

## INTRODUCTION

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“What do we wish to become, my brothers and sisters?” asked Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, the founder and leader of the Moravians: “Bibelfest.”<sup>1</sup> This question absorbed Pietists and evangelicals throughout the early modern Atlantic world in their quest for true religion. Their yearning to obtain from the Word a spiritual knowledge of God that was at once experiential and practical greatly shaped the courses and legacies of their movements. The myriad ways they read, preached, interpreted, translated, and practiced the Bible are inextricable from how they pursued religious and social reform, fashioned new forms of devotion, founded new institutions, engaged the early Enlightenment, and made sense of their world. The essays in this collection showcase the prevalence, variety, and complexity of Pietist and early evangelical biblical practices in the context of the long eighteenth century. At the same time, they highlight the many parallels, networks, exchanges, and common impulses that connected these traditions on both sides of the Atlantic in their engagement with the Bible.

This book expands and bridges three vibrant areas of study: Pietism, early evangelicalism, and the history of the Bible.<sup>2</sup> Surprisingly enough, there is relatively little overlap between these scholarly fields. Most authors continue to approach Pietism and evangelicalism as separate phenomena, viewing the former chiefly through the lens of German church history or as an indirect forerunner to the Anglophone evangelical awakenings of the 1740s. Important interventions have challenged these perceptions, but many studies remain at the survey level or absorb one movement into the other and thus blur important distinctions.<sup>3</sup>

The recent historiographical turn to viewing the early modern Atlantic world as a shared context has opened up new vistas for historians of religion beyond ethnocentric or nation-centric church histories.<sup>4</sup> This lens can help us better perceive the interrelationship between Pietism and early evangelicalism since both movements took shape amidst widespread transatlantic religious and social transformations. In highlighting the many affinities, however, it is also important not to diminish the national, cultural, ethnic, regional, confessional, and ecclesial diversity both between and within the movements.

Pietism emerged in the late seventeenth century as a movement of Christian renewal in German-speaking lands.<sup>5</sup> Inspired by the writings of post-Reformation Protestants such as Johann Arndt, the Puritans, proponents of the *Nadere Reformatie*, and various esoteric traditions, Pietists pursued widespread reform of church and society by promoting spiritual rebirth, personal experiential piety, biblicism over theological dogmatism, greater lay participation, small-group conventicles for Bible study and Christian fellowship, charitable activism, and zeal for the millennial kingdom—an agenda outlined most famously in Philip Jakob Spener’s influential manifesto *Pia Desideria* (1675). From the beginning, the movement encompassed Reformed and Lutheran Pietists, “churchly” Pietists working within the established churches and creedal traditions yet also separatists who found these churches too corrupt and the traditions too restricting, and various mystical and chiliastic teachings. It also contained diverse regional cultures with hotspots throughout the Holy Roman Empire, other parts of Europe (esp. the Netherlands, Switzerland, Scandinavia, the Baltic, and various parts of Britain), and European colonies abroad (esp. British North America, the Caribbean, and southeast India). The missions-minded and nomadic Moravians were especially ubiquitous. This branch of Pietism formed in the 1720s when descendants of the *Unitas Fratrum* (mostly from Moravia) arrived as refugees on the estate of the Halle-educated Count Zinzendorf and founded the Herrnhut settlement near Berthelsdorf. After the settlers experienced a communal revival, Zinzendorf became the patron of the renewed Brethren and transformed them into a global missionary force committed to spreading the joyful message of instant salvation and sensible assurance flowing from the “blood and wounds” of Christ.<sup>6</sup>

Many trace the origins of the evangelical movement to the revivals of the 1730s and 1740s in Britain and its North American colonies, though W. R. Ward has made a strong case for widening the scope and dating it back to the 1670s to include European Pietist roots.<sup>7</sup> Definitional and genealogical complexities aside, numerous Anglophone Protestants networked and collaborated with awakened Protestants in continental Europe and promoted similar means of reform and pious renewal in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth

