, 133, 160–168, 180, 200, 317–318), Johann Arndt (*Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum*) (ibidem, I:20–21, 40, 79–80; II:65, 95–96; III:22, 51–52, 131–132), the *Magdeburger Centurien* (chronicle of church history) (ibidem, III:89, 141–142, 222–223, 293–294), Johann Habermann (from his prayer book) (ibidem, I:13, 59, 149–150; II:49–50) and Philipp Nicolai (some lines from his song *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*, 1597 (How brightly shines the morning star) (ibidem, I:13).

In his preface, Undereyck gives a defense for his having reckoned some Lutheran theologians, such as Arndt and Muller, among 'ours' ('unter die Zahl der Unseren gesetzt'). Although he does not wish to concede to even the slightest doctrinal errors, he will concede to Christ, who, according to Undereyck, dwells in these Lutheran authors and shines through their holy lives. Undereyck prefers these 'men full of the Spirit' ('geistreiche Männer') 'before many servants of their own bellies amongst us, who advocate a pure doctrine and a pure confession, but who are worldly-inclined mockers and secret antichrists' ('vor manchen Bauchdiener unter uns, die eine reine Lehre und ein reines Bekenntnis bevorstehen, aber irdisch gesinnte Spötter heimliche Wiederchristen sind') (ibidem, I: [2] (6v]). From these 'clear-shining glasses' ('hellscheinende Gläser'), Undereyck expects no damage to the temple of the Holy Spirit, but he does expect so of 'a little unnoticed spider's web' ('ein wenig ungemercktes Spinnweb') (ibidem, I:[2] (7r]) – by which he means his fellow Reformed ministers and church members who, in his eyes, are not reborn.

In his second book, *Hallelujah* (1678), Undereyck gives another proof of his irenic mind, this time both regarding theological differences within the Reformed confession and with non-Reformed theologians. He bemoans the theological quarrels in the Reformed Church in the Netherlands between adherents of Gisbertus Voetius and Johannes Coccejus. Undereyck makes a plea for caution in forming one's judgement and for brotherly love until the dawning of the heavenly Kingdom of God in which all theologians who have been opponents on earth will unanimously glorify God (Undereyck: 1678, 4)(2v–4)(4r).

At this point, Undereyck quotes the Reformed theologian Johann Jakob Gryneus of Basle, who wrote to his colleague David Chytreus from Rostock, who had developed from a Philippian to a Gnesio-Lutheran position: '*Sehe ich euch nicht mehr in dieser Welt, so wollen wir jedoch dort zusammen kommen, da Lutherus und Zwinglius jetzo am allerbesten übereinkommen*' [bold in original JvdK] ('If I do not see you any more in this world, yet we will come together at that place where Luther and Zwingli will agree best') (Undereyck: 1678, [4](4r)).

#### 4. Conclusion

From an overview of German Lutheran and German Reformed devotional literature in Early Modern times, it has turned out that devotional writings by and for Lutherans pre-dated the stock of German Reformed works and that the supply of 'native' German Lutheran books was greater than that of 'native' German Reformed works. However, this overview has also demonstrated that no clear confessional boundaries can be drawn: such a pre-Reformation work as Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi* remained popular among Protestants, both Lutherans and Reformed; and Reformed works, English ones for instance, could be adapted for Lutherans. In addition, in several of the Protestant writings, like those of Philipp Nicolai, Johann Arndt and Sonthom, pre-Reformational or contemporary Roman Catholic elements were absorbed (Op 't Hof: 2006, 45–49).

Several of our examples have demonstrated that the German Reformed digested quotations from Lutheran devotional literature in their own work or that they read these works. The example of Theodore Haak's conversation with George Mosse and that of Samuel Althusius seem to suggest that the German Reformed regarded Reformed and Lutheran devotional authors as congruent. It should be added, however, that while these particular authors had been brought up in Germany, they were living abroad by the time that they made their statements to that effect.

Theodor Undereyck is more nuanced in his use of Lutheran devotional writings: on the one hand, he does not want to relativize Reformed doctrine, but on the other hand he prefers pious Lutherans to Reformed ministers who advocate Reformed doctrine but who live for money and who are inclined towards the world and its pleasures. This can be ascribed to his Pietistic stance, as a result of which he was able to some extent to see the importance of doctrine as relative to other virtues.

However, the statistic survey of Undereyck's quotations shows that he gave more authority to Reformed authors, above all to John Calvin, than to Lutheran ones. This can be explained by the apologetic aim that Undereyck had: he was seeking to defend his own Pietistic stance against his fellow Reformed ministers

and church members. The extent to which the German Reformed made use of Lutheran devotional works thus seems to be dependent on the context.

At the beginning of this lecture, I posed the question of whether a religious community like the German Reformed, which had relatively little capacity to produce its own devotional literature, would be inclined instead preferentially to use Lutheran devotional literature to fill up its own gaps. To some extent, this may indeed have been the case, as some Lutheran works were becoming popular early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, such as Arndt's books, and as some genres were seeing Protestant versions becoming available especially in Lutheran form, for example Johann Habermann's prayer book or some hymnbooks. It was not until 1680 that an in-house German Reformed hymnbook was penned: that of Joachim Neander, a pupil of Undereyck's (Mohr: 2002).

However, our overview of the production of Lutheran and Reformed devotional literature has shown that Lutherans, to whom many 'purely' Lutheran devotional works were readily available, also read Reformed works, especially those by English authors, although often in a Lutheranized version. This raises the question of to what extent the use of devotional literature was determined by the supply of the book market. Works from the Reformed confession with frequent reprints, such as those of Lewis Bayly and Joseph Hall, were adapted to a Lutheran doctrinal framework and read by Lutherans. A Lutheran minister at Ulm, Elias Veiel (1635–1706), in 1678 complained: 'die Buchläden seien mit den aus dem Englischen übertragenen Schriften überfüllt' ('the bookshops are overloaded with writings translated from the English') (Tholuck: 1862, I/2:20).

In addition to the role of the book market, the novelty of the books themselves may have played a role. Bayly's *Praxis pietatis* presented an overall guide to the practice of piety, which as a concept had not previously been available in that form in the German language (Van de Kamp: 2011a, 11–19).

In order for a more amply-grounded answer to be given to the research question of this contribution, deeper research into the production of devotional books (authors, publishers, printers, their confessions and the number of editions) and their reception (for example by the analysis of book inventories) will be needed.

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