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Governing health at Die Franckeschen Anstalten 1698-1759

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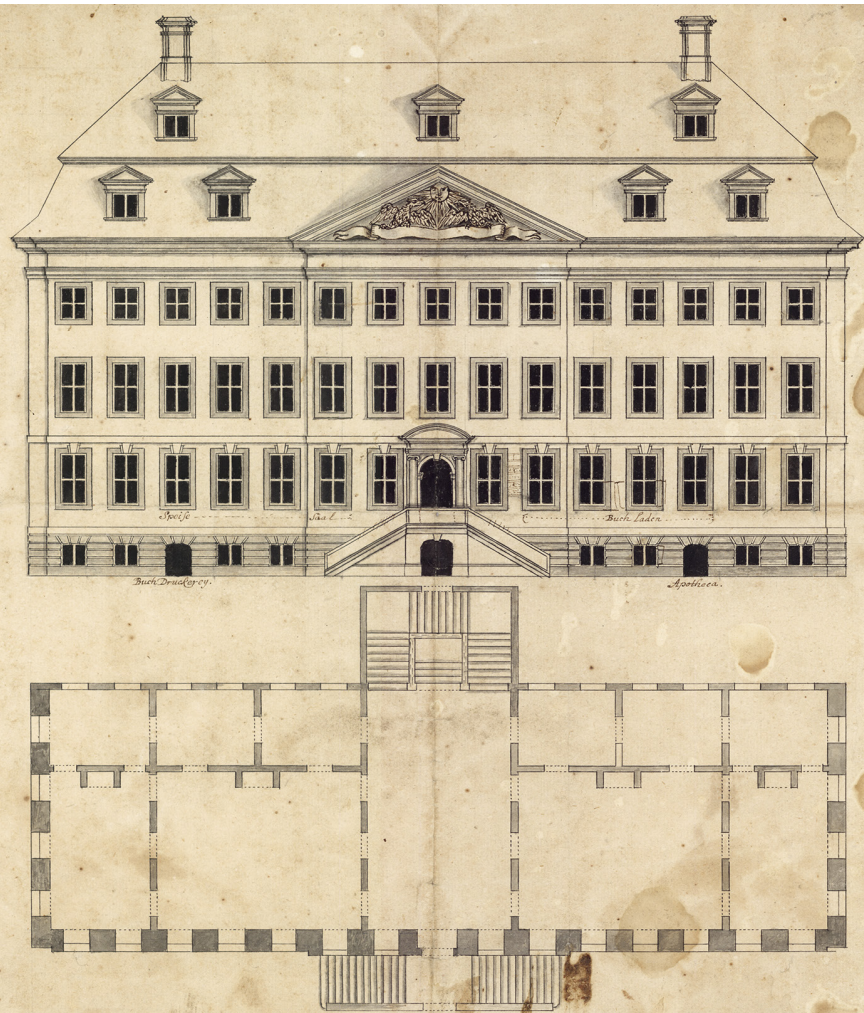
11. Die Conferenz 7. d. July.
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 von D. Anton W. H. Burg,
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 Am 17. Junii, 1721.

Diagnose von den Herrn Schreibern. 1. Geheiss von dem Herrn Schreibern
 von dem Herrn Schreibern.

Saving the Soul through Dieting

GOVERNING HEALTH AT DIE FRANCKESCHEN ANSTALTEN 1698-1759

Trine Gaarde Outzen



How did early modern religious educational institutions govern pupils' health, organisms, and souls? This dissertation examines how Halle Pietism developed systematic practices for governing physical and spiritual health—intertwining theological, medical, and pedagogical concerns in the effort to shape pious Christian subjects. Through a detailed analysis of key figures such as August Hermann Francke and Christian Friedrich Richter's rationalities of health and the body, and the institutional practices of *Die Franckeschen Anstalten*, the study demonstrates how the governance of humoral balance and spiritual care became inseparable between 1698 and 1759.

Introducing the concept of biopastoral pedagogy, the study offers a Foucauldian-inspired account of how health governance in Brandenburg-Prussia emerged within a pastoral logic that addressed both the biology of the body and the care of the soul. In doing so, it challenges the dominant narrative of biopower as a secular phenomenon and highlights the formative role of religious institutions in shaping modern regimes of health governance.



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Saving the Soul through Dieting

Saving the Soul through Dieting

Governing Health at Die Franckeschen Anstalten 1698-1759

Trine Gaarde Outzen



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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

Doctoral dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) at
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Abstract:

Denna avhandling undersöker hur Halle-pietismen blev en central plats för framväxten av pastoralt biomaktutövande, där självvård och hälsostyrning systematiskt vävdes samman. Med fokus på August Hermann Franckes och Christian Friedrich Richters rationliteter samt den institutionella ordningen i Die Franckeschen Anstalten (1698–1759) utmanar studien den dominerande berättelsen om att biomakt och folkhälsostategier enbart uppstod genom sekulära statsinitiativ under det sena 1700-talet.

Genom att integrera Michel Foucaults begrepp "governmentality" med historisk analys visar avhandlingen hur pietistisk teologi, medicinsk rationalitet och pedagogisk praktik samverkade i ett projekt för kroppslig och moralisk styrning, med målet att forma lydiga, friska och gudfruktiga subjekt. Detta biopastorale regim mobiliserade medicinsk kunskap inte i motsättning till religionen, utan genom den, och omvandlade hälsostyrning till ett andligt och socialt imperativ.

Genom detaljerad analys av primärkällor, inklusive teologiska traktater, medicinska texter och institutionsarkiv från Die Franckeschen Anstalten, visar avhandlingen hur pietistiska föreställningar om arvsynd och kroppslig fördärv påverkade medicinska uppfattningar om sjukdomars orsaker och förebyggande. Richters reflektioner över synd och kroppens förfall, tillsammans med Franckes främjande av måttfullhet som en andlig-medicinsk teknik, illustrerar hur Halle-pietismen aktivt försökte reglera individers kroppar och själar samtidigt, och integrerade andliga ideal i vardagliga praktiker som kost, hygien och undervisning.

Studien placerar slutligen Die Franckeschen Anstalten i ett bredare sammanhang av polisiära institutioner och biopolitisk styrning, och visar hur religiösa aktörer implementerade konkreta strategier för hälsooptimering som förbädade senare initiativ inom medicinpolisväsendet. Resultaten uppmanar till en omprövning av religionens roll i tidigmodern biopolitisk utveckling och inbjuder till vidare jämförande forskning över konfessionella och institutionella gränser. Avhandlingen föreslår en ny tolkning av Die Franckeschen Anstalten som en tidig form av polisinstitution, vilken utövade styrning och kontroll genom strukturerad disciplin och övervakning av både individens andliga och fysiska liv.

Key words: Biopastoral governmentality, Biopedagogic, Medical police. Early modern public health, Theological dietetics, Religion and state-building, Die Franckeschen Anstalten.

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Governing Health at Die Franckeschen Anstalten 1698-1759

Trine Gaarde Outzen



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MADE IN SWEDEN 

To my sister Maria

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knowledge production at the intersection of religion and science – and have dissected Foucault and his companions on countless walks in the Brösarp hills of Österlen.

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Kulhuse, August 2025

Chapter 1: Introduction

A new and wonderful teaching of the body and the natural life of humans

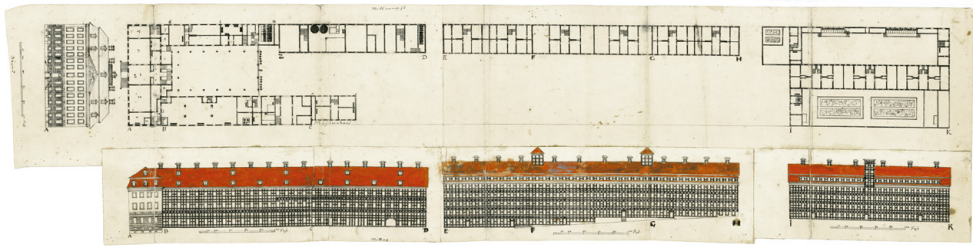
In 1711, August Hermann Francke, a German Pietist and theologian, enthusiastically introduced what he considered a remarkable dietetical teaching of the body developed in Halle. Dietetics was the branch of medicine that prescribed how the individual could prevent diseases and improve bodily health by balancing the six non-naturals, which consisted of food and drink, exercise and rest, excretion and retention, sleep and wakefulness, air and places, and passions.¹ Francke presented this, in his view, novel approach to dietetics in his educational programmatic manifesto *Der grosse Aufsatz*, describing it as a: “[...] clear and German instruction of the body and the natural life of humans.”² Francke was not a physician himself but served as the head director of Die Franckeschen Anstalten, a large educational institution founded in 1698 driven by the pedagogical ambition of world change through human improvement.³ This institution was located in Glaucha, a small suburb outside Halle an der Saale in Brandenburg-Prussia. Together with his associates, Francke had founded multiple schools on the premises, including schools for orphaned children and the burgher class – where both girls and boys were enrolled – a Latin school, and a school dedicated to the sons of the nobility. By 1711,

¹ James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, “The Most Valuable Part of Medicine: The Six Non-Naturals in the Long Eighteenth Century,” in *Lifestyle and Medicine in Enlightenment: The Six Non-Naturals in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff (London: Routledge, 2020), 3–4.

² „[...] teutscher und deutlicher Unterricht von dem Leibe und natürlichen Leben des Menschen.“ in August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz*. (1711) ed. Otto Podczeck (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 125.

³ „Weltveränderung durch Menschenverbesserung“ see Hartmut Lehmann „Die Franckeschen Stiftungen als ein einzigartiges Projekt zur Verbesserung der Menschheit“ in *Tief verwurzelt – hoch hinaus! Strong roots – inspiring vision. Die Baukunst der Franckeschen Stiftungen als Sozial- und Bildungsarchitektur des protestantischen Barock. / The Francke Foundations as Social and Educational Architecture in the Protestant Baroque*. ed. Thomas Müller-Bahlke, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen 2015), 115-118; Holger Zaunstöck, Thomas Müller-Bahlke and Claus Veltmann eds., *Die Welt verändern. August Hermann Francke. Ein Lebenswerk um 1700*. (Leipzig: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2013).

1,333 pupils between the ages of 4 and 18 were enlisted, with some residing on-site as boarding students or within the Orphanage.⁴



AFSt/A 02/01/01 Partial site plan with south elevation of the Orphanage, the Boys' Orphan Institution, the Girls' Orphan Institution, the Boarding Institution, and the Pedagogium with Lindenhof, as well as the floorplans of these buildings and of the Dining and Assembly Hall building, the English House, and the Maidens' House, 1717.⁵

According to Francke, the problem with medicine and dietetics was that:

“[...] previously, medicine was filled with useless questions and curiosities from which no practical benefit could be derived. However, efforts have been made to present a clearer and more beneficial method to medical students, guiding them towards knowledge that brings obvious benefits.”⁶

Although Francke did not elaborate on these benefits, he regarded this medical development as a divine blessing. By adhering to God's authority and order – as practised within Die Franckeschen Anstalten – a new form of medical knowledge had emerged that not only addressed:

⁴ Hartmut Lehmann, „Die Franckeschen Stiftungen als ein einzigartiges Projekt zur Verbesserung der Menschheit“ in *Tief verwurzelt – hoch hinaus! Strong roots – inspiring vision. Die Baukunst der Franckeschen Stiftungen als Sozial- und Bildungsarchitektur des protestantischen Barock. /The Francke Foundations as Social and Educational Architecture in the Protestant Baroque*, ed. Thomas Müller-Bahlke, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen 2015), 115-118.

⁵ Titel: Teilsituationsplan mit Südsansicht des Waisenhauses, der Knaben-Waisenanstalt, der Mädchen-Waisenanstalt, der Pensionsanstalt und dem Pädagogium mit Lindenhof und den Grundrissen dieser Gebäude sowie des Speise- und Versammlungssaalgebäudes, des Englischen Hauses und des Mägdeleinhauses. AFSt/A 02/01/01.

⁶ “[...] und da die Medizin nicht weniger mit lauter leeren und unnützen Fragen und curiositaeten angefüllt gewesen, woraus kein Mensch einigen Nutzen schöpfen können, so hat man angefangen denen Studiosis medicinae einen nähern Grund und beßere methode zu zeigen indem sie zu solcher Erkenntniß angeführt worden, welche ihren offenbaren Nutz hat.“ in August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz*. (1711) ed. Otto Podczek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 125.

“[...] those studying medicine but also other students and indeed anyone, even if they are not formally studying, [...] have been able to enjoy its advantages far and wide.”⁷

Furthermore, he praised the virtues of this dietetics for being grounded in rationality, the word of God, and Christian principles, thus presenting a new teaching about: “[...] what health is and how to conserve it.”⁸ Moreover, Francke argued, this new discipline of body and health would: “[...] impart to people those truths that have hitherto been neglected by the physicians [...]”⁹ Consequently, he expressed his hope that adherence to dietetical rules of health would simultaneously foster godliness, stating that: “[...] at the same time, godliness is built up.”¹⁰

Der grosse Aufsatz was a work in which Francke outlined his vision for a universal Christian societal transformation, which he believed could be realised through the education of children and adolescents.¹¹ Unlike many contemporary reformatory texts, this work did not merely theorise about the means of achieving societal change, but instead presented a concrete, functioning model for realising this goal: Die Franckeschen Anstalten.¹²

⁷ “Diesen Segen hat Gott der HErr durch eine besondere Regierung auch in hiesige Anstalten eingeführet, und durch dieselbe ihn zu mehreren Genuss gebracht, also, dass sich desselben nicht allein die jenen so medicinam studiren, sondern auch andere Studiosi und nicht allein Studiosi sondern auch insgemein ein ieglicher, wenn er gleich nicht studiert, der sich nur ein wenig darauff appliciren wollen, weit und breit zu erfreuen gehabt, [...]” in August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz*. (1711) ed. Otto Podczek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 125-126.

⁸ “[...] was die Gesundheit sey, und wie sie zu erhalten.” in August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz*. (1711) ed. Otto Podczek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 125.

⁹ “[...] und denen Menschen die jenen Wahrheiten beygebracht werden, die bißher von denen Medicis gantz negligiret worden [...]” in August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz*. (1711) ed. Otto Podczek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 125.

¹⁰ “[...] daß auch zugleich die Gottseligkeit dadurch gebauet wird [...]” in August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz*. (1711) ed. Otto Podczek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 125.

¹¹ Otto Podczek, „Der „Grosse Aufsatz“ A. H: Franckes Reform- und Programmschrift des Halleschen Pietismus, in August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz*. (1711) ed. Otto Podczek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 10-11.

¹² Hartmut Lehmann „Die Franckeschen Stiftungen als ein einzigartiges Projekt zur Verbesserung der Menschheit“ in *Tief verwurzelt – hoch hinaus! Strong roots – inspiring vision. Die Baukunst der Franckeschen Stiftungen als Sozial- und Bildungsarchitektur des protestantischen Barock. /The Francke Foundations as Social and Educational Architecture in the Protestant Baroque*. ed., Thomas Müller-Bahlke, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen 2015), 115-118.