centuries. These efforts reached a peak in the 1730s and 1740s when spiritual awakenings erupted throughout the British Empire. Revival-minded ministers and itinerants promoted the new birth and experiential piety with a heightened fervor, confident that they were partaking in a unified and extraordinary work of the Spirit in anticipation of the millennial kingdom. However, like Pietism, the evangelical movement contained significant diversity. It included those within the respective established churches (i.e., members of the Church of England, Church of Scotland Presbyterians, and New England Congregationalists) as well as Dissenters; various theological traditions (Calvinist and Arminian, diverse ecclesologies, liturgies, sacramental practices, etc.); moderates who advocated a more “orderly” and clergy-led revivalism as opposed to the “enthusiasm” and separatism of radical evangelicals; and various ethno-national and regional cultures (English, Welsh, Scottish, Scots-Irish, colonials, Blacks, and Native Americans). Two particularly influential evangelical networks and trajectories emerged in the 1740s. One was international Calvinism, which linked evangelicals who embraced the doctrine of predestination together in transdenominational collaborations and global exchanges. The other was the Methodist movement, which arose in the late 1730s within the Church of England and initially encompassed Calvinist and Arminian wings, associated respectively with George Whitefield and John Wesley. The Methodists pioneered innovative revival practices such as open-air preaching, itinerancy, and religious societies. By the late eighteenth century the first Methodist churches in America were founded, the Wesleyan Methodists had separated from the Church of England, and the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists were soon to separate from the Anglican Church in Wales.<sup>8</sup>

While key differences between early German-speaking Pietism and Anglophone evangelicalism existed and persisted, the relationship went much deeper than parallel characteristics and sporadic points of contact. The movements became closely intertwined in the wider contexts of eighteenth-century transatlantic migration, revivals, missions, new media and print exchanges, intellectual transformations of the early Enlightenment, and political developments. Pietists and evangelicals shared a common Protestant Reformation heritage, a zeal to complete the Reformation in doctrine with a reformation in practice, close interaction with Enlightenment-era philosophies, a vitalistic cosmology manifested in a heightened experimental occupation with pneumatology and apocalypticism, and common sources of piety such as the *devotio moderna*, Puritan practical divinity, Christian mysticism, and even esoteric traditions such as Paracelsianism, hermeticism, and Christian Kabbalism.<sup>9</sup> Their shared concerns and collaborations contributed to the construction of a new “Protestant international” religious identity around the turn of the eighteenth

century through their efforts to advance the “Protestant interest” against Catholic powers, revitalize the Protestant world, and expand Christian missions abroad. In the process, they became less invested in projects of confessionalization and instead came to promote a more ecumenically minded, doctrinally minimalistic, Christocentric, new birth-oriented, biblicist, and experiential religion as the basis for true global Christianity.<sup>10</sup> Pietists and early evangelicals perceived these marks of true Christianity in each other and saw themselves as participants in the same redemptive work of the Spirit to advance the kingdom of God in the world. The Bible was central in all of these respects. Thus, by examining their biblical practices side by side, this volume contributes valuable texture to our understanding of Pietism’s and evangelicalism’s entangled religious cultures and histories.

Scholars of Pietism have long recognized the importance of the Bible to the movement,<sup>11</sup> and scholars of evangelicalism regularly identify “biblicism,” or a high view of Scripture’s authority, as one of its core pillars.<sup>12</sup> Despite this fact, there have been few detailed studies of the Bible in early evangelicalism, and little attempt has been made to draw connections with Pietist biblical practices. Moreover, most histories of biblical interpretation have given meager attention to the contributions of early evangelicals (Pietism has fared slightly better), thus overlooking the emergence of their unique ways of engaging with Scripture, which have influenced millions around the world over the past three centuries.<sup>13</sup> Typically these works have also disregarded British North America, perhaps due in part to a prevalent misconception that colonial American engagement in European intellectual currents and Enlightenment discourses was predominantly political (culminating in the Revolution) rather than religious. The new interest in the exegesis of colonial American evangelicals such as Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards has helped reverse these trends. The recent critical editions of Mather’s massive yet heretofore unpublished Bible commentary, the “*Biblia Americana*,” and the editions of Edwards’s exegetical notebooks have facilitated pioneering studies, yielding fresh insights into their life, thought, and times.<sup>14</sup> One important contribution of this collection is to set the exegesis of awakened colonial Protestants such as Mather, Edwards, and others in transatlantic perspective and thereby underscore early America’s participation and embeddedness in wider currents of early modern European religion and ideas.

The essays in this volume examine the diverse biblical practices of a wide range of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century awakened Protestants from various confessional, linguistic, national, and regional traditions. They include awakened Lutherans, Reformed, Moravians, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Methodists. Readers will encounter familiar

names such as the German Pietists Philip Jakob Spener, August Hermann Francke, Anton Wilhelm Böhme, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, and Johann Albrecht Bengel; the Dutch Reformed Johannes Cocceius and Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen; English evangelicals Philip Doddridge, John and Charles Wesley, George Whitefield, John Newton, and Andrew Fuller; and colonial American evangelicals such as Cotton Mather, Jonathan Edwards, and David Brainerd. These names represent well-known, educated, European male leaders categorized often in the literature as “churchly” or “moderate” as opposed to “radical”—though these designations are sometimes contested and blurry.<sup>15</sup> Expanding beyond this traditional frame, the volume also features lay believers, women such as Anne Dutton and Hannah Heaton, Africans such as Rebecca Protten and Native Americans such as Samson Occom, and proponents of the more “radical” wings, including immigrant Moravian communities and separatist Pietists such as Heinrich Horch and Johanna Eleonora Petersen. Furthermore, in order to reflect the variety of their engagement with the Bible, the chapters explore an assortment of primary source material, from major exegetical commentaries and theological writings to sermons, private notebooks, letters, and diaries. Some essays examine Pietists and evangelicals together, while others lay greater focus on one or the other. As a whole, they provide a broad profile of the Bible in transatlantic Pietism and evangelicalism, covering issues pertinent to both movements, such as reception history, spiritual interpretation, biblical scholarship, experiential authority, history of redemption, missions, gender, politics, piety, apocalypticism, and more.

There are four thematic parts to this volume. Part 1, “Commentators and Commentaries,” introduces leading Pietist and evangelical biblical interpreters and their works. In chapter 1, Douglas Shantz surveys three forms of exegetical writings from German Pietists and Moravians: popular manuals for lay Bible reading, translations and editions, as well as commentaries. By blending new experiential pieties with the scholarly techniques and media of the early Enlightenment era, Shantz argues, Pietists adapted to shifting modern conditions with significant implications for how they engaged the Bible. In chapter 2, Isabel Rivers examines analogous forms of publications from English evangelicals. Similar to the work of the Pietist Canstein *Bibelanstalt* in Halle, English evangelicals amplified their labors over the eighteenth century to expand access to Holy Writ by producing and distributing Bibles. A flood of practical reading aids and meditative tracts accompanied this endeavor, such as *A Spiritual Treasury, for the Children of God*, an English translation of a work by the Halle Pietist author Karl Heinrich von Bogatzky. Finally, evangelicals produced widely read annotated Bibles and commentaries. Like many Pietist commentaries, notes Rivers, these works “were explicitly aimed at lay

readers and encouraged their active participation in interpreting the text.” It is no wonder, therefore, that the Pietist Friedrich Eberhard Rambach translated Doddridge’s lengthy commentary into German.

Pietists and evangelicals not only produced and exchanged similar print material on the Bible, they also partook in overlapping “Historical Trajectories and Transitions” in the early modern Atlantic world—the theme of part 2. In chapter 3, Adriaan Neele shows how “the appreciation of piety or *praxis pietatis*” linked leading seventeenth-century Dutch Reformed exegetes of the *Nadere Reformatie* with Puritans, Pietists, and evangelicals of various stripes across the north Atlantic and beyond (including Africa, Asia, and South America). After surveying major works and themes of early modern Dutch Reformed exegesis, Neele traces both continuities and significant contextual adaptations in its Pietist and evangelical reception—including changes in theological meanings and polemical applications in the context of revivals. In chapter 4, Crawford Gribben traces the historical trajectory of “biblicist” tendencies from seventeenth-century Puritanism to eighteenth-century evangelicalism via a case study on John Owen’s scriptural practices and reception. Owen relied heavily on learning and operated within his confessional and exegetical tradition, yet he also nurtured a somewhat countervailing approach that emphasized the need for simple reading, liberty of conscience, and personal dependence on the Spirit to discover the Bible’s meaning. While Owen’s latter orientation anticipated individualist and subjectivist biblical practices among early evangelicals, many surrendered the same degree of deference to traditions and interpretive communities—a shift that swayed the evangelical movement in new democratic and populist directions.