The institution explicitly upheld a Christian mission centred on the formation of true Christians, but it also functioned as a powerful political entity that served multiple purposes way beyond charity. The Halle Pietists were deeply embedded within the Brandenburg-Prussian power structure, forming a mutually beneficial network with the political elite. Although operating as an independent institution, Die Franckeschen Anstalten received substantial financial support from members of the ruling family and nobility. In return, it provided training for future state officials, army chaplains, and missionaries, equipping them with the skills required for governance, expansion, and religious outreach. Among the European elite, the educational programme offered at Die Franckeschen Anstalten was popular and the institution was able to attract students from across the continent. While Francke often referred to the institution as *Das Waysenhaus* (The Orphanage) and emphasised its foundation in charity and divine providence, the primary objective was not to provide relief for the poor or to shelter orphaned children but to create a Pietist elite.¹³ Pupils from various social backgrounds significantly outnumbered those who were orphans¹⁴ and essentially the education provided at the institution supported territorial leaders in constructing a meritocratic system and developing new policies and strategies to govern broader aspects of society.¹⁵

Furthermore, the reach of the institution extended well beyond the educational sphere. It was actively engaged in the production and spread of medical products and devotional literature, as well as missionary activities, all of which were aimed at societal reform and individual moral improvement.¹⁶ As church historian Kim Groop has argued, rather than being seen merely as a charitable project composed of a cluster of schools, the institution is perhaps more accurately reinterpreted as a “[...] Pietistic town for human improvement.”¹⁷

In this context, the emphasis on dietetics as a means of fostering godliness indicates that physical health was considered an integral part of this broader Christian vision of human

¹³ Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 118, 132-133; Juliane Jacobi, “*Man hatte von ihm gute Hoffnung*”: *Das Waisenalbun der Franckeschen Stiftungen 1695 – 1749* (Halle: Franckeschen Stiftungen im Niemeyer-Verlag Tübingen, 1998), see the introduction; Thomas Müller-Bahlke, “Die frühe Verwaltungsstrukturen der Franckesche Stiftungen.” in, *Waisenhäuser in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Udo Sträter, Joseph N. Neumann, and Renate Wilson, (Halle: Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2003); Udo Sträter, „Pietismus und Sozialtätigkeit: Zur Frage nach der Wirkungsgeschichte des „Waisenhauses“ in Halle und des Frankfurter Armen-, Waisen-, und Arbeitshauses“ *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 8 (1982), 203; Veronica Albrecht-Birkner, *Francke in Glaucha: Kehrseiten eines Klischees (1692 – 17054)*, (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2004).

¹⁴ Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 132.

¹⁵ Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 9-10, 15.

¹⁶ Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 117 – 143.

¹⁷ Kim Groop, “Creativity, Utopia and Eternity at the Francke Foundations in Halle: Art between image politics and cultural memory” in *Intelligence, Creativity, and Fantasy*, eds. Mário Ming Kong, Maria do Rosário Monteiro, Maria Joao Pereira Neto (London: CRC Pres, 2019), 491.

and societal improvement. The intersection of medicine, theology, and pedagogy, which is reflected in Francke's statements in *Der grosse Aufsatz*, suggests that health was conceived as a key target for pedagogical intervention, implying an underlying belief that bodily health was inseparable from both spiritual and societal transformation. While the formulation and implementation of structured health education and dietetics-inspired practices at Die Franckeschen Anstalten have not yet been systematically examined, a brief survey of the sources indicates that physical health constituted more than a minor motif in *Der grosse Aufsatz*. As early as 1698, Francke outlined the educational structure for the sons of the nobility, emphasising the necessity of appointing physicians to oversee the preservation of the pupils' health. He wrote:

“Particular attention should be paid to everything that contributes to the conservation of health, and especially in cases where some illness might occur. This responsibility should be diligently handled by a knowledgeable physician appointed for this.”¹⁸

Approximately twenty years later, health was no longer solely the responsibility of physicians, and specific health education had been introduced as a mandatory component of the curriculum. In a set of guidelines on how to teach the principles of medicine, it was stipulated that teachers should explain things:

“[...] so that the students may gain a thorough understanding of the natural life of the human being and of its principal diseases, and thus not so easily neglect their health out of ignorance.”¹⁹

Furthermore, in anatomy classes, it was emphasised that: “[...] at every opportunity, they [the pupils] should be given useful guidelines related to proper diet and the preservation of health.”²⁰ These instructional guidelines suggest that, over time, health education became

¹⁸ “Auf alles, was zur Conservirung der Gesundheit dienet, und fürnehmlich, wenn sich etwa einige Unpäßlichkeit ereignen möchte, soll mit großen Fleiß gesehen werden von einem verständigen und darzu zu bestellenden Medico.“ in August Hermann Francke, “Projecte, wie die Anführung Herrenstandes, adelicher und anderer fürnehmer Jugend veranstaltet und guten Theils wirklich eingerichtet und angefangen zu Halle im Herzogthum Magdeburg, Anno 1698.” In *A. H. Franckes Pädagogische Schriftenn. Nebst der Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Stiftungen*. Ed. D. G. Kramer, (Langensalza: Verlags-Comptoir von Hermann Beyer, 1876), §VIII, 507.

¹⁹ “[...] daß die Discentes von dem natürlichen Leben des Menschen und den vornehmsten Krankheiten desselben einen gründlichen Begriff bekommen und also ihre Gesundheit nicht so leicht unwissend verwahrlosen mögen.“ in Hieronimus Freyer, “Verbesserte Methode des Paedagogii Regii zu Glaucha vor Halle 1721” in *A. H. Franckes Pädagogische Schriften. Nebst der Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Stiftungen*. ed. D. G. Kramer, (Langensalza: Verlags-Comptoir von Hermann Beyer, 1876), 409.

²⁰ “[...] hingegen ihnen bei aller Gelegenheit nützliche, zu einer guten Diät gehörige und zur Conservation der Gesundheit dienliche Regeln zu geben“ in Hieronimus Freyer, “Verbesserte Methode des Paedagogii Regii zu Glaucha vor Halle 1721” in *A. H. Franckes Pädagogische Schriftenn. Nebst der Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Stiftungen*. ed. D. G. Kramer (Langensalza: Verlags-Comptoir von Hermann Beyer, 1876), 423-424.

increasingly integrated into the curriculum, reflecting a shift towards the systematic introduction of health-centred knowledge to students. This development may indicate a growing institutionalisation of health education, where academic medical knowledge was no longer an auxiliary concern managed by physicians but became a structured component of the educational framework.

Yet, when delving into medical history on the relationship between health, pedagogy, and societal reform in the 18th century, August Hermann Francke's proposition advocating for a structured education of true Christians with an emphasis on policing health emerges as an intriguing anomaly. Medical historians have traditionally characterised the period after the mid-18th century as the juncture when various actors began demonstrating an increased interest in public health education and regulation. They argue that the period after 1750 was characterised by a significant shift towards incorporating physical health into the ambit of large-scale political strategies.²¹ While efforts to secure or improve the general population's physical health can be traced back to antiquity, the distinguishing feature of this period was its particular focus on the systematic educational and political management of bodily health. As noted by medical historian Mary Lindemann, it was only towards the end of the 18th century that well-defined systematic health education programmes and preventive initiatives began to gain momentum.²² Thus medical historians have traditionally placed the interest in regulating the population's physical health only after 1750, that is, when the Pietists' work in Die Franckeschen Anstalten had been going on for decades.

The bulk of scholarship on this subject has traced the role of actors such as physicians, the bourgeoisie, and the state, analysing the formation of modern institutions – including hospitals, prisons, and schools – in the second half of the 18th century. Scholars have examined the professionalisation of physicians, state formation, and the development of biopolitics, thereby establishing a close association between systematic health optimisation, prevention of diseases, and the rise of medical sciences, on the one hand, and (medical) institutions, state authority, and the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie on the other. Within this framework, the secularisation process is often understood as a key factor explaining why different actors turned their focus towards physical health, replacing religious concerns for the soul's salvation with a new emphasis on preserving and optimising the healthy body.²³ According to this interpretation, religion was primarily concerned with the soul, while

²¹ Emma Spary, "Health and Medicine in the Enlightenment" in *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Medicine* ed. Mark Jackson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 83; Mary Lindemann, "Diseases and Medicine" in *The Oxford Handbook of early modern European History, 1350-1750, volume 1*. ed. Hamish Scott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 112.

²² Mary Lindeman, "Medicine, medical practice, and Public Health" in *A Companion to eighteenth century Europe* ed. Peter H. Wilson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 171.

²³ Mary Lindeman, "Medicine, medical practice, and Public Health" in *A Companion to eighteenth century Europe* ed. Peter H. Wilson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 171; Mary Lindemann, 2015: "Diseases and Medicine" in *The Oxford Handbook of early modern European History, 1350-1750, volume 1*. ed. Hamish Scott, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 112; Emma Spary, "Health and Medicine in the Enlightenment" in *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Medicine* ed. Mark Jackson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 83.

medicine was preoccupied with the body, with little to no overlap between the two domains.²⁴ As a result, pedagogical health education as an integrated component in school curriculums is frequently viewed as a secular development of the late 18th century,²⁵ closely aligned with the rise of governing sciences such as cameralism, the police sciences and medical policing.²⁶

On the contrary, Die Franckeschen Anstalten provides an early example of how religious leaders and Christian educational institutions engaged with physical health as a spiritual matter and as component of broader societal reform, thus preceding the more explicitly secular efforts in the late 18th century. This religiously motivated interest in bodily health is further underscored by the fact that the growing interest in publishing books on dietetics during the 18th century²⁷ can, in part, be traced to religious actors, such as the Halle Pietists. Notably, the printing house of Die Franckeschen Anstalten published some of the first vernacular German books on dietetics aimed at a lay audience as early as 1705.²⁸

This engagement with physical health, medicine, and education indicates that religious actors were not solely concerned with the soul but extended their focus to the physical body, just as medical perspectives did not exclude spiritual considerations. Francke's explicit emphasis on the connection between bodily health, spiritual formation, and health education thus challenges the notion that the process of secularisation led to the emergence of medical interpretations of human life at the expense of religious frameworks.

Instead, it suggests that rather than a linear transition in which medical explanations gradually supplanted religious beliefs, the relationship between medical and religious conceptions of health in the 18th century was more entangled than commonly assumed, with bodily cultivation closely linked to the cultivation of the soul.

The Pietist attentiveness to soul cultivation in a pedagogical context has been addressed by recent research that has reinterpreted Halle Pietism as a continuation of the *cultura animi*

²⁴ Emma Spary, "Health and Medicine in the Enlightenment" in *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Medicine* ed. Mark Jackson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 87; Signe Mellemgaard, *Kroppens natur. Sundhedsoplysning og naturidealer i 250 år*. (Århus: Museum Tusculanum, 1998), 254, 320; See also Gottfried Küenzlen, *Der Neue Mensch. Zur säkularen Religionsgeschichte der Moderne* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1994), 55-56; Gottfried Küenzlen, "Der alte Traum vom neuen Menschen. Ideengeschichtliche Perspektiven" in *ApuZ* 37-38/2016, 15-16.

²⁵ Gudrun Piller, *Private Körper: Spuren des Leibes in Selbstzeugnissen des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 24.

²⁶ See e.g. Gert Göckenjan, *Kurieren und Staat machen: Gesundheit und Medizin in der bürgerlichen Welt* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985) 96-97; Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 19.

²⁷ Ginie Schmidt, "Prescribing the rules of Health: Self-help and advice in the late eighteenth Century" in *Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-industrial Society* ed. Roy Porter, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

²⁸ Eckard Altmann, 1972: *Christian Friedrich Richter. Arzt, Apotheker und Liederdichter des halleschen Pietismus* (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1972), 67.

tradition.²⁹ This tradition, rooted in antique philosophy, particularly Stoicism, and later embraced by Christian humanism, emphasised the cultivation of the suffering soul and mind as the highest purpose of education and personal development.³⁰ Studies on how soul care was framed within Halle Pietism have primarily focused on how Pietist medicine and pedagogy emphasised the cultivation of affection and passion when caring for the soul.³¹ The contributions of bodily health rationalities to these regimes of the soul remain largely unexplored. Moreover, the ways in which health was practised and integrated into the daily educational routines of Die Franckeschen Anstalten have yet to be systematically examined.

Research question, purpose, and aims

This dissertation explores how the Halle Pietists, particularly through Die Franckeschen Anstalten, constructed and implemented practices of physical and spiritual health as a part of their broader pedagogical and social reform programme in the period between 1698 and 1759.

More precisely, the study explores how concepts of body, soul, and health were framed within the writings of the institutional leaders and Pietist physicians affiliated with the schools. It explores how concepts – such as sin, salvation, and damnation – merged with contemporary theories of the body, and whether and how these notions were translated into specific pedagogical practices aimed at shaping the pupils’ bodies and souls. As such, I put a significant focus on exploring how ideas were enacted in the everyday lives of the children, guiding them towards understanding themselves as true, healthy Christians. This includes an analysis of the problematisation of particular behaviours and the tensions, conflicts, and disciplinary challenges that emerged due to such interpretations of healthy conduct.

By concentrating the analysis on knowledge production intended to systematically shape conduct and morality, as well as the practices that emerged from this knowledge, this study is not merely a history of how the Pietists conceptualised and practised health. It also traces a history of power – more specifically, the evolution, intersection, and transformation of what can be understood as pastoral power and biopower within this educational setting.

²⁹ Andreas Rydberg, *Inner Experience. An Analysis of Scientific Experience in Early Modern Germany*. Uppsala Studies in History of Ideas 48. 245 pp. (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017); Andreas Rydberg “Michael Alberti and the Medical Therapy of the Internal Senses” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol. 74, No. 3, 2019, pp. 245-266; Tanja Täubner, “Zum andern soltu meditirn” *Die Meditationspraktiken in der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes*. (Wiesbaden: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle, 2012).

³⁰ Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1995).

³¹ Andreas Rydberg “Michael Alberti and the Medical Therapy of the Internal Senses” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol. 74, No. 3, 2019, pp. 245-266; Tanja Täubner, “Zum andern soltu meditirn” *Die Meditationspraktiken in der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes*. (Wiesbaden: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle, 2012).

In other words, the purpose of this dissertation is to show how Pietist rationalities of health were produced in the intersection between theology, medicine, and pedagogy, as both theories and practices that aimed at guiding the shaping of a true Christian individual and society in the early 18th century. This purpose aims to lay the groundwork for reinterpreting Christianity's role in large-scale health-optimising strategies in the 18th century. The study thus contributes to discussions of the emergence of societal health reform programmes and the transformation of pastoral and biopower in the context of early 18th-century education and governance.

The dissertation is structured in the following way. Chapter 1 continues with a discussion of relevant literature, theory, method, and source material. Chapter 2 then provides the historical context and an overview of Die Franckeschen Anstalten. The remainder of the paper is divided in two empirical parts. Part I analyses the normative theological and medical rationalities of health that were developed in Halle, while Part II examines the tensions and conflicts that arose as teachers, physicians, and institutional leaders sought to implement health-promoting practices to shape children's behaviour. This part explores how structured routines, medical guidance, and moral discipline were employed in accordance with Pietist health ideals and how these efforts were met with resistance, negotiation, or adaptation within the institutional framework of Die Franckeschen Anstalten.