In chapter 5, Robert Brown investigates a key moment in the transition from seventeenth-century state-church establishment paradigms to the rising demand for freedom of religion and conscience among eighteenth-century evangelicals. Operating in new conditions of the Restoration and the revoked Massachusetts charter, marginalized nonconformists such as Richard Baxter in England and Cotton Mather in New England revisited the Bible’s teachings on the relationship between Christianity and politics—especially Rom 13. Drawing on rights of conscience theory in their Calvinist tradition and on Enlightenment thinkers, notably John Locke, their interpretation of these passages anticipated later evangelical political theory by laying greater weight on individual rights and religious liberty and the proper place for political submission and resistance. In chapter 6, Ryan Hoselton demonstrates how the rise of Pietist and evangelical missions was closely intertwined with shifts in their biblical practices—developments that helped lay the foundation for the modern missionary movement and the globalization of Protestant

Christianity over the past three centuries. Joined together through transatlantic missionary networks, print exchanges, and theological constructions of an imagined global Protestant community, Pietist and evangelical conceptions of their role in the Bible's sacred redemptive history enkindled a common missionary activism to fulfill Christ's Great Commission in preparation for his imminent Second Coming. Furthermore, their heightened emphasis on the Word as the Spirit's chief means of renewal and redemption engendered more active measures to propagate the Word in the world through preaching, Bible translation and distribution, and education. Finally, innovations in piety greatly shaped their missionary methods on the ground as they labored to instill an experiential and Christocentric knowledge of the Word among non-Christian populations.

The five chapters in part 3 explore "Interpretive Approaches, Issues, and Debates." Whether addressing challenges to traditional beliefs or emboldened by new conceptions of lay and experiential interpretive authority, Pietists and evangelicals engaged the Word with confidence in its truthfulness, its sacredness, and the Spirit's illumination to understand it. A number of scholars have argued that eighteenth-century Protestant apologists of Scripture inadvertently contributed to secularization by adopting the rationalist and empirical paradigms of the Bible's critics. In chapter 7, however, Douglas Sweeney finds this assessment uneven and urges a fuller consideration of the "resilience of their modern supernaturalism." As he demonstrates in his study on Cotton Mather's and Jonathan Edwards's reading of Jesus's miracles, evangelicals no doubt utilized reason and evidence to defend the veracity of the Bible's accounts of supernatural phenomena. But they were far more invested in explicating and defending the reality of these miracles in order to engender vital faith in God's active presence in the world and Christ's work of spiritual renewal.

From the beginning, the Pietist movement combined an emphasis on the priesthood of all believers with the charge for every Christian to read and interpret the Bible. In chapter 8, Ruth Albrecht offers three illustrations of lay German Pietists—all steeped in transatlantic radical religious networks—who felt emboldened by this principle to interpret the Word in ways that bolstered their religious aims and challenged traditional stances and customs of Lutheran Orthodoxy. Her case studies examine the biblical primitivism of layman and separatist Johann Jakob Schütz, the biblical mysticism of Anna Catharina Scharschmidt, and the quasi-prophetic millennialism of Johanna Eleonora Petersen.

Chapters 9 and 10 illustrate how evangelicals approached perennial issues in the history of biblical interpretation—especially the proper domains and methods of allegorical, spiritual, and historical exegesis—in light of new

challenges in their times. Christians through the centuries had interpreted the Song of Songs—an Old Testament marital poem about Solomon and his betrothed—as an allegory of the relationship between Christ and the church, but this view was increasingly challenged over the course of the eighteenth century as many questioned not only the merit of allegorical exegesis but also traditional beliefs based upon it. As Michael Haykin shows, this was a highly contested issue among English Baptists. The more evangelical-oriented Baptists, however, such as Joseph Stennett I, John Gill, Andrew Fuller, and Anne Dutton, championed an allegorical reading in continuity with the early church fathers and Puritans. When they read Song 5:10, “My beloved is white and ruddy,” in contrast to the rising rationalist and historicizing exegetical approaches of their age, they perceived the beauty and divinity of Jesus Christ. In chapter 10, Kenneth Minkema brings us again to the other side of the Atlantic in his study of Cotton Mather’s and Jonathan Edwards’s approaches to the relationship between historical and spiritual exegesis. He compares their interpretations of four historical accounts in the Old Testament: the sun standing still in Josh 10, Jephthah’s vow in Judg 11, and the books of Ruth and Esther. Letting the primary sources speak for themselves, these vignettes give rise to a variety of insights into the exegetical methods and interests of early evangelicals. While Mather and Edwards evinced differences in style and emphasis, both availed themselves of the fruits of the new learning to elucidate these texts, leaned on exegetical tradition and learning, drew from eclectic and even esoteric sources, employed reasoned arguments and scholarship to defend the historicity of the accounts, gleaned devotional reflections to spur experiential religion and application, and cast the stories in the wider framework of redemptive history.

The interplay between exegesis, experientialism, and reliance on the Spirit gave rise to unique tensions in Pietism and evangelicalism. As Jan Stievermann demonstrates in chapter 11, a spiritualistic tendency led many Pietist and evangelical exegetes to blur the “line between reading with the Spirit and having quasi-revelatory experiences that were usually rooted in Scripture but transcended it,” especially when reading the Bible’s apocalyptic books. Yet there was a wide spectrum in how far they were willing to go when determining matters such as the timing of Christ’s return, the nature of the millennial kingdom, or the restoration of prophetic and charismatic gifts as promised in Joel 2:28. Some were curious but more guarded, while others pushed canonical boundaries and advertently or inadvertently engaged in prophetic discourses and bred new revelations.

The history of the Bible in Pietism and evangelicalism consisted not only of major texts, transformative ideas, turning points, institutions, and influential



characters, but also the everyday lived religion of believers. Thus, the three essays in the final part, “The Bible and Lived Religion,” are devoted to how Pietists and evangelicals practiced the Bible. In chapter 12, Bruce Hindmarsh probes the devotional habits of evangelicals. Hans Frei and others have influentially argued that the eighteenth century witnessed a loss of biblical realism as readers sought to fit the Bible into the modern world rather than fit their world into the narrative of the Bible. For Hindmarsh, the devotional practices of evangelicals challenge this claim and show that modern conditions had not eradicated vital biblical religion. Building upon Pietist antecedents, evangelical leaders and lay believers alike sought to assimilate their lives to Scripture’s narrative framework. By means of what Hindmarsh calls “evangelical figuration,” they labored to personalize the Bible’s salvation history, participate as characters in its narratives, and adopt its language as one’s own.

As Benjamin Pietrenka and Marilyn Westerkamp display in chapter 13 with a treasure of primary source material from an array of Moravians and evangelicals, women experienced and practiced the Bible differently from men. Denied the same privileges of education and social status, women approached the Word with their gendered experiences of pregnancy and birth, housewifery, motherhood, daughterhood and sisterhood, caregiving, female missions and exhortation, sexual abuse, widowhood, friendships, and enslavement and racialized oppression. Generally, their Bible reading focused less on grasping doctrinal complexities and more on their experiences. While many contented themselves with traditional gender roles, others felt empowered by the Spirit and the Word to follow their true calling to preach and lead. In the final chapter, Peter Vogt details a communal practice of reading Scripture that linked the Moravians in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, with believers around the world. When these Moravians immigrated in the early 1740s, they brought a unique tradition that Zinzendorf called the *Losungen*, or “watchwords” (still used to this day). The *Losungen* contain a Bible passage for each day of the year designed to order and spur the global Moravian community’s meditation and worship, “offering to them, as it were, a running divine commentary on the earthly realities that they encountered.” Vogt examines how the *Losungen* were chosen, distributed, and devotionally practiced, and how these daily words of Scripture became meaningfully interwoven in the everyday lives of individuals and the community.

The portrait that emerges from these focused studies on the Bible in Pietism and evangelicalism is one of vitality and versatility yet also tensions and paradoxes. Pietists and evangelicals sought to learn from and uphold their Protestant exegetical tradition, yet they also employed the Bible to revive and transform that heritage. They utilized reason and empirical-evidentialist

frameworks to defend the Bible's historicity and truthfulness against skeptics, yet they ultimately looked to the inner testimony of the Spirit for unassailable certainty in the Bible's authority and divine origin. They readily availed themselves of the latest intellectual developments in experimental philosophy, philology, and history to elucidate Holy Writ, yet they emphasized the need for experiential knowledge of the Word from the Spirit in order to attain a true spiritual understanding. Practitioners stressed the importance of simple and plain Bible reading while also zealously searching for spiritual mysteries and apocalyptic hints hidden beneath the surface. They applied the Word to liberate souls from the bondage of sin, unshackle true religion from the manmade traditions and hierarchies of Christendom, and unyoke civil rights and freedom of conscience from political tyranny; however, not until the Protestant antislavery movement arose in the 1770s was there a concerted effort to apply Scripture to liberate their colonized neighbors from enslavement, dispossession, and social inequity. Their emphasis on the priesthood of all believers and personally experiencing the Spirit's new birth and indwelling light empowered the marginalized and united true Christians across denominations—yet it also emboldened individuals to employ Scripture in ways that divided and damaged long-standing communities. In sum, their biblical practices were complex. Daily they read, heard, and meditated on the Word in search of truth, assurance, comfort, and wisdom for their relationships and values. Ultimately, they sought to encounter the triune God. Whether writing lengthy Bible commentaries or letters to friends, sitting at the table with family or traveling to distant lands on mission, advising magistrates or instructing orphans, Pietists and evangelicals expended extensive energy and resources to understand, apply, and propagate the Word.