State of research

By examining the construction and practices of health at the beginning of the 18th century, this dissertation seeks to contribute to several distinct research fields. First, within Pietist studies, it engages with three key areas: 1) the role of Pietism in state-building processes, specifically the development of cameralism and *Polizey Wissenschaft* (police sciences) in Brandenburg-Prussia at the threshold of the 18th century, 2) Pietist pedagogy and the *cultura animi* tradition, and 3) Pietist medicine. Second, it contributes to medical history, particularly regarding the concept of Christian health, health-optimising strategies, and health education in the 18th century.

Throughout the following literature review, I will argue that bringing these fields into a cross-disciplinary discussion offers a productive framework for exploring the emergence of large-scale health governance in the early 18th century. To establish this framework, I begin by outlining key historiographical debates in the study of Pietism, before turning to the specific case of Die Franckeschen Anstalten in Halle and the abovementioned bodies of research.

German Pietism and Die Franckeschen Anstalten

Pietism and Die Franckeschen Anstalten in Halle an der Saale have garnered varied interpretations within the historiography of German Pietism.

Traditionally, scholars of German Pietism have discussed whether the movement should be defined primarily by theological, geographical, or chronological factors and whether its popularity should be understood as a response to a general crisis of piety in the 17th and 18th centuries or as a reaction against Lutheran Orthodoxy. Additionally, it has been discussed whether Pietism should be interpreted as opposed to rational and scientific thinking and the Enlightenment philosophers of the time – and portrayed as a conservative or even regressive religious movement³² – or as a driving force behind the development of modernity.³³

In the last 25 years, research has moved away from these binary interpretations. Drawing inspiration from historian Dorinda Outram, who characterises the various actors of the period as participants in “a series of interlocking, and sometimes warring problems and debates” around the origin of power, universal truth, and tolerance,³⁴ recent scholarship has increasingly emphasised the Pietist movement’s dynamic and multifaceted nature.

Consequently, current scholarly consensus acknowledges that Pietism cannot be encapsulated as a monolithic phenomenon exclusively tied to any single factor, nor can it be primarily construed as merely a critique of the Lutheran Church or Enlightenment, despite such critiques being integral to the many pious movements of the 17th and 18th

³² This interpretation is especially associated with scholars like Peter Gay’s and Jonathan Israel’s reading of the period through dichotomies such as enlightenment versus religion. See e.g. Peter Gay *The Enlightenment. An Interpretation*. (New York: Knopf, 1966); Jonathan Israel, *The Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man 1670-1752*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). For a critique of Israel’s interpretation, see Robert Leventhal, “Enlightenment Uncontested” Review of *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752*, H-German, H-Net Reviews, June 2007.

³³ For a general introduction to the historiographical discussion, see, Benjamin Marschke, “Pietism and Politics in Prussia and Beyond” in *A Companion to German Pietism 1660-1800* ed. Douglas Schantz, (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Douglas Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press: 2013), 1-15; Jonathan Strom, “Problems and Promises of Pietism Research,” *Church History* 71:3 (September 2002), 536-54; Hartmut Lehman, “Engerer, Weiterer un Erweiterter Pietismusbegriff” *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 29, (2003), 30-33, 36; Hartmut Lehmann, “Zur Definition des ‘Pietismus’” in *Zur Neueren Pietismusforschung* ed. Martin Greschat, (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977) 83-89; Fred van Lieburg, “Conceptualising Religious Reform Movements in Early Modern Europe” in *Confessionalism and Pietism, Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe*. ed. van Lieburg, (Mainz: Verlag Philip von Zabern, 2006) 9.

³⁴ Dorinda Outram *The Enlightenment*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 2-3; See also Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 12-13.

centuries.³⁵ German Pietism was part of a significant contemporary pious trend encompassing a spectrum of devout groups within both the Protestant and Catholic spheres.³⁶ Despite this diversity of pious groups, they all shared a commitment to the lived expression of faith, with certain factions voicing criticism against the established churches for their perceived neglect of practical piety.³⁷

Scholars have delineated shared attributes among these devout practitioners, including those of the Halle Pietists. A core principle among the adherents was the conviction that faith should manifest as a passionate practised Christianity, realised through *praxis pietatis* – the daily exercise of piety. This practice entailed a personal conversion experience, engagement with devotional literature, ethical rigorousness, a duty to work hard aimed at worldly betterment, a denouncement of luxury and extravagance, and a proclivity for an ascetic or restrained lifestyle.³⁸ Central to German Pietism was the endeavour to imbue every facet of daily existence with spiritual significance, ensuring that a religious ethos permeated every action.³⁹

These characteristics of Pietism are essential to consider when analysing how health was constructed, as they reflect core ideas that shaped Pietist life. As Ulrike Gleixner, have demonstrated the pious ideals of *praxis pietatis* were not only central to Pietist thought but also clearly manifested in everyday conduct.⁴⁰ Understanding these ideals is therefore imperative when analysing the intersection of religion, spirituality, and health during this period. Thus, it is a working thesis that ideas of true Christianity and *praxis pietatis* influenced the Pietist construction of health and its associated practices.

³⁵ Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 3.

³⁶ To the most important renewal/reform movements belong: Puritans in England; Nadere Reformatie and the Reformed Church in the Netherlands; Dutch and French mystically tinted quietist groups (Catholic movements); Jansenists in France (Catholic movement); Pietism in Germany, see Ulrike Gleixner, *Pietismus und Bürgertum. Eine historische Anthropologie der Frömmigkeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2005), 49.

³⁷ Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 7.

³⁸ Ulrike Gleixner, *Pietismus und Bürgertum. Eine historische Anthropologie der Frömmigkeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 49; Juliane Engelhardt, “From Abundance to Asceticism: Religious influences on perceptions of luxury in Denmark and Great Britain in the 18th century” in *Fashionable encounters. Perspectives and Trends in Textile and Dress in the Early modern Nordic World*. ed. Tove Mathiasen Engelhardt, (Oxford: Oxbow books, 2014).

³⁹ Ulrike Gleixner, *Pietismus und Bürgertum. Eine historische Anthropologie der Frömmigkeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 13.

⁴⁰ Overall, see Gleixner 2005 for an analysis of the spiritualisation of daily life among the Württemberg Pietists. For how the spiritualisation of all aspects of life influenced medicine see Irmtraut Sahmland, “Das ‘Decorum Medici von denen Machiavellischen Thorheiten gereinigt’ -eine medizinethische Anleitung von Johann Samuel Carl” and Marschall, Veronika, “Johann Christian Schenkenberg (1707 - 1772) und die ‘Pietas Medici’ both in *Medizin- und kulturgeschichte Konnexe des Pietismus. Heilkunde und Ethik, arkane Traditionen, Musik, Litteratur und Sprache* eds. Irmtraut Sahmland & Hans-Jürgen Schröder. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus Band 61, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2016).

When narrowing the focus to Halle Pietism, historian Richard Gawthrop identifies a distinctive characteristic that sets it apart from other pious Lutheran movements: the expectation that founding new scientific institutions within the existing social order could serve as the foundation for a comprehensive Christian reform of society.⁴¹ Essentially, Halle Pietism is associated with Die Franckeschen Anstalten, the sizeable educational complex consisting of several schools that provided education to children from all social classes, including girls. The interpretation of Die Franckeschen Anstalten has evolved significantly, shifting from viewing it primarily as an educational institution to recognising it as a hub of diverse activities. These included the innovation, production, and large-scale distribution of medicine and edificial literature, as well as serving as the headquarters for the first Protestant mission to India.⁴² All these activities were embedded in a broader mission aimed at the moral improvement of individuals and society.⁴³ Furthermore, scholarly understanding of the institution has moved away from perceiving it as a rigid or even regressive Pietist enclave towards recognising it as a dynamic centre that was open to contemporary intellectual and scientific trends.⁴⁴

Moreover, Halle Pietism was embedded in an extensive network of pious Protestant groups across Europe and Northern America.⁴⁵ While many of these pious groups faced persecution or were not tolerated by authorities, in many cases leading to their emigration to the colonies on the American east coast, the Halle Pietists enjoyed the support of the Brandenburg-Prussian electors, who saw their educational and social initiatives as aligning with state-building efforts and governance reforms.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Richard Gawthrop, *Pietism and the making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 150-151, 173.

⁴² On the pharmaceuticals see Renate Wilson, *Pious Traders in Medicine. A German Pharmaceutical Network in Eighteenth-Century North America*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); For the mission sees essays in Andreas Gross, ed., *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*. Vol. 1, *The Danish-Halle and the English-Halle Mission*. (Halle: Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2006).

⁴³ See reference 4 and 5.

⁴⁴ Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

⁴⁵ Scott Kisker, "Pietist connections with English Anglicans and Evangelicals" in *A Companion to German Pietism 1660-1800* ed. Douglas Schantz, (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Birgitte Klosterberg, "August Hermann Francke und das hallische Kommunikationsnetzwerk: Bedeutung, Überlieferung, Erschließung.", Jürgen Gröschl, "Deen was wir da gutes heineinschreiben, das geht durch alle christelichen Gemeine in America" – das internationale Kommunikationsnetzwerk August Hermann Franckes., Thomas Müller-Bahlke, „Die Bedeutung des Adels für das hallische Netzwerk“ all in *Die Welt verändern: August Hermann Francke – Ein Lebenswerk um 1700*. ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2013).

⁴⁶ Mary Fullbroke, *Piety and Politics. Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in England, Württemberg and Prussia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Benjamin Marschke, "Pietism and Politics in Prussia and Beyond" in *A Companion to German Pietism 1660-1800* ed. Douglas Schantz, (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

While sharing with other pious Protestant and Catholic movements a strong emphasis on living by the rules of true Christianity defined by conversion and *praxis pietatis*,⁴⁷ Halle Pietism – and Die Franckeschen Anstalten in particular – uniquely distinguished itself as both a pedagogical and a scientific institution with a solid connection to the Prussian sovereigns and elite.

Halle Pietism, policing, and state building

When examining the relationship between the Halle Pietists and the Prussian sovereigns in greater depth, research on the influence of Pietist values on state-building processes has made two key points relevant to this study's focus on the Pietist shaping and governance of health. 1) The emergence of cameralism and police sciences was initially developed as a religious genre in the 17th century and linked to Halle Pietism, posing a mutual intellectual influence between Pietists and policy thinkers. 2) Die Franckeschen Anstalten functioned as a site where disciplinary and governing practices were developed and subsequently integrated into the bureaucratic system of the Prussian absolutist state.

Before addressing these points in detail, it is necessary to briefly outline the concept of *Polizey* or police, which was considered a form of governing science. In scholarship, *Polizey* and cameralism are often used interchangeably, as both disciplines were concerned with the administration and regulation of society. The term *Polizey* is etymologically derived from *Policey* (or policy in English), which concerns the policing, order, and administration of the city and state.⁴⁸ While the term police today is primarily associated with law enforcement tasked with maintaining public order and preventing crime, in the 17th and 18th centuries it had a much broader meaning, encompassing administrative disciplines and regulations aimed at maintaining “good order”.⁴⁹

Historian André Wakefield has argued that cameralism is often narrowly interpreted as an economic system. However, Wakefield argues that cameralists were scholars who developed comprehensive blueprints for governance in Brandenburg-Prussia.⁵⁰ According to Wakefield, a central goal of cameralism and the police sciences was to combat disorder, which undermined accountability and hindered effective governance. The strategy to address disorder in the police sciences revolved around policing various aspects of society,

⁴⁷ Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 7; Scott Kisker, “Pietist connections with English Anglicans and Evangelicals” in *A Companion to German Pietism 1660-1800* ed. Douglas H. Schantz, (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 7.

⁴⁸ <https://fwb-online.de/lemma/polizei.s.1f?q=polizei&page=1> visited the 14.02.2023.

⁴⁹ Markus Dirk Dubber, *The Police Power – Patriarchy and the Foundation of American Government* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 72.

⁵⁰ André Wakefield, *The disordered Police State: German Cameralism as Science and Practice*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 4.

as reflected in the meticulous use of manuals, registers, rules, and inventories.⁵¹ The police sciences were thus occupied with prescribing how to regulate everything from public order, blasphemy, and the Sabbath, to food and drink, entertainment, cleanness, vagrancy, and master-servant relations,⁵² and fields such as improvement of agriculture and forestry also fell under such regulations.⁵³ Cameralism, closely linked to *Polizey*, functioned as an early modern science of state management, focusing on economic and social governance. In relation to health, it treated medical governance as a specific branch of policing— a development that culminated in the emergence of the medical police in the second half of the 18th century. The medical police positioned public health as a matter of state interest, essential to maintaining a productive and orderly population.⁵⁴

Returning to the aforementioned key points, Pascal Pasquino has shown that *Polizey* as a governing discipline in the 17th century initially emerged a religious genre with strong connections to Halle Pietism. This point is essential to the present study, as scholarship in medical history that has examined medical policing in the latter half of the 18th century typically treats both medical police and cameralism as secular phenomena – representatives of the rise of secular sciences of governance.

Pasquino has analysed how early *Polizey* was grounded in the idea of both spiritual and earthly governance. Works such as *Biblische Polizei* (1653) by Dietrich Teodorus Reinkingk and *Teutscher Fürstenstaat* (1656) and *Der Christen Stat* (1685) by Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff expressed the belief that earthly governance had a divine mandate to interpret and implement God's will by governing various aspects of society.⁵⁵ In this context, von Seckendorff is particularly noteworthy. Maren Lorenz has noted that *Teutscher Fürstenstaat* contained prescriptions for medical policing as early as the mid-17th century.⁵⁶ Although von Seckendorff's conceptualisation of medical policing has not been the focus of research on health governance, Lorenz's mentioning of this is significant, as it suggests that the governance of physical health was a topic of discussion within these early, religious cameralist circles.

This religious context of the development of policing is further exemplified by several studies, which have analysed the Pietist network with the Prussian elite. These studies

⁵¹ André Wakefield, *The disordered Police State: German Cameralism as Science and Practice*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 7.

⁵² Gerhard Oestrich, *Neostoicism and the early modern state*, trans. David McLintock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 159.

⁵³ André Wakefield, *The disordered Police State: German Cameralism as Science and Practice*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 7.

⁵⁴ Dorothy Porter (ed.) *The History of Health and the Modern State*. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994); Dorothy Porter, *Health Civilisation and the State* (London: Routledge 1998).

⁵⁵ Pascal Pasquino, "Spiritual and Earthly Police. Theories of the State in Early-Modern Europe" in *The New Police Science. The Police Power in Domestic and International Governance*. eds. Markus D. Dubber and Mariana Valverde, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 56, 61, 63-65.