## Notes

I would like to thank my fellow editors and Isabel Rivers for their invaluable feedback on this introduction. Unless otherwise noted or unless quoted from another source, all Bible references in this volume are from the King James Version (KJV).

1. *Bibelfest* means to be well-versed in the Bible. Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, *Vier und Dreyßig homiliae über die Wunden=Litaneey der Brüder, Gehalten auf dem Herrnhaag in den Sommer=Monathen 1747 von dem Ordinario Fratrum* (n.p., 1747), 147.

2. For the history of the Bible, see esp. Nathan O. Hatch and Mark A. Noll, eds., *The Bible in America: Essays in Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Paul C. Gutjahr, *An American Bible: History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777–1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Gutjahr, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), chaps. 2–3;

Lisa Gordis, *Opening Scripture: Bible Reading and Interpretive Authority in Puritan New England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Constance M. Furey et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009–); Scott Mandelbrote and Michael Ledger-Lomas, eds., *Dissent and the Bible in Britain, c. 1650–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); James P. Byrd, *Sacred Scripture, Sacred War: The Bible and the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); James Carlton Paget et al., *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012–16); Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Mark A. Noll, *In the Beginning Was the Word: The Bible in American Public Life, 1492–1783* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); John Fea, *The Bible Cause: A History of the American Bible Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Philip Goff, Arthur E. Farnsley II, and Peter J. Thuesen, eds., *The Bible in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); and Seth Perry, *Bible Culture and Authority in the Early United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

3. See F. Ernest Stoeffler, ed., *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1976); Geoffrey F. Nuttall, "Continental Pietism and the Evangelical Movement in Britain," in *Pietismus und Reveil*, ed. J. Van den Berg and J. P. Van Dooren (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 207–36; J. Steven O'Malley, "Pietistic Influence on John Wesley: Wesley and Gerhard Tersteegen," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 31 (1996): 48–70; Jonathan Strom, Hartmut Lehmann, and James Van Horn Melton, eds., *Pietism in Germany and North America, 1680–1820* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009); Oliver Scheiding, "The World as Parish: Cotton Mather, August Hermann Francke, and Transatlantic Religious Networks," in *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana—America's First Bible Commentary: Essays in Reappraisal*, ed. Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2011), 131–66; Scott Kisker, "Pietist Connections with English Anglicans and Evangelicals," in *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660–1800*, ed. Douglas H. Shantz (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 225–55; and J. Steven O'Malley, "Pietism and Transatlantic Revivals," in Shantz, *Companion to German Pietism*, 256–89.

For examples of otherwise excellent studies that bring Pietism under the label of evangelicalism, see W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Ward, *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670–1789* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Conversely, in following a definitional approach to Pietism based primarily on characteristics and propensities (as opposed to regional or ecclesial identities), the pioneering four-volume *GdP* subsumes Puritanism, the *Nadere Reformatie*, and evangelicalism under Pietism.

For a recent assessment of the historiography on early Pietist and evangelical connections, and a case for an "entangled histories approach," see Jan Stievermann, "German Lutheran and Reformed Protestants," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Evangelicalism*, ed. Jonathan Yeager (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

4. See, among others, Horst Pietschmann, ed., *Atlantic History: History of the Atlantic System, 1580–1830* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002); Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault, eds., *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500–1830* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009). For examples of religious histories in transatlantic perspective, see esp. the monograph series from Palgrave Macmillan, *Christianities in the Trans-Atlantic World*, edited by Crawford Gribben and Scott Spurlock.

5. Scholars disagree widely about the exact origins, features, and scope of Pietism. See esp. F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: Brill, 1965); the four-volume *GdP*; the yearly periodical *PuN*; Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005); Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn*

of *Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013); and Wolfgang Breul and Thomas Hahn-Bruckart, eds., *Pietismus Handbuch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021).

6. For Moravianism, see esp. Craig D. Atwood, *Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2004); and Dietrich Meyer, *Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine: 1700–2000* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009).

7. Ward, *Early Evangelicalism*, 1. For early evangelicalism in Britain and its colonies, see esp. D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989); Michael J. Crawford, *Seasons of Grace: Colonial New England's Revival Tradition in Its British Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, and George Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003); Thomas S. Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); and D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Spirit of Early Evangelicalism: True Religion in a Modern World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

8. See esp. Richard P. Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995); David Ceri Jones, "A Glorious Work in the World": *Welsh Methodism and the International Evangelical Revival, 1735–1750* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004); David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Isabel Rivers, *Vanity Fair and the Celestial City: Dissenting, Methodist, and Evangelical Literary Culture in England, 1720–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 3–4.

9. See Ward, *Early Evangelicalism*, 6–23; Brett Malcolm Grainger, "Vital Nature and Vital Piety: Johann Arndt and the Evangelical Vitalism of Cotton Mather," *CH* 81, no. 4 (2012): 852–72.

10. See Thomas S. Kidd, *The Protestant Interest: New England After Puritanism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Andrew C. Thompson, *Britain, Hanover and the Protestant Interest, 1688–1756* (Rochester, NY: Boydell, 2006); Mark A. Peterson, "Theopolis Americana: The City-State of Boston, the Republic of Letters, and the Protestant International, 1689–1739," in Bailyn and Denault, *Soundings in Atlantic History*, 329–70; A. G. Roeber, "The Waters of Rebirth: The Eighteenth Century and Transoceanic Protestant Christianity," *CH* 79, no. 1 (2010): 40–76; Edward E. Andrews, "Tranquebar: Charting the Protestant International in the British Atlantic and Beyond," *WMQ* 74, no. 1 (2017): 3–34; and Jan Stievermann, "A 'Syncretism of Piety': Imagining Global Protestantism in Early Eighteenth-Century Boston, Tranquebar, and Halle," *CH* 89 (2020): 829–56.

11. See among others Kurt Aland, ed., *Pietismus und Bibel* (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1970); Martin Brecht, "Die Bedeutung der Bibel im deutschen Pietismus," in *GdP*, 4:102–20; Shantz, *Introduction to German Pietism*, 204–36; Johannes Wallmann, "Scriptural Understanding and Interpretation in Pietism," in *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, vol. 2, *From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. Magne Sæbo (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 902–25; Fred van Lieburg, "Bible Reading and Pietism in the Dutch Reformed Tradition," in *Lay Bibles in Europe, 1450–1800*, ed. M. Lamberigts and A. A. den Hollander (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), 223–44; and Susanne Luther, "Schriftverständnis im Pietismus," in Breul and Hahn-Bruckart, *Pietismus Handbuch*, 349–59; and Thomas Hahn-Bruckart, "Bibel," in Breul and Hahn-Bruckart, *Pietismus Handbuch*, 420–27.

12. Bebbington includes "biblicism" in his widely cited "quadrilateral" of evangelical identity, the other three pillars being crucicentrism, conversionism, and activism. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 2–17. Others who have offered a similar but modified version of Bebbington's quadrilateral also emphasize the Bible. See, among others, Kidd, *Great Awakening*, xiv; Timothy Larsen, "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical*

*Theology*, ed. Timothy Larsen and Daniel J. Treier (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–14; and Mark A. Noll, “What Is ‘Evangelical’?,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Evangelical Theology*, ed. Gerald R. McDermott (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 19–33. See also the essays in Timothy Larsen, ed., *Every Leaf, Line, and Letter: Evangelicals and the Bible from the 1730s to the Present* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2021).

13. The following popular histories and readers of biblical interpretation embody the meager attention given to the early evangelical tradition: Henning Graf Reventlow, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung*, 4 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1990–2001); Gerald L. Bray, *Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2000); Alan J. Hauser and Duane F. Watson, eds., *A History of Biblical Interpretation*, 4 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003–); William Yarchin, *History of Biblical Interpretation: A Reader* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2011); Darren Sarinski, *Theology, History, and Biblical Interpretation: Modern Readings* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015); Oda Wischmeyer, ed., *Handbuch der Bibelhermeneutiken* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016).