⁵⁶ Maren Lorenz, *Menschenzucht. Frühe Ideen und Strategien 1500-1870*. (Wallstein: Düsseldorf, 2018), 97, 100.

demonstrate that both Jakob Philipp Spener (1635-1705) – Francke’s mentor and a central figure in early German Pietism, known for his influential work *Pia Desideria* (Pious Desires, 1675) and for initiating *Collegium Pietatis* (Bible readings for laypersons)⁵⁷ – and August Hermann Francke maintained close relationships with centrally placed individuals involved in developing new concepts of governance.⁵⁸ Spener, who had served as superior court preacher at the electoral court of Saxony – the most prestigious and powerful position within the Lutheran churches within the Holy Roman Empire – was offered in 1691 a position by the Calvinist Frederick I of Brandenburg-Prussia. In seeking to mend relations with the Lutheran Church, Frederick I appointed Spener as provost of St. Nicolai Church in Berlin. Spener – who had come into conflict with the elector of Saxony – was met with great enthusiasm at the Hohenzollern court, and he played a pivotal role in forging connections between Pietists and the nobility and intellectual elite frequenting these circles. When Francke faced opposition from local church authorities in the late 1680s for teaching Pietist doctrines at the universities of Leipzig and Erfurt, Spener invited him to stay at the Berlin court.⁵⁹

In these circles, Francke became acquainted with persons engaged in developing new concepts of government like Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff (1626-1692), Samuel Pufendorf (1632-1694), Christian Thomasius (1655-1728), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1719), and Christian Wolff (1679-1754).⁶⁰ When the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences was founded in 1700 to advance natural sciences and disseminate scientific knowledge and activities, Leibniz invited Francke to join as a member of the Academy.⁶¹ In the following years, Leibniz and Francke collaborated on plans to reform German schools, using Die Franckeschen Anstalten, founded in 1698, as an ideal model.⁶² These intellectual exchanges placed Francke within the crucial debates of his time regarding the role of *Polizey*, governance, and the implementation of practices aimed at improving society through enlightened administration and education. This underscores the extent to which Francke’s educational vision was embedded within broader state-building and administrative reforms.

⁵⁷ Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 37-59.

⁵⁸ Benjamin Marschke, ‘Lutheran Jesuits’: Halle Pietist Communication Networks at the Court of Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia.” *The Covenant Quarterly* 65:4 (November 2006), 19.

⁵⁹ Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 106 – 111.

⁶⁰ Pascal Pasquino, “Spiritual and Earthly Police. Theories of the State in Early-Modern Europe” in *The New Police Science. The Police Power in Domestic and International Governance*. eds. Markus D. Dubber and Mariana Valverde, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 56, 61, 63-65.

⁶¹ Reinhold A. Dorwart, “Medical Education in Prussia under the early Hohenzollern 1685-1725” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 1958 Jul-Aug, 32 (4) 335-47, 336.

⁶² Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 31 – 34. See also James Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the eighteenth-century origins of compulsory schooling in Prussia and Austria*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): Chapter Two: The rise of Pietist pedagogy, 23-59.

Historians such as Carl Hinrich and Erich Beyruther have further identified a connection between Christian works on governance – exemplified by von Seckendorff's *Der Christen Stat*, Tommaso Campanella's *City of the Sun* (1602), and Johann Valentin Andreae's *Christianopolis* (1619) – and Francke's educational writings and institutional practices, particular his advocacy for girls' education and the establishment of boarding schools.⁶³ While not connecting his study to Francke's project, medical historian Klaus Bergdolt argues that these Christian State utopian texts positioned physical health as a subject of control and regulation, integrating health governance into the ideal Christian state.⁶⁴ Historian Kelly Whitmer has stated that Francke and his colleagues were known as cameralists and police scientists,⁶⁵ and notably, the University of Halle was renowned for advancing administrative sciences and medicine,⁶⁶ being among the first universities in the Holy Roman Empire to offer a chair in cameralism in 1727.⁶⁷ Given Francke's interest in physical health education, this indicates that ideas about health governance were indeed part of the intellectual discourse in the circles frequented by Spener and Francke, though these aspects remain largely unexplored by research.

The second point addresses the reciprocal influence between the religious-pedagogical environment at Die Franckeschen Anstalten and the Prussian sovereigns in shaping the absolutist bureaucratic state and the establishment of educational institutions.

The Brandenburg-Prussian leadership's interest in the radical Protestant movements was evident as early as the late 17th century when the Calvinist Prussian sovereigns adopted an explicitly open policy towards these movements. This was demonstrated by their decision to welcome approximately 40,000 French Calvinists after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), many of whom were placed in key administrative positions.⁶⁸ This openness extended to the Pietist movement as well. Spener, serving as provost in Berlin, used his

⁶³ Udo Sträter, „Der Hallische Pietismus zwischen Utopie und Weltgestaltung“ in *Interdisziplinäre Pietismusforschung. Beiträge zum Ersten Internationalen Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2001* ed. Udo Sträter et al. (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2005), 20-21.

⁶⁴ Klaus Bergdolt, *Wellbeing. A Cultural History of Healthy Living*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 218-219.

⁶⁵ Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 9; See also Thomas Parnell Back, „Throne and altar: Halle Pietism and the Hohenzollerns. A contribution to the history of church state relations in eighteenth-century Brandenburg-Prussia” (2005) *History-Dissertations*. 14. https://surface.syr.edu/hst_etd/14

⁶⁶ Renate Wilson, „Pietist Universal Reform and Care of the Sick and Poor. The Medical Institutions of the Francke Foundations and Their Social Context.” in *Institutions of Confinement. Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500-1950* eds. Norbert Finzsch and Robert Jütte, (Washington D.C: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 135.

⁶⁷ André Wakefield, *The disordered Police State: German Cameralism as Science and Practice*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 4.

⁶⁸ Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 40-41; Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 88-92.

position to promote figures like August Hermann Francke,⁶⁹ resulting in substantial financial support to the foundation for Die Franckeschen Anstalten⁷⁰ and political intervention in Francke's recurring conflicts with the local Lutheran church in Halle.⁷¹ Benjamin Marschke has highlighted the problem with staging the "state" and "Pietism" as two different entities, that can be seen as separate actors or players. They should rather be seen as arenas, where individuals, factions, and networks operated. The Pietists were deeply intertwined with "the state", with Pietist officials using state authority to advance their agenda, issue edicts, and distribute patronage.⁷²

Although this relationship also faced challenges,⁷³ the mutual benefits of the alliance have been interpreted: 1) as a strategic move by the Calvinist Prussian absolutism to counteract the resistance of the Lutheran estates, thereby weakening the influence of orthodox Lutheranism and consolidate state control, and 2) as a pragmatic effort by Francke to secure state support, including political protection, commercial privileges, and patronage.⁷⁴

The outcome of the connection between the Halle Pietists and the Prussian sovereigns has been widely studied. Carl Hinrich identified significant links between Pietism and major institutional reforms undertaken by Friedrich William I, such as restructuring the poor relief system, military training, and attempts to implement a public school system.⁷⁵ Building on Hinrich's work, Richard Gawthrop and Phillip Gorski have analysed the influence of Pietism's religious ideology on the Prussian state-building process and military superiority. They argue that Brandenburg-Prussia's rise to power in Europe was partly due to its cooperation with Halle Pietism, whose religious values of self-control, cleanliness, and social and political discipline were instrumental in shaping a more organised and effective state. Furthermore, Pietist values of hard work and obedience contributed to the formation

⁶⁹ Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 107 – 111.

⁷⁰ Ernst Bartz, *Die Wirtschaftsethik August Hermann Franckes* (Heidelberg-Wilhelmsburg, 1934), 68-67, 83.

⁷¹ Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 111-117; Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 124-127.

⁷² Benjamin Marschke: Pietism and Politics in Prussia and Beyond in *A Companion to German Pietism* ed. Douglas Schantz, (Leiden: Brill 2014), 174.

⁷³ Benjamin Marschke 'Lutheran Jesuits': Halle Pietist Communication Networks at the Court of Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia." *The Covenant Quarterly* 65:4 (November 2006), 19-38.

⁷⁴ Benjamin Marschke: Pietism and Politics in Prussia and Beyond in *A Companion to German Pietism* ed. Douglas Schantz, (Leiden: Brill 2014), 480-483; See also Hinrich 1963, 1971 and Depperman 1961 for a discussion on the alliance and how it developed over time.

⁷⁵ Carl Hinrichs, „Der Regierungsantritt Friedrich Wilhelm 1“ in *Preußen als historisches Problem* ed. Carl Hinrichs, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1963); Carl Hinrichs *Preußentum und Pietismus: Der Pietismus in Brandenburg-Preußen als religiös-soziale Reformbewegung*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971).

of a compliant and efficient administrative class.⁷⁶ Graduates of Die Franckeschen Anstalten played a key role in institutionalising these values,⁷⁷ contributing to the development of a meritocratic system, the bureaucratisation of the central administration, and the formation of a police state in Brandenburg-Prussia.⁷⁸

Ingrid Markussen and Juliane Engelhardt have demonstrated that pedagogy and education were central tools of governance in cameralist thought and police state theory and practice.⁷⁹ A defining feature of 18th-century educational thought was the belief that education should correspond to the predetermined role of each social class. This concept was rooted in Christian notions of the body of Christ, where each class functioned as an essential part of the social body. Both Pietist and state thinkers, such as von Seckendorff, viewed the majority of people as ignorant – like children – requiring education, guidance, and control to prevent self-destruction, dullness, and moral decay.⁸⁰ Since both Pietism and police state theory emphasised the necessity of a well-ordered and pious society for progress, while simultaneously assuming a single correct way to govern various aspects of life, maintaining such order required broad social acceptance. Education, therefore – especially of children – was tasked with fostering diligent, useful, and disciplined citizens.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Richard Gawthrop, *Pietism and the making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), see also: Benjamin Marschke, “Pietism and Politics in Prussia and Beyond” in *A Companion to German Pietism 1660-1800* ed. Douglas Schantz, (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 480-483; James Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the eighteenth-century origins of compulsory schooling in Prussia and Austria*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 23-59.

⁷⁷ Anthony La vopa, *Grace, Talent, and Merit: Poor Students, Clerical Careers, and Professional Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Germany*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

⁷⁸ Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom. The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (UK: Penguin, 2007); Klaus Deppermann *Der halle'sche Pietismus und der preussische Staat unter Friedrich III.* (I.) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961); Mary Fullbroke *Piety and Politics. Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in England, Württemberg and Prussia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Benjamin Marschke, *Absolutely Pietist. Patronage, Fictionalism, and State-building in the Early Eighteenth-century Prussian Army Chaplaincy* (Tübingen: Verlag der Francksche Stiftungen, 2005); James Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the eighteenth-century origins of compulsory schooling in Prussia and Austria*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 23-59; 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, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001); André Wakefield, *The disordered Police State: German Cameralism as Science and Practice*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

⁷⁹ Juliane Engelhardt, ”At danne mennesket til menneske. Om begrebet fornuft i pædagogisk tænkning og praksis i den nordeuropæiske oplysningsdebat.” in *Norsk PEDAGOGISK Tidsskrift Forum for pedagogikk og fagdidaktikk* 2, 2022, 216; See also James Van Horn Melton, 1988: *Absolutism and the eighteenth-century origins of compulsory schooling in Prussia and Austria*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

⁸⁰ Ingrid Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære, Statens Tjeneste og Vor Egen Nytte. Pietistiske og kameralistiske idéer bag fremvæksten af en offentlig skole i landdistrikterne i 1700-tallet*. (Viborg: Odense Universitets Forlag, 1995), 54-58, 62.

⁸¹ Juliane Engelhardt, ”At danne mennesket til menneske. Om begrebet fornuft i pædagogisk tænkning og praksis i den nordeuropæiske oplysningsdebat.” in *Norsk PEDAGOGISK Tidsskrift Forum for pedagogikk og fagdidaktikk* 2, 2022, 216.

These perspectives were reflected in Pietist pedagogy and Francke's belief in the widespread corruption of all social classes. According to Francke, the solution to society's moral decline was the education of God-fearing children and youth, with schools serving as instruments of social and religious regulation. Despite Pietism's social initiatives, including poorhouses, workhouses, schools, seminaries, hospitals, and pharmacies, the Pietists fully accepted the existing social hierarchy, ensuring its reforms posed no revolutionary threats.⁸² While for the absolutist state, education primarily served economic interests, for Pietists, schooling was a means of instilling piety, ensuring that individuals learned how to live a devout life, take responsibility for their own salvation, and uphold social and religious order within society.⁸³

This body of research convincingly demonstrates the mutual influence between the Pietist milieu in Halle and the governing strategies of the Prussian sovereigns. While these studies do not focus on the development of health governance, they situate Halle Pietism in a context where *Polizey* was discussed and developed. Furthermore, Die Franckeschen Anstalten is positioned as a key site for the formation of policing and governance strategies.

Building on this research, this study explores the religious influence on health policing strategies within the pedagogical milieu at Die Franckeschen Anstalten, further linking this influence to the institution's engagement with medical science and ideas of pedagogical spiritual perfection.

Pietist Pedagogy and *cultura animi* within Die Franckeschen Anstalten

The rise of cameralism and *Polizey* in early modern Brandenburg-Prussia reflected a growing interest in using scientific knowledge to optimise economic, social, and administrative processes for the sake of improving the good order of society. These emerging sciences of governance aimed at the improvement of land, population, institutions, and conduct through rational planning and disciplined intervention. In the context of Halle Pietism, research on pedagogy, science, improvement strategies, and *cultura animi* have demonstrated how similar strategies of optimisation were adopted within pedagogical frameworks, where education served both intellectual and moral ends, but the main object of cultivation was the soul. The following section discusses how research has revealed a distinctly Pietist mode of soul governance that intersected with contemporary scientific and administrative rationalities.

⁸² Ingrid Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære, Statens Tjeneste og Vor Egen Nytte. Pietistiske og kameralistiske idéer bag fremvæksten af en offentlig skole i landdistrikterne i 1700-tallet*. (Viborg: Odense Universitets Forlag, 1995), 31.

⁸³ Ingrid Markussen, *Til Skaberens Ære, Statens Tjeneste og Vor Egen Nytte. Pietistiske og kameralistiske idéer bag fremvæksten af en offentlig skole i landdistrikterne i 1700-tallet*. (Viborg: Odense Universitets Forlag, 1995), 87.

Francke's pedagogical approach has been analysed from multiple perspectives, both as a specific pedagogical idea and as a practice enacted within the institutional context. Several studies have reconstructed his educational concepts through an intellectual-historical lens, interpreting them in relation to their theological foundations. For instance, Peter Menck convincingly demonstrates that Francke regarded all educational tools – and the teaching profession as a whole – as divinely ordained, viewing teachers as instruments of God within the pedagogical framework.⁸⁴ Pia Schmidt has demonstrated that improvement strategies were integrated into the general Pietist pedagogical thought, aligning with a prevailing belief among 18th-century educators, regarding an inherent imperfection of children and adolescents due to their cognitive immaturity, thereby underscoring the educational enterprise as a principal avenue for human improvement. She states that educators “[...] saw themselves as specialists in perfectibility, and their business, education, was considered one of the noblest, if not the noblest, means of human improvement overall.”⁸⁵

Additionally, the enthusiastic incorporation of the natural sciences into Halle's educational practices has been associated with an aspiration to use science for human and societal perfection.⁸⁶ In this vein, Kelly Whitmer has suggested an interpretation of Die Franckeschen Anstalten as a scientific community where scientific inquiry and spiritual exercises were intertwined, demonstrating how practices like meditative contemplation were applied across disciplines to integrate intellectual and spiritual development among the pupils. Her analysis reveals a significant overlap between scientific and religious discourse aiming at pupils' spiritual development.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Peter Menck, *Die Erziehung der Jugend zur Ehre Gottes und zum Nutzen des Nächsten. Die Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes*. (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle, 2001)

⁸⁵ “[...] verstehen sich als Spezialisten für Perfektibilität und ihr Geschäft, die Erziehung, gilt als eines der vornehmsten, wenn nicht gar als das vornehmste Mittel zur Vervollkommen des Menschen überhaupt.“ Pia Schmidt, “Vollkommenheit in der Pädagogik des 18. Jahrhunderts“ in *Perfektionismus und Perfektibilität. Theorien und Praktiken der Vervollkommen in Aufklärung und Pietismus*. eds. Konstanze Baron & Christian Soboth, (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 2018), 165; See also: Konstanze Baron and Christian Soboth (ed.), *Perfektionismus und Perfektibilität. Streben nach Vollkommenheit in Aufklärung und Pietismus*. (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 2018); Holger Zaunstöck ed., *Gebaute Utopien. Franckes Schulstadt in der Geschichte europäischer Stadtentwürfe*. (Halle: Verlag der Franckesche Stiftungen, 2010); Holger Zaunstöck ed. *Die Welt verändern: August Hermann Francke – Ein Lebenswerk um 1700*. (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2013); Hartmut Lehmann, „Die Franckeschen Stiftungen als ein einzigartiges Projekt zur Verbesserung der Menschheit“ in *Tief verwurzelt – hoch hinaus. Die Baukunst der Franckeschen Stiftungen als Sozial- und Bildungsarchitektur des protestantischen Barock*. ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2015).

⁸⁶ Udo Schnelle, „Die Konstruktion des Neuen Menschen. Grundzüge neutestamentlicher Anthropologie“ in *Alder Adam und Neue Kreatur. Pietismus und Anthropologie. Beiträge zum II. Internationale Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2005*. eds. Udo Sträter et al., (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2009); Udo Sträter, „Der Hallische Pietismus zwischen Utopie und Weltgestaltung“ in *Interdisziplinäre Pietismusforschung. Beiträge zum Ersten Internationalen Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2001* eds. Udo Sträter et al., (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2005).

⁸⁷ Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

These studies convincingly show that the Pietist pedagogy was governed by religious ideals but still deeply embedded in contemporary trends in human and societal improvement and scientific endeavour, thus providing a foundation for this study to explore further how health was embedded in these theological and scientific notions of improvement. While Whitmer's study does focus on pedagogical practices by elucidating how scientific exploration was a component in the pedagogical approach to education, the question of how such religious improvement strategies were enacted in practice, particularly when it came to the improvement of bodily and spiritual health, remains unexplored.

Two studies are of significant importance to this study. German historian Tanja Täubner⁸⁸ and Swedish historian of ideas Andreas Rydberg⁸⁹ have approached Halle Pietism from a perspective that links 18th-century philosophical and theological debates to the antique concept of *cultura animi* – the cultivation of the soul. From this point of view, they have explored how Pietist theology, medicine, and pedagogy at Die Franckeschen Anstalten constituted a Pietist form of *cultura animi* engaged in cultivating, educating, disciplining, and curing the soul from the forces of passions and vices.

The foundation of this research emerges from studies in philosophy, particularly Pierre Herdot's reinterpretation of ancient philosophy as primarily concerned with healing and cultivating the troubled soul, an endeavour referred to as *cultura animi*. According to Herdot, antique philosophy was not merely an epistemological endeavour but a practical discipline that sought to cultivate the mind and soul through spiritual exercise.⁹⁰ In this vein, the American philosopher Martha C. Nussbaum has demonstrated how therapeutic and medical language played a central role in ancient philosophical discourse, positioning philosophy as a means of curing human afflictions rooted in false beliefs.⁹¹ Sorana Corneanu, who has taken the perspectives of Herdot and Nussbaum into analysis of the 17th century, examines the link between *cultura animi* and what is termed *medicina animi* in philosophical thought. Corneanu argues that *medicina animi*, which gave rise to a specialised literary genre aimed at tempering the mind and soul, was an integral part of the broader *cultura animi* tradition in the 17th century. These texts, authored by what was referred to as physicians of the soul, prescribed spiritual exercises – such as faith, hope, charity, meditation, repentance, prayer, and the study of scripture – as medical methods of enhancing soul health. Corneanu emphasises that, despite variations in diagnosis and therapy in these works due to theological differences, the core project remained the same:

⁸⁸ Tanja Täubner, "Zum andern soltu meditirn" *Die Meditationspraktiken in der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes*. (Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle, 2012).

⁸⁹ Andreas Rydberg, *Inner Experience. An Analysis of Scientific Experience in Early Modern Germany*. Uppsala Studies in History of Ideas 48. 245 pp. (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017); Andreas Rydberg "Michael Alberti and the Medical Therapy of the Internal Senses" *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol. 74, No. 3, 2019, pp. 245-266.

⁹⁰ Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1995).

⁹¹ Martha C. Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire. Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1994), 14.

cultivating soul health.⁹² Corneanu thus demonstrates an explicit conceptualisation of the soul as an object for medical intervention – both for the enhancement of spiritual health and as a site where health and disease could be addressed.

Extending Herdot's, Nussbaum's, and Corneanu's perspectives into Pietist scholarship, Tanja Täubner⁹³ and Andreas Rydberg⁹⁴ illustrate how meditation practices and the intersection between theology, medicine, and pedagogy at Die Franckeschen Anstalten formed a distinctly Pietist model of *cultura animi*. Their research illustrates how this pedagogy – which Francke himself conceptualised as *cultura animi* – was fundamentally concerned with cultivating, disciplining, and curing the soul of dangerous passions and vices. By broadening the understanding of medicine as not only a discipline concerned with the healing of bodily diseases, Rydberg demonstrates how Pietist physicians advocated for the regulation of unhealthy passions, as these were conceptualised as posing a significant danger to the soul's health. This medical discourse of cultivation of passions aligned with the educational goal of educating true Christians through channelling specific Christian emotions like fear and love of God.⁹⁵ Rydberg argues that prominent figures like August Hermann Francke actively promoted the establishment of institutions dedicated to fostering virtue, emphasising the spiritual enhancement of students through educational practices.⁹⁶

Täubner's research complements this perspective by examining the institutionalisation of *cultura animi* at Die Franckeschen Anstalten through the use of Christian meditation practices as a pedagogical tool aimed at emotional cultivation.⁹⁷ She identifies a structured triad of meditation techniques – conscience examination, contemplation of scripture, and prayer – that were designed to internalise Pietist values, fostering self-discipline, introspection, and spiritual growth, ultimately leading to the conversion experience.⁹⁸ Täubner further interprets Francke's pedagogical approach in the light of Michel Foucault's concept of pastoral power. Pastoral power refers to a form of power exercised through

⁹² Sorana Corneanu, *Regimens of the Mind. Boyle, Locke, and the Early Modern Cultura Animi Tradition* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 4-5, 48, 57, 59; See also Gideon Manning, "Health in the Early Modern Philosophical Tradition" in *Health: A History* ed. Peter Adamson, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2019).

⁹³ Tanja Täubner, "Zum andern soltu meditirn" *Die Meditationspraktiken in der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes*. (Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle, 2012).

⁹⁴ Andreas Rydberg, *Inner Experience. An Analysis of Scientific Experience in Early Modern Germany*. Uppsala Studies in History of Ideas 48. 245 pp. (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017); Andreas Rydberg "Michael Alberti and the Medical Therapy of the Internal Senses" *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol. 74, No. 3, 2019, pp. 245-266.

⁹⁵ Andreas Rydberg, *Inner Experience. An Analysis of Scientific Experience in Early Modern Germany*. Uppsala Studies in History of Ideas 48. 245 pp. (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017), 109.

⁹⁶ Andreas Rydberg, *Inner Experience. An Analysis of Scientific Experience in Early Modern Germany*. Uppsala Studies in History of Ideas 48. 245 pp. (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017), 106-111.

⁹⁷ Tanja Täubner, "Zum andern soltu meditirn" *Die Meditationspraktiken in der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes*. (Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle, 2014), 173-175.

⁹⁸ Tanja Täubner "Zum andern soltu meditirn" *Die Meditationspraktiken in der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes*. (Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle, 2014), 176.

guidance and surveillance aimed at nurturing and directing individuals' conduct and spiritual well-being, which is thus linked to religious practices that seek to shape moral and ethical behaviour.⁹⁹ She interprets Francke's pedagogics as an evolution of Lutheran pastoral power into a comprehensive pedagogical framework primarily aimed at nurturing the soul. According to Täubner, the pinnacle of Pietist pedagogy was attained when the student acquired the ability to conscientiously and effectively care for their soul.¹⁰⁰ Thus, at Die Franckeschen Anstalten, pastoral power and the care of the soul were systematically extended beyond traditional spiritual guidance to encompass an institutionalised and disciplined approach to educating and refining the soul through disciplined pedagogical practices.

Together with the studies on Pietist pedagogics, science, and improvement, Täubner's and Rydberg's works argue convincingly that Die Franckeschen Anstalten was situated within an endeavour to optimise and perfect the nature of individuals, society and, particularly, the soul. While these studies have primarily examined the cultivation of emotions and passions as central to maintaining soul health, the relationship between bodily regimes and their influence on both spiritual and bodily health remains an underexplored area of research. Thus, research in Pietist ideas and practices of perfection and *cultura animi* has yet to focus on the role of the body in the Halle Pietists' engagement with the cultivation of health and perfection of the soul. Rather than focusing solely on regimes of the mind, this dissertation aims to explore regimes of the body within the context of caring for the soul and societal reform. By incorporating the study of dietetical practice – including physical exercise, eating, and cleansing the body and environment – this dissertation will examine how such practices were understood within Die Franckeschen Anstalten as methods for cultivating not only physical but also spiritual health. In doing so, it extends existing scholarship by demonstrating how Pietists shaped educational practices of physical health in the early 18th century.

Pietist medicine and dietetics

Dietetics and the Pietist understanding of physical health have only been touched upon briefly in research focusing on medicine within the context of the institutions. Apart from Rydberg's study on the Pietist physician Michale Alberti's framing of the cultivation of emotions as a medical practice aimed at enhancing soul health, research on medicine, hygiene, bodily education, and dietetics at Die Franckeschen Anstalten has largely

⁹⁹ Michel Foucault, *Omnes et singulatim: Toward a Criticism of "Political Reason: The Tanner Lectures on Human Values Delivered at Stanford University, October 10 and 16, 1979* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1981) 230, 237-238; Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*. ed. by Michel Senellart. (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2007), 94-97.

¹⁰⁰ Tanja Täubner, "Zum andern soltu meditirn" *Die Meditationspraktiken in der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes* (Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, Halle, 2014), 5-13, 10.

interpreted this within a classical progression narrative, which posits a fundamental inconsistency between religion and science, even in the historical context.¹⁰¹ Scholars such as Hans-Theodor Piechocki, Wolfram Kaiser, Andre Zindeley, Eckhard Altmann and, most notably, Jürgen Helm have extensively examined the treatment of diseases and healing practices at the institution and its hospital facilities from the perspective that religious elements hindered the development of effective healing practices and the advancement of modern medicine.¹⁰²

These studies have only briefly addressed Pietist dietetics, treating it as a marginal aspect of therapeutic practices without considering its relation to the pedagogical mission of societal transformation through human improvement. Regarding physical education, scholars such as Kurt Starke, Berthold Ebert, August Nitschke, and Josef N. Neumann have argued that no systematic bodily training occurred within Die Franckeschen Anstalten. They contend that the theological strictness of August Hermann Francke and his successor, his son Gotthilf August Francke, actively inhibited structured physical education by

¹⁰¹ In an Anglophone context of historiography, the “progression perspective” is referred to as “Whig history” or “Doctor’s history”. For an in-depth discussion and critique of the interpretation that Christianity is inherently opposed to and dismissive of scientific knowledge see Robert Merton, “Puritanism, pietism and science” *The Sociological Review* January, vol. XXVIII. No. 1 1936; Robert Merton, *Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England* (New York; Wilson, 1938); David B. Wilson, “The historiography of science and religion”, Russel Colin A.: “The conflict of science and religion”, Stephen C. Meyer, “The demarcation of Science and Religion” all in *Science and Religion in the Western Tradition. An Encyclopaedia*. ed. Gary B. Ferngren, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc, 2000); Robert Jütte, “The historiography of non-conventional medicine in Germany: a concise outline.” *Medical History*, 1999, 43, pp. 342-358.; Charles Rosenberg, “The medical profession, medical, practice, and the history of medicine” in *Modern methods in the history of medicine*, ed Edwin Clarke, (London, Athlone Press, 1971), 22-35; Susan Reverby and David Rosner, “Beyond the ‘Great Doctors’” in *Health Care in America; Essays in Social History*, eds. Susan Reverby and David Rosner, (Philadelphia, Pa: Temple University Press, 1979), 3-16; Ludmilla Jordanova, “The social Construction of Medical Knowledge”, *Social History of Medicine*, 1995, vol. 7(3), pp. 362-364; John V. Pickstone, “Medical History as a way of Life”, *Social History of Medicine*, 2005, vol. 18 (2), 315-317; Karin Johansson, *Medicinens öga. Sjukdom, medicin och samhälle – historiska erfarenheter*, (Värnamo: Norstedts, 1990), 10-14.