14. See Mather’s *BA* (vols. 1–5 and 9 are already published, and the other four volumes are under contract) and Edwards’s *WJE* 5 (*Apocalyptic Writings*), *WJE* 15 (*Notes on Scripture*), and *WJE* 24 (*The “Blank Bible”*).

Aside from the editorial introductions to the critical editions, see Smolinski and Stievermann, *Cotton Mather and “Biblia Americana”*; and Jan Stievermann, *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity: Interpreting the Hebrew Scriptures in Cotton Mather’s “Biblia Americana,”* Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 179 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016). See also Reiner Smolinski, “Authority and Interpretation: Cotton Mather’s Response to the European Spinozists,” in *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603–1714: The Atlantic Connection*, ed. Allan I. Macinnes and Arthur H. Williamson (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 175–203; Smolinski, “How to Go to Heaven, or How Heaven Goes? Natural Science and Interpretation in Cotton Mather’s ‘Biblia Americana’ (1693–1728),” *New England Quarterly* 81, no. 2 (2008): 278–329; Harry C. Maddux, “God’s Responsibility: Narrative Choice and Providential History in Mather’s *Biblia Americana* Commentary on Ezra,” *Early American Literature* 42 (2007): 305–21; Jan Stievermann, “Reading Canticles in the Tradition of New England Millennialism: John Cotton and Cotton Mather’s Commentaries on the Song of Songs,” in *Prophecy and Eschatology in the Transatlantic World, 1550–1800*, ed. Andrew Crome (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 213–38; Stievermann, “The Debate over Prophetic Evidence for the Authority of the Bible in Cotton Mather’s *Biblia Americana*,” in Goff, Farnsley, and Thuesen, *Bible in American Life*, 48–62; and Grace Sarah Harwood, “Perhaps No One General Answer Will Do: Cotton Mather’s Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels in ‘Biblia Americana’” (PhD diss., Georgia State University, 2018).

For Jonathan Edwards’s exegesis, see esp. Stephen J. Stein, “The Quest for the Spiritual Sense: The Biblical Hermeneutics of Jonathan Edwards,” *Harvard Theological Review* 70 (1977): 99–113; Robert E. Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); Stephen R. C. Nichols, *Jonathan Edwards’ Bible: The Relationship of the Old and New Testaments* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2013); David P. Barshinger, *Jonathan Edwards and the Psalms: A Redemptive-Historical Vision of Scripture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Douglas A. Sweeney, *Edwards the Exegete: Biblical Interpretation and Anglo-Protestant Culture on the Edge of the Enlightenment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); and Barshinger and Sweeney, eds., *Jonathan Edwards and Scripture: Biblical Exegesis in British North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018). For a much more extensive list, see the endnotes to chapter 1 of Sweeney, *Edwards the Exegete*, 226–37, esp. nn. 1–30.

For comparative works on Mather and Edwards, see Stephen J. Stein, “Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards on the Epistle of James: A Comparative Study,” in Smolinski and Stievermann, *Cotton Mather and “Biblia Americana,”* 363–82; Michael P. Clark, “The Eschatology of Signs in Cotton Mather’s ‘Biblia Americana’ and Jonathan Edwards’s Case for the Legibility of Providence,” in Smolinski and Stievermann, *Cotton Mather and “Biblia Americana,”* 413–38; Jan Stievermann

and Ryan P. Hoselton, "Spiritual Meaning and Experimental Piety in the Exegesis of Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards," in Barshinger and Sweeney, *Edwards and Scripture*, 86–105; Ava Chamberlain, "A Fish Tale: Jonathan Edwards and Cotton Mather on Jonah's Whale," in Barshinger and Sweeney, *Edwards and Scripture*, 144–62; and Ryan P. Hoselton, "Spiritually Discerned: Cotton Mather, Jonathan Edwards, and Experiential Exegesis in Early Evangelicalism" (PhD diss., Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 2019).

15. For the difference between churchly and radical Pietists, see Wallmann, *Pietismus*, 24. Concerning evangelicals, Kidd suggests replacing the oft-used categories of Old Light v. New Light with a continuum from conservative antirevivalists to moderate evangelicals and radical evangelicals. Kidd, *Great Awakening*, xiv. Others see the line between so-called moderates and radical enthusiasts as less clear cut; see esp. Douglas L. Winiarski, *Darkness Falls on the Land of Light: Experiencing Religious Awakenings in Eighteenth-Century New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).