¹⁰² Eckhard Altmann, *Christian Friedrich Richter (1676_ 1711). Arzt, Apotheker und Liederdichter des Halleschen Pietismus* (Wittenberg: Luther-Verlag, 1972); Jürgen Helm, “ ‘Dass auch zugleich die Gottseligkeit dadurch gebauet wird’ - Pietismus und Medizin in ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts” *Bereiche zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 26 (2003), 205, 207-208; Jürgen Helm, *Krankheit, Bekehrung und Reform. Medizin und Krankenfürsorge im Halleschen Pietismus* (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2006), 205; Jürgen Helm, „Medizin in Hallesche Pietismus“ in *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahrhundert*. ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021), 48-59; Wolfram Kaiser, “Der Lehrkörper der Medizinischen Fakultät in der halleschen Amtszeit von Georg Ernst Stahl,” in *250 Jahre Collegium Clinicum Halense 1717–1967*, eds. Wolfram Kaiser, Karl-Heinz Krosch, and Werner Piechocki, *Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 3 (Halle: Martin Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1967); Hans-Theodor Piechocki, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Gesundheitswesens der Stadt Halle und der Medizinischen Fakultät der Universität Halle* *Acta Historica Leopoldina* 2, 1965, Leipzig; Endré Zsindely, *Krankheit und Heiligung im älteren Pietismus* (Zürich/Stuttgart, 1962).

prohibiting activities such as dancing, swimming, fencing, and other sports-like exercises within the educational setting.¹⁰³

While not explicitly challenging the progression narrative, but also not subscribing to it, medical historian Irmtraut Sahmland has provided a summary of the limited scholarly attention to Pietist dietetics, outlining what she considers to be its defining characteristics. She attributes the development of a distinct Pietist approach to dietetics primarily to the influence of the professor in medicine Georg Ernst Stahl's (1660-1734) theory of animism, which offered an alternative to the Cartesian view of the body as a mechanical entity functioning by automated principles. Stahl's animism proposed that the anima – or the soul – played an active role in bodily processes, thus integrating the understanding of disease and health within a framework that posed that the soul's movements actively influenced these.¹⁰⁴

In alignment with Täubner's and Rydberg's studies, Sahmland further highlights that Pietist physicians placed significant emphasis on cultivating health-promoting emotions as core aspects of their dietetical framework. Additionally, she identifies the recognition of sin as a catalyst for disease as a distinct feature of Pietist dietetics.¹⁰⁵ However, her study leaves unaddressed how the Pietist construction of sin informed their dietetic principles, particularly regarding sin's impact on physical health and the body. Moreover, the idea that sin could cause disease is not unique to Pietism, as such beliefs have existed in Christian thought since antiquity.¹⁰⁶

A central focus of this thesis is thus to explore how the Pietist construction of sin shaped their health rationalities and how these ideas were integrated into the pedagogical goal of forming true Christians. This study diverges from the previous research based on the

¹⁰³ Berthold Ebert, "Zur Rolle der Körpererziehung in den Franckeschen Stiftungen unter Einfluss von August Hermann Niemeyer" in *"Seyd nicht träge in dem was ihr thun sollt." August Hermann Niemeyer (1754-1828): Erneuerung durch Erfahrung* ed. Christian Soboth (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2007), 92-94; Josef N. Neumann, "Die „physische Erziehung des Kindes“ Medizin unter dem Paradigma der Erziehung in Pietismus und Aufklärung" in *Das Kind in Pietismus und Aufklärung* ed. Josef N. Neumann and Udo Sträter, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000); August Nitschke, "Gymnastik, Fechten und Tanzen im 18. Jahrhundert. Die Ausbilden des Körper auf den Schulen von August Hermann Francke" *Das Kind in Pietismus und Aufklärung* ed. Josef N. Neumann and Udo Sträter, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000), 345; Kurt Starke, "Geschichte der Leibesübungen in den Franckeschen Stiftungen" in *Festschrift zur fünfzig-Jahrfeier des Schulerturnvereins Friesen in den Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle/Saale* ed. Eberhart Stammer, (Sonnenberg: Hermann & Schilling, 1931), 60.

¹⁰⁴ Irmtraut Sahmland "Der Mensch lebt nicht vom Brot allein. Grundzüge einer pietistischen Diätetik." in *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahrhundert.* ed. Holger Zaunstöck (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021). See also Johanna Geyer-Kordesch, *Pietismus, Medizin und Aufklärung in Preussen im 18. Jahrhunderts. Das Leben und Werk Georg Ernst Stahl* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000).

¹⁰⁵ Irmtraut Sahmland "Der Mensch lebt nicht vom Brot allein. Grundzüge einer pietisttischen Diätetik." in *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahrhundert.* ed. Holger Zaunstöck (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021, 78 – 96 (81-82).

¹⁰⁶ Gary B. Ferngren, *Medicine and Health Care in Early Christianity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 141.

progression narrative by shifting the focus from conflict between religion and science to an exploration of their convergence in medicine, theology, and pedagogy. Additionally, it seeks to initiate a discussion on the role of sin in the Pietist construction of health, considering whether Pietist dietetics involved a reinterpretation of sin within theological and medical rationalities, offering a new perspective on the relationship between sin and spiritual and bodily health in Die Franckeschen Anstalten.

Medical history and research on Christian and secular health

An understanding of how medical history has approached both Christian ideas of disease and health, and the large-scale health-optimising strategies of the late 18th century, is crucial for situating this study within the broader field of medical history. Two fields within medical history are particularly relevant to this study despite not explicitly engaging with Halle Pietism. First, scholarship addressing the concept of Christian health in the preceding centuries provides essential insight into the theological foundation of health as a medical and theological concept; and second, Foucauldian-inspired studies of 18th-century state-driven health initiatives in the second part of the century provide insights on the development of new forms of power, like biopower.

The intersection between religion and medicine has been widely acknowledged in medical history, with extensive research on disease and healing demonstrating how Christian thought and institutions like monasteries and early hospitals have shaped medical practices, provision of care, and the understanding and interpretation of diseases, healing processes, and therapies throughout history.¹⁰⁷

While the religious influences on conceptions of diseases and care institutions are well-documented in the centuries before the 18th century, scholarship on systematic health optimisation and the emergence of health pedagogy in the 18th century has largely treated these as secular developments. Historians have typically emphasised the rise of a scientific medical rationality and bureaucratic governance, framing this as the medicalisation of life, often overlooking the role of religious thought in shaping these new approaches to physical health. This dominant narrative of medicalisation tends to portray the emergence of a medical gaze as a purely secular process, thereby casting religion as external or even irrelevant to development of modern health strategies. Such dichotomous framing obscures how religious thought and institutions not only contributed to, but also actively shaped, evolving notions of bodily regulation and public health.

¹⁰⁷ For an introduction of the intersection of religion and medicine see Gary B. Ferngren, *Medicine and Health Care in Early Christianity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Gary B. Ferngren 2014: *Medicine and Religion: A Historical Introduction*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014); Studies with this perspective in the 18th century see Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell (eds.), *Religio Medici. Medicine and religion in seventeenth century England* (London: Scholar Press, 1996); Peter Ole Grell and Andrew Cunningham, Andrew (ed.), *Religion and medicine in the Enlightenment. The History of Medicine in Context*, (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007).

As a result, a significant gap persists between studies of the period before 1700 and those examining the post-1750 context. By engaging with both strands of scholarship, this study challenges the assumption that the medicalisation of life reflects a linear process of secularisation. Instead, it explores how early 18th-century models and practices of health – such as those developed at Die Franckeschen Anstalten – combined theological, pedagogical, and scientific strategies for governing health. In the following section, I will first address research on the period before 1700 and then turn to research on the second half of the 18th century.

Christian health – spiritual and physical conceptualisations

While much of existing research has focused on analysing how physical diseases, healing processes, and therapies were constructed and interpreted within religious frameworks, a minor but growing trend in scholarship has shifted the focus to how *spiritual* ailments and spiritual health were conceptualised in early Christianity and the medieval period. This research argues that in many cases, medicine and theology – and the physical and spiritual – were inseparable. Studies in this field demonstrate that health was not merely a medical concept but one deeply intertwined with both medical and religious meanings.¹⁰⁸ Vivian Nutton has shown that medical and theological vocabulary share a common linguistic and conceptual origin. For example, the Latin word *salus* meant both health and salvation, while the Greek terms *therapy* and *therapeutic* referred to both medical treatment and active worship.¹⁰⁹

Recent scholarship further reinforces this connection. Naama Cohen-Hanegbi has shown that the development of medicine as a distinct field in medieval Europe was deeply shaped by Christian concepts, particularly in its focus on healing the embodied soul.¹¹⁰ Sara Ritchley has further stressed that scholars mistakenly tend to interpret religious acts of care like healing prayers, liturgical images, and imitations of Christ's suffering only as spiritual acts. In her study of women's healing and health practices, she elucidates how such acts carried significant medical meanings and were acts of both medicine and religion.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸Carole Rawcliffe, "On the Threshold of Eternity: Care for the Sick in East Anglian Monasteries" in *East Anglias History: Studies in Honour of Norman Scarfe* eds. Christopher Harper-Bill, Carole Rawcliffe and Richard G. Wilson, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 41-72.

¹⁰⁹Vivian Nutton, "God, Galen, and the Depaganisation of Ancient Religion" in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages* eds. Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler, (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), 25.

¹¹⁰Naama Cohen-Hanegi, *Caring for the Living Soul: Emotions, Medicine, and Penance in the Late Medieval Mediterranean*, (Leuven: Brill, 2017), 74.

¹¹¹Sara Richey, *Acts of Care. Recovering Women in Late Medieval Health*. (New York: Cornell University Press, 2021), 4.

While much scholarship has focused on the treatment of spiritual ailments,¹¹² Daniel McCann has explored the concept of *salus animae* – the healthy and saved soul – in late medieval England. He demonstrates that reading practices designed to evoke strong emotions were viewed as both curative and preservative for the soul's health. Religious texts that induced emotions such as fear, penance, longing, and compassion were believed to promote spiritual health by fostering an awareness of human dependence on God. Moreover, McCann illustrates how these reading practices were considered forms of medical therapy, beneficial not only to the soul but also to the body. The physiological effect of reading on bodily health was related to humoral pathology, in which reading aloud – by stimulating air movement in the lungs – was thought to influence the circulation of bodily fluids, thereby maintaining physical balance. In this sense, reading out loud functioned as a dietetical practice aimed at both body and soul health.¹¹³

These studies effectively demonstrate that in pre-18th century Europe, health was a concept that blended medical and religious meanings and practices aimed at soul health that could simultaneously affect the body's biological balance. While the studies discussed above do not focus on the 18th century, they provide a critical framework for understanding how Pietist pedagogical practices intersected with medical and religious thought.

Health optimisation in the 18th century

The second body of literature consists of Foucauldian-inspired studies – primarily from the 1980s and 1990s – on the development of public health optimisation in the second half of the 18th century. While not representing a classical progression narrative, this scholarship still presents medicine and religion as distinct and opposing approaches to the body and

¹¹²Dr. Jean- Claude Larchet, *Therapy of Spiritual Illnesses. An Introduction to the Ascetic Tradition of the Orthodox Church*. Vol. I-III, (Montréal: Alexander Press, 2012); Mary Cosgrove (ed.) *Sadness and Melancholy in German-Language Literature from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Edinburgh German Yearbook: Boydell & Brewer, 2012); Peter Damrau, "Tears that Make the Heart Shine? "Godly Sadness" in Pietism" *Sadness and Melancholy in German-Language Literature from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* ed. Mary Cosgrove, (Edinburgh German Yearbook: Boydell & Brewer, 2012); Thomas Dixon, "Enthusiasm Delineated: Weeping as a Religious Activity in Eighteenth-Century Britain" in *Litteraria Pragensia: Studies in Literature and Culture* University Karlova, vol. 22, issue 43, 2012; John Corrigan (ed.) Part III: Emotional States, *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Jeremy Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul: religion, moral philosophy and madness in early modern England*. (London: Routledge, 2007); Christian Soboth, "Tränen des Auges, Tränen des Herzens. Anatomien des Weinens in Pietismus, Aufklärung und Empfindsamkeit" in *Anatomie. Sektion einer medizinischen Wissenschaft im 18. Jahrhundert* ed. Jürgen Helm (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003); Roger French, "Sickness and the soul: Stahl, Hoffman and Sauvages on pathology" in *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century* ed. Andrew Cunningham, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Katharina Ernst, *Krankheit und Heiligung. Die medikale Kultur württembergischer Pietisten im 18. Jahrhundert*. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2003).

¹¹³ Daniel McCann, *Soul Health. Therapeutic Reading in Later Medieval England*. (Wiltshire: University of Wales Press, 2018), 9.

soul. While this perspective has been criticised for its tendency to ignore the religious sphere,¹¹⁴ it remains relevant to this study due to its focus on power and disciplinary aspects of health education and state-driven health-promoting initiatives in the 18th century.

Although attempts to secure or improve public health existed long before the 18th century, this period marked a significant shift in the authorities' intentional governing of the population's physical health. The optimisation of physical health became a key element of large-scale political strategies,¹¹⁵ closely linked to the development of what was termed "*Medizinische Polizey*" (medical police).¹¹⁶ As part of the broader *Polizey* sciences, medical police referred to public health policies and regulations rather than a concrete police force or a single bureaucratic entity.¹¹⁷ While the German physician Johann Peter Frank's (1745-1821) *System einer vollständigen medizinischen Polizey* (1779-1827)¹¹⁸ is often credited as the foundational work formulating the principles of medical policing, as mentioned earlier von Seckendorff wrote on medical policing as early as the mid-17th century.¹¹⁹

Scholars such as George Rosen, Dorothy Porter, and Michael Stolberg have analysed how the concept of medical police emerged within the late framework of cameralism and the enlightened absolutist state as a mechanism for managing the physical health and well-being of the population through state intervention.¹²⁰ Subsequent studies have expanded this perspective, showing how medical policing encompassed a wide range of administrative practices, regulations, and institutions aimed at improving public health. These included

¹¹⁴ Xenia von Tippelskirch, "Introduction. Corporeality and early modern religious dissent." in *Bodies in Early Modern Religious dissent*. ed. Elisabeth Fischer and Xenia von Tippelskirch (New York: Routledge, 2021), 7.

¹¹⁵ Mary Lindeman, "Medicine, medical practice, and Public Health" in *A Companion to eighteenth century Europe* ed. Peter H. Wilson, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 171; Mary Lindemann, "Diseases and Medicine" in *The Oxford Handbook of early modern European History, 1350-1750, volume 1*. ed. Hamish Scott, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 112; Emma Spary, "Health and Medicine in the Enlightenment" in *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Medicine* ed. Mark Jackson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 83.

¹¹⁶ Patrick E. Carrol "Medical Police and the History of Public Health" *Medical History* 2002, 46, 461-494.

¹¹⁷ For the openness of the term 'policey', which described the ensemble of mechanisms to ensure political order, see Michael Stolleis, *Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts in Deutschland, Bd.1: Reichspublizistik und Policeywissenschaft 1600–1800* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1988), 369–70.; Steven Kaplan, "Réflexions sur la police du monde du travail, 1700 – 1815" *Revue historique* 261, 1979, 17.

¹¹⁸ Johann Peter Frank began publishing *System einer vollständigen medizinischen Polizey* in 1779. After his death in 1821, subsequent volumes were edited and published by his son, with the final volume appearing in 1827.

¹¹⁹ Maren Lorentz, *Menschenzucht. Frühe Ideen und Strategien 1500-1870*. (Wallstein: Düsseldorf, 2018), 97, 100.

¹²⁰ George Rosen, *A History of Public Health*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1958); Georg Rosen, *From Medical Police to Social Medicine* (New York: Science History Publications, 1974); Dorothy Porter (ed.) *The History of Health and the Modern State*. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994); Dorothy Porter, *Health Civilisation and the State* (London: Routledge 1998); Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France 1978-79* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the College de France, 1975-76*. (New York: Picador, 2003).

efforts to monitor water quality, managing waste, overseeing food production, controlling epidemics, enforcing quarantines, and promoting hygiene and childcare education. Physicians and public health officials were responsible for carrying out these regulations, often working within existing state bureaucracies or newly established health boards.¹²¹ Verena Gangl, Annette M. Stroß, and Lydia Kunze have demonstrated how these developments also influenced education, as medical concerns inspired pedagogical reforms that incorporated gymnastics, sports, and physical health education into school curricula in the second half of the 18th century.¹²²

The development of medical policing and health education in the late 18th century has also been interpreted as the emergence of biopower and biopolitics.¹²³ Initially, Foucault coined these terms to describe forms of power and politics as “mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political

¹²¹ For this body of work see: Thomas Hoyt Broman, *The Transformation of German Academic Medicine, 1750-1820*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Martin Dinges, ‘Medizinische Policy zwischen Heilkunde und “Patienten” (1750–1830)’, in *Policy und frühneuzeitliche Gesellschaft* ed. Karl Härter, (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 2000), 263–95; Christopher Fox, Roy Porter and Alan Wokler, Alan (ed.) *Inventing Human Science. Eighteenth-century Domains* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1995); Ute Frevert, *Krankheit als politisches Problem 1770-1880. Soziale Unterschichten in Preußen zwischen medizinischer Polizei und staatlicher Sozialversicherung*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984); Gert Göckenjan, *Kurieren und Staat machen: Gesundheit und Medizin in der bürgerlichen Welt* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985); Isabel Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany 1700-1815*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1996); Karin Johannisson “Why cure the sick” Population Policy and Health Programs within Eighteenth-Century Swedish Mercantilism” in *Society, Health and Population during the Demographic Transition* ed. Anders Brändström and Lars-Göran Tedebrand, (Stockholm, Almqvist and Wiksell, 1988); Ludmilla Jordanova 1981 “Policing public health in France 1780-1815” in *Public Health: Proceedings of the 5th International Symposium on the Comparative History of Medicine – East and West: Oct. 26 – Nov. 1, 1981. Susono-shi, Shizuoka, Japan*. ed. Teizo Ogawa, (Tokyo: Saikon, 1981), 363-380; Ann F. La Berge, „The early nineteenth-century French public health movement: The disciplinary development and institutionalization of *Hygiène Publique*“ *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 58 (3) 1984, pp. 363-379; Ann F. La Berge, *Mission and Method: The Early Nineteenth-Century French Public Health Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Mary Lindemann *Health and Healing in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1999); Francisca Loetz, *Vom Kranken zum Patienten: “Medikalisierung” und medizinische Vergesellschaftung am Beispiel Badens 1750–1850*, (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1993); Georg-Christoph von Unruh, “Polizei, Polizeiwissenschaft, und Kameralistik” in *Deutsche Verwaltungsgeschichte* ed. H. Pohl, K. Jesirich and G. C. Von Unruh, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1983), 388-427.

¹²² Verena Gangl, *Metamorphosen der Diätetik und Psychohygiene zur Gesundheitserziehung. Eine historisch-systematische Untersuchung* (Würzburg: Ergon- Verlag, 2013); Anette M. Stroß, *Pädagogik und Medizin: ihre Beziehungen in “Gesundheitserziehung” und wissenschaftlicher Pädagogik 1779-1933* (Weinheim: Dt. Studien-Verl. 2000); Lydia Kunze, „Die physische Erziehung der Kinder“ *Populäre Schriften zur Gesundheitserziehung in der Medizin der Aufklärung*. (Marburg: Universität Marburg, 1971).

¹²³ For an introduction to and a discussion of the German historiography on biopolitics and studies of the rise of public health, the professionalisation of medicine, and the history of medicalisation with reference to the process of state formation see Claudia Stein, “The Birth of Biopower in Eighteenth-Century Germany” *Medical History*, 2011, 55: 331–337.

strategy”.¹²⁴ While Foucault acknowledged that these new forms of power, emerging in the 17th and 18th centuries, were influenced by Christianity and pastoral techniques of governance, biopower is conceptualised as fundamentally secular. Biopower aims to optimise the bodily organism, which, in medical history, is conceptualised as something fundamentally different from the soul, the latter being the target of pastoral power.¹²⁵ Thus, traditionally, biopower is understood as aimed at regulating biological life and physical health, distinct from the spiritual governance that characterised the earlier religious focus on the soul’s salvation.

While the results of these studies provide essential context for the present study – particularly in emphasising the emergence of biopower and biopolitics encompassing population measurement through statistics, environmental regulation, and education on diet and hygiene – their primary focus on the development of public health governance and medical police is from a secular, social, and political perspective.¹²⁶ They situate their analysis within the broader frameworks of state-building, secularisation, and medical governance, arguing that a medical gaze gradually replaced religious interpretations of human life, particularly after 1750, when these developments accelerated.¹²⁷

Towards a religious history of health governance

While previous studies have explored the intersection of religion and medicine in pre-18th century contexts, they have not systematically examined how these traditions influenced emerging state health initiatives. The Foucauldian-inspired studies on the history of medical policing have not focused on the possible religious influences, but the present literature review has shown that Die Franckeschen Anstalten presents a compelling case for examining the religious influence of health governance in institutional contexts. Well before 1750, Halle Pietism exhibited practices of enhancing soul health, focusing on the cultivation of emotions, and was interested in the use of pedagogy as a tool for improvement and perfection, a vision for societal reform, and strong connections to the ruling elites. These characteristics, along with the insights from research on early state-building and religious-

¹²⁴ See Claudia Stein, “The Birth of Biopower in Eighteenth-Century Germany,” *Medical History* 55 (2011) pp. 331-337, here p. 333, also Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France 1978-79* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France 1977-78* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

¹²⁵ As an example of this conclusion see Emma Spary’s argument that medicine naturalised diseases and health and pushed more fatalistic and religious interpretations in the background: Emma Spary, “Health and Medicine in the Enlightenment” *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Medicine* ed. Mark Jackson, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2011), 87.

¹²⁶ See e.g. Mary Lindemann *Health and Healing in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1999), 25-27.

¹²⁷ Mary Lindemann, “Medicine, Medical Practice, and Public Health” in *A Companion to eighteenth-century Europe* ed. Peter H. Wilson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing 2008), 171; Mary Lindemann, “Diseases and Medicine” *The Oxford Handbook of early modern European History, 1350-1750, volume 1: Peoples and Places*. ed. Hamish Scott, (Oxford University Press: UK, 2015), 112.

inspired policing in Brandenburg-Prussia, make Halle Pietism a relevant case for exploring the emergence of medical policing, biopower, and biopolitics in a religious context.

This dissertation seeks to bridge these gaps in the history of health by demonstrating how Die Franckeschen Anstalten sought to develop a health-optimising pedagogy in the period 1698-1759. By bridging studies of Christian health with research on state-driven public health initiatives – and integrating these with Pietist studies on *cultura animi* and perfection – this dissertation seeks to illuminate the overlooked religious dimension of systematic health education and governance of the body. Starting in the early 18th century, I examine how religious authorities, such as the Pietists, may have influenced the early stages of what would later be termed medical police. By focusing on the intersection of religion, medicine, and governance in the early 18th century, this dissertation not only challenges existing historiographical narratives but also offers a new perspective on the long-term development of health strategies in Europe.

Theoretical premises, concepts, and analytical framework

This study adopts a Foucauldian theoretical framework centred on governmentality, which offers a set of tools for analysing the construction and practices of health within Halle Pietism and Die Franckeschen Anstalten. While previous research has approached health policing in the 18th century through Foucault's concept of medicalisation, which focuses on how medical interpretations of aspects of human life replaced religious ones, this study instead employs the concept of governmentality.

According to Michel Foucault's theories, governmentality describes the mechanism through which power is exercised in constructing rationalities of the truths of human subjectivity and behaviour, as well as the strategies and techniques employed to govern individuals according to these truths.¹²⁸ A governmentality analysis is the analysis of the logic of governing practices, or in Mitchell Dean's words, the analysis of thought made technical and practical.¹²⁹ With its distinct focus on the construction of rationalities and their relation to practices, governmentality is open to exploring the intersection of religion and medicine, as it allows for an analysis of how these domains coexisted and mutually shaped governing practices rather than framing medicine as superseding religion.

Foucault's conceptualisation of governmentality represented a departure from traditional power paradigms. In contrast to the notion of power as a repressive force wielded by sovereign authorities, governmentality posits power as productive and consisting of a diffuse network of technologies, including knowledge production, institutional practises, social

¹²⁸ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 18-19.

¹²⁹ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (London: Sage Publications, 1999) 18, 30.

norms, and self-governance.¹³⁰ Crucially, governmentality operates not through overt coercion but by shaping and producing individuals' conduct through a variety of subtle influences.¹³¹ Governmentality thus refers to the bodies of knowledge and mentalities of government that inform and justify governing practices.¹³²

Foucault's concept of governmentality is particularly useful for understanding how knowledge production and pedagogy functioned as a form of power at Die Franckeschen Anstalten. Unlike repressive power, pedagogical power works through shaping individuals' behaviour, knowledge, and self-understanding in accordance with an educational aim, in this case, shaping true Christians. Pedagogy can be seen as a productive form of power that moulds individuals' subjectivity by guiding them towards desired norms, values, and practices. By using the framework of governmentality, it can be elucidated how the pedagogical practices at the institution functioned as a form of power central to the institution's goal of world change through human improvement.

Notably, Foucault employed the concept of "governmentality" in two distinct ways, though he did not always clearly delineate the difference. These can be described as: 1) governmentality as a theoretical framework for understanding the nature of power and its mechanisms of operation, and 2) governmentality as a historically specific mode of governing that emerged in certain societies in the 17th and 18th centuries.¹³³ The former provides a lens for analysing the various ways power is exercised and sustained, while the latter delineates the historical development of governmental practices and rationalities centred on the management of populations, marking a shift from traditional forms of sovereign power to more diffuse and pervasive techniques of control.¹³⁴

Given that both conceptualisations of governmentality are relevant to this dissertation, it is essential to differentiate between instances where I employ governmentality as a theoretical and methodological framework for analysis and where it pertains to the historical evolution of power. The historical development of power will be addressed throughout the dissertation and particularly in the final discussion, where I will discuss the results of my analysis in relation to policing, cameralism, and the possible emergence of pastoral biopower and medical-inspired pedagogics within a Christian context.

Niels Åkerstrøm Andersen has argued that a constructivist theoretical framework intrinsically offers an analytical approach, thereby merging theoretical exposition and

¹³⁰ Nicolas Rose, *Inventing ourselves. Psychology, Power, and personhood*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 29.

¹³¹ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 10-11.

¹³² Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 16.

¹³³ Michel Foucault, "Governmentality" in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller, (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 102-104.; Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*, ed. by Michel Senellart. (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2007), 108.

¹³⁴ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (London: Sage Publications: London, 1999) 19.

methodological strategy into a single analytical framework.¹³⁵ Consequently, the theory of governmentality provides a methodological strategy focused on uncovering the construction of truths and their related practices.¹³⁶ In the following section, I outline the analytical framework that underpins this dissertation, drawing mainly on Mitchell Dean's conceptualisation of governmentality theory. Thus, this section serves a triple purpose: it presents the theoretical foundation, delineates the subsequent analytical strategy, and pinpoints key analytical concepts.

Problematisation and rationalities

From a Foucauldian perspective, the truth about human nature, behaviours, and capacities is neither universal nor ontologically stable; instead, it consists of socially constructed bodies of knowledge that emerge within specific power dynamics.¹³⁷ Claiming the truth is thus intimately linked to knowledge production and the exercise of power, with different "truths" about human life manifesting in various rationalities – in this specific case, regarding what constitutes human health. Constructing these rationalities involves identifying problems that require intervention, a process defined as problematisation.¹³⁸ Problematisation plays an essential role when analysing rationalities as it refers to the process by which specific issues or behaviours become identified and defined as problems requiring intervention or management. Problematisation involves defining the nature of the problem, identifying causes and consequences, and defining solutions and interventions. In other words, once an area of concern is formed, the issue is actively constructed through discourse, knowledge production, and framing.¹³⁹

By constructing an issue as a problem, governmentality thereby creates the rationale for intervention. As an example, to produce knowledge of health is thus not simply a matter of uncovering the ontological truth about the body's physiology or defining health as well-being or the absence of disease. When human health becomes the object of knowledge production, the process of describing, explaining, and insisting on how human health

¹³⁵ Niels Åkerstrøm Andersen, *Discursive analytical strategies. Understanding Foucault, Kosselleck, Laclau, Luhmann*. (Oxford: The Policy Press, 2003) the introduction.

¹³⁶ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (London: Sage Publications: 1999), 17-18.

¹³⁷ See Nikolas Rose, *Inventing our selves: Psychology, power, and personhood*. (Cambridge University Press, 1996); Ian Hacking, *Historical Ontology* (Cambridge, Mass: Howard University Press 2002), chapter six; Barbara Cruikshank, *The will to empower: Democratic citizens and other subjects* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), introduction chapter and chapter 4; Michel Foucault: "Nietzsche, genealogien, historien (1971) in *Diskursernes kamp: Texter I urval* (Stockholm: Symposion 2008).

¹³⁸ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (London: Sage Publications: 1999), 10-11; Nikolas Rose, *Inventing ourselves: Psychology, power, and personhood*. (Cambridge University Press, 1996) 25-26.

¹³⁹ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (Sage Publications: London, 1999) 9-12.

functions implicitly involves constituting the individual as a specific kind of human being with pertaining characteristics that work according to particular laws. As Mitchell Dean argues, these constructs are precisely what rationalities entail: deliberate attempts to shape conduct through guidance and self-guidance. This process of problematisation and knowledge production is closely related to the construction of normative judgement about what constitutes right and wrong conduct. Consequently, rationalities are not only descriptive but also prescriptive, outlining correct and incorrect behaviours.¹⁴⁰

This perspective aligns with research that recognises the infusion of moral and ethical considerations into medical advancements, often derived from areas recognised as distinct from medicine. Ethnologist Signe Mellemegaard has argued that health concepts frequently integrate moral views on what constitutes the good individual, life, and society. She further posits that health education often implicitly supports broader objectives than mere physical health maintenance, instead seeking to instil a new societal order.¹⁴¹ Similarly, philosopher Bert Gordijn notes that utopian thinking frequently materialises in medical aspirations by suggesting that medicine can enhance and realise human potential through therapeutic strategies, aiming not only to understand disease aetiology or alleviate pain but also to master and actualise the human body and nature through medical intervention.¹⁴²

Considering that the Halle Pietists explicitly articulated Die Franckeschen Anstalten as a place aimed at world change through human improvement, the points of Mellemegaard and Gordijn that medicine is not just a neutral science of healing but also encompasses moral, ethical, and utopian ideals are especially relevant here. Mellemegaard's and Gordijn's insights highlight the role of health education and medicine in shaping specific kinds of individuals while pursuing broader societal visions grounded in particular morals and ethics.

Philosopher Uffe Juul Jensen has defined health concepts in a way closely aligned with governmentality, positing that such concepts identify the conditions that determine or promote health. According to Juul Jensen, health concepts are essential elements within structured or institutionalised practices of health, as they pinpoint the means to achieve health and outline strategies for performing healthily. Thus, health concepts articulate distinct, exemplary models.¹⁴³ Building on the premise that the content of these concepts evolves over time, Juul Jensen's definition is apt for historical analysis. Its open-ended nature allows for analysing the intersection of religious and physical problematisation of health.

Consequently, my analysis focuses on how authority figures in Halle Pietism constructed health as a problem needing intervention and governing, and how they, through such problematisation, outlined exemplary models for the practice of health. Drawing on these

¹⁴⁰ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (Sage Publications: London, 1999) 11-12.

¹⁴¹ Signe Mellemegaard, *Kroppens natur. Sundhedsoplysning og naturidealer i 250 år*. (Århus: Museum Tusculanum, 1998), 13, 317-318.

¹⁴² Bert Gordijn, *Medical Utopias. Ethical Reflections about Emerging Medical Technologies* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 7 – 55.

¹⁴³ Uffe Juul Jensen, „Sundhed, liv, filosofi” in *Sundhedsbegreber – filosofi og praksis*. ed. Uffe Juul Jensen & Peter Fuur Andersen (København: Forlaget Philosophia 1994).

theoretical premises that health education and medicine can entail morals and utopian ideas on attaining the ideal individual and society, I explore how the Pietists problematised health as a pivotal element of governing when shaping true Christians and the pious society. The ambition is not to write a conceptual history of health, but rather to explore how the Pietists problematised health within theology, medicine, and pedagogy in this specific historical context.

Practice and technologies

In addition to problematisation, practice and technologies are significant in governmentality analysis. The theoretical premise is that rationalities inform how an issue is supposed to be governed through specific practices and technologies. Dean defines practices as coherent sets of ways of going about doing things. Practices are more or less organised ways of doing things at any given time and place.¹⁴⁴ Foucault has concretised practices as ways to cure, administer, counsel, care, punish, educate, etc.¹⁴⁵ Both Dean's definition and Foucault's examples can manifest in less coherent ways of doing things, but one can speak of regimes of practices, which refer to institutionalised practices understood as routinised and ritualised ways of doing things at specific places and times.¹⁴⁶

Within this framework, technologies are understood as the various tools, techniques, and mechanisms employed to implement and enforce the practices and rationalities that arise from problematisation. In this sense, technologies are not limited to physical instruments but also include discursive, institutional, and administrative mechanisms that facilitate the management and regulation of daily life, in this case, the pupils. Technologies serve as the means through which power is operationalised, translating abstract rationalities into concrete, lived practices.¹⁴⁷ They do not merely support governance but actively produce and reinforce specific modes of subjectivity. Modern examples of health technologies – such as medical diagnostics, statistical monitoring, public health campaigns, BMI measurement, or digital health tracking on different devices – illustrate how individuals are guided to conform to prevailing health rationalities. Technologies, therefore, are central to the process of governmentality, as they provide the material and procedural basis for the implementation of rationalities and governance of individuals and populations.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (London: Sage Publications: London, 1999) 21.

¹⁴⁵ Michel Foucault, "Question of method" in *The Foucault Effect. Studies in Governmentality*. ed. G Burchell, C Gordon and P. Miller, (London: Harvester, 1999).

¹⁴⁶ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 21.

¹⁴⁷ Nicolas Rose, *Inventing our Selves. Psychology, Power, and Personhood*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1998), 26-27.

¹⁴⁸ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 31.

My analysis will focus on how health rationalities were operationalised and sought to be implemented through different technologies aimed at shaping the health of the pupils and staff within the institutions. As such, the study analyses the abstract theological and medical rationalities and their material and procedural application. This approach enables an exploration of how governance was enacted on the individual level, influencing pupils' bodily routines, hygiene practices, dietetic regimens, and moral self-discipline. This means that I will also examine whether these health-related practices became regimes of practices by being formalised into routines throughout the period under study.

Resistance and internalisation of truth

The notion of governmentality as the attempt to guide the behaviour of others or oneself towards a specific ideal presupposes the fundamental liberty of those being governed, embodied in the capacities for action and thought. Foucault's theories elucidate the interplay between power and resistance, positing that where there is power, there is resistance. Consequently, attempts at governance are closely linked to the possibility of resistance among those being governed. This suggests that governance is never total or absolute; instead, it engenders spaces for resistance and the potential for subjects to act against the imposed norms and expectations.¹⁴⁹

This dialectical relationship is particularly salient in educational settings, where institutions serve not only as sites of knowledge transmission and disciplinary practices but also as arenas for contestation, negotiation, and resistance by those subjected to their power.¹⁵⁰

Furthermore, internalisation plays a critical role in this framework. As individuals internalise the norms, values, and rationalities imposed by governing authorities, they simultaneously engage in self-regulation and self-discipline. However, internalisation is not a passive process; it involves an active engagement with the governing norms, where individuals may adopt, modify, or resist these norms to varying degrees. Thus, internalisation exemplifies the internalisation of norms and values and another side of potential resistance, as individuals may reinterpret or challenge the ideals they are expected to embody.¹⁵¹

Focusing on resistance and internalisation of governing strategies among the involved individuals in the everyday practices at the institution provides a more nuanced understanding of the power dynamics within the educational setting, recognising that subjects of governance are not merely passive recipients of knowledge and discipline but

¹⁴⁹ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (London: Sage Publications, 1999) 11-15.

¹⁵⁰ Jan Wright, "Biopower, Biopedagogics and the Obesity Epidemic" in *Biopolitics and the "Obesity Epidemic"*. *Governing Bodies*. ed. Jan Wright & Valerie Harwood (New York: Routledge, 2009), 8.

¹⁵¹ Michel Foucault, "Technologies of the Self" in. *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*. ed. Luther H Martin, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).

active agents capable of negotiating, contesting, and transforming the conditions of their subjection. The perspective illuminates the agency of individuals within the educational process, highlighting how they might resist, reinterpret, or repurpose the intended pedagogical objectives.¹⁵² Thus, the analysis of how health was governed in this specific historical context entails an exploration of the dynamics of resistance, negotiation, and internalisation of rationalities and practices among the subjects being governed.

Pastoral power and biopower

Within a Foucauldian framework, governance of health has been inextricably linked to Foucault's articulation of the emergence of biopower and biopolitics, which emerged as new forms of power in the 18th century.¹⁵³ Similar to the concept of governmentality, it is essential to recognise that the terms pastoral power and biopower can denote both theoretical constructs and historical (and contemporary) forms of power.

Theoretically, pastoral power and biopower represent distinct modes of governmentality, each with its own focus and mechanisms of control, which manifest in different forms of problematisations, rationalities, technologies, and practices.¹⁵⁴

Pastoral power problematises the soul's salvation (or the well-being of the mind), framing issues of morality and spiritual salvation as central concerns. Pastoral power guides individuals towards salvation through oversight, guidance, and care. This form of power operates through practices such as confession, spiritual direction, and the cultivation of ethical behaviour, all aimed at nurturing the individual's inner life and securing their place within the community.¹⁵⁵

On the other hand, biopower is a form of governmentality that problematises the physical organism of the body – the biological features, hence the prefix bio – as an object of governance. It aims at the regulation and optimisation of life processes of the body, including health, reproduction, and longevity, both of the individual body and across the population as a whole. Biopower operates through medical, scientific, and bureaucratic

¹⁵² Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*. (London: Sage Publications, 1999)11-15.

¹⁵³ Valerie Harwood "Theorizing Biopedagogics" in *Biopolitics and the "Obesity Epidemic"* ed. Jan Wright and Valerie Harwood, (New York: Routledge, 2009), 15.

¹⁵⁴ For a discussion of biopower and governmentality see Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-78* ed. by Michel Senellart. (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) for an extended discussion on Christian Pastoral Power and governmentality particularly chapter seven but the theme is developed throughout the whole book, and Michel Foucault, *Biopolitikkens fødsel. Forelæsninger på Collège de France 1978-1979* (Viborg: Hans Reitzels Forlag 2009).

¹⁵⁵ Michel Foucault 1979: Omnes et singulatim: Toward a Criticism of "Political Reason" *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values* Delivered at Stanford University, October 10 and 16, 1979: 230, 237-238; Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-78* ed. by Michel Senellart. (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 94-97, 125 - 127.

institutions that manage bodies and populations by normalising health practices, administering public health measures, and controlling biological risks.¹⁵⁶

Pastoral power and biopower are conceptualised as distinct, with the former governing the spiritual and the latter the corporeal, but in this dissertation, I will pose them as not mutually exclusive. This is crucial since health governance in the 18th century has become intrinsically linked to the emergence of secular biopower. Historical analysis of biopower's rise has often posited the 18th century as characterised by the increased dominion of a medical gaze over the body replacing a religious gaze over the soul. This interpretation is primarily informed by the medicalisation thesis, developed by Foucault and further elaborated by scholars such as Thomas Szasz, Ronald David Laing, Irving Goffman, and Ivan Illich.¹⁵⁷ In *The Birth of Social Medicine* (1974), Foucault provided a historical analysis of the evolution of medicalisation and biopower. Here, Foucault pinpointed the 18th century as a pivotal era in which human existence began to be enmeshed in a comprehensive network of medicalisation. Medicalisation described a transition in which various conditions and behaviours from the realms of legal, political, or religious governance began to be understood and managed as medical issues characterised by medical diagnosis and intervention.¹⁵⁸

The medicalisation theory and its association with the rise of secular modes of power, like biopower and biopolitics, has significantly influenced interpretations of the 18th century's health governance, framing the increased focus on dietetics and health as a reflection of secular medical rationality not coherent with a religious one. In research on health in the 18th century, this historical shift has often been articulated as a linear development, where religious interpretations of life were replaced by medical interpretations.¹⁵⁹ The theoretical concept of medicalisation thus offered scholars a critical lens through which to examine secularisation through analysis of the reinterpretation of human behaviour and the human body into domains primarily governed by medical frameworks.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 139; Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–76*, ed. Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana, trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003), 242; Valerie Harwood, "Theorizing Biopedagogics," in *Biopolitics and the 'Obesity Epidemic': Governing Bodies*, ed. Jan Wright and Valerie Harwood (New York: Routledge, 2009), 17.

¹⁵⁷ Robert A. Nye, "The Evolution of the Concept of Medicalization in the late Twentieth Century in *Journal of History of the Behavioural Sciences*, Vol. 39 (2), 115–129 Spring 2003.

¹⁵⁸ Michel Foucault, "The birth of social medicine," in J. Faubion (ed.), *The essential works of Michel Foucault, Power*, Vol. 3 (pp134–156) (New York: The New Press, 2000), 135; Michel Foucault, "Governmentality" in G. Burchell, C. Gordon & P. Miller (eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (pp 84–104). (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 100; Peter Conrad and Joseph W. Schneider 1992: *Deviance and medicalization: From badness to sickness*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992) Hvorhen?

¹⁵⁹ See the literature review of large-scale governing of health in the 18th century.

¹⁶⁰ Robert A. Nye, "The Evolution of the Concept of Medicalization in the Late Twentieth Century," *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences* 39, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 115–129.

However, this view implies a clear theoretical division between religious and medical gazes, where religious perspectives are seen as focusing solely on spiritual and eschatological aspects of life, while medical perspectives are concerned with physical health and the optimisation of the body's physical organism. As argued in the literature review, this perspective tends to overlook the potential interplay and overlap between the religious and medical governance of health, making the analysis of such an intersection difficult.

Though Foucault contributed to the development of the medicalisation thesis, he also argued that the rise of medical and scientific institutions was not simply a result of the decline of religious authority. Instead, he suggested that the increased dominance of these fields was part of a broader transition in societal structures and epistemes that reconfigured how power and knowledge were organised.¹⁶¹ In many of his works, he underscored the complexity of the development of new forms of power by distinctly demonstrating how Christian power practices, particularly those related to confession, penance, and guidance, have shaped modern techniques of power and knowledge.¹⁶²

In his work, *The History of Sexuality* (1976, 1978, 1984, 2018), Foucault discussed how Christian practices of confession and examination of conscience were adapted into secular practices of self-surveillance and self-governance, which Foucault posed are crucial to understanding the modern concept of the “care of the self”.¹⁶³ He links these practices to the development of modern human sciences, particularly psychology and psychiatry, which also focus on normalising and regulating individuals' behaviour.¹⁶⁴ In the series of lectures published in *Security, Territory, Population* (1978) and *The Birth of Biopolitics* (1978-79), Foucault further explored the concept of pastoral power, tracing its origin to early Christian practices of guiding and governing individuals for their spiritual well-being, ultimately aiming at the salvation of the soul. In these works, he argued that these religious techniques of governance evolved and became secularised over time, significantly influencing modern forms of power. In particular, Foucault highlights how pastoral power was integrated into state governance practices, ultimately contributing to the development of biopolitics concerned with the biological features of life and strongly linked to improving the

¹⁶¹ For Foucault's analysis of the transformation of medicine, see Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinique* (London: Routledge, 1973).

¹⁶² For a description of Christian power techniques Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*. Ed. by Michel Senellart. (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2007), 153.

¹⁶³ Michel Foucault, *The Confessions of the Flesh. History of Sexuality, Volume 4*. Ed. by Frédéric Gros, (New York: Pantheon Books, 2021).

¹⁶⁴ Michel Foucault, *Viljen til viden. Seksualitetens historie 1*. (Danmark: Det lille forlag 2019), 124-138; Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*. ed. by Michel Senellart. (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2007), 148; See also H.L. Dreyfuss and P. Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1983), 137.

population's health and creating health-promoting environments.¹⁶⁵ Thus, Foucault points towards an interconnection between pastoral power and biopower, and by acknowledging the Christian influence of the development of modern ways of governance and knowledge production, Foucault underscored the continuity between religious and secular practice rather than suggesting a clear break between them.¹⁶⁶ Foucault's arguments suggest that the boundaries between pastoral and biopower might be more fluid in this particular historical context than perceived within research on governing health in the 18th century.

However, Foucault's work is suggestive rather than explicitly argumentative on this point, and particularly, his tendency towards a somewhat monolithic portrait of the Christian church as defined by the power techniques of confession and penance has been criticised for being rigid.¹⁶⁷ Despite Foucault acknowledging the Reformation as a pivotal reorganisation of pastoral power,¹⁶⁸ the main criticism of Foucault's notion of pastoral power has been that he mainly associated it with techniques such as confession and truth-telling within a primarily Catholic context. Scholars like Frederik Thue and Jouni Tilly have pointed to the distinctiveness of Lutheran pastoral practices and extended Foucault's analysis, elucidating the transformation of the Lutheran minister's role from confessor to preacher and teacher.¹⁶⁹ This shift, emphasising education and collective instruction, mirrors the pedagogical aims of Die Franckeschen Anstalten and represents a significant evolution of pastoral power within a Lutheran framework. This is also emphasised by Tanja Täubner, who has argued that the pedagogical emphasis on spiritual guidance towards becoming a true Christian within the institutions is an example of how pastoral care transformed into a pedagogical strategy.¹⁷⁰ This perspective reinforces the idea that

¹⁶⁵ For taking this perspective into the 20th century, see Jan Wright and Valerie Harwood ed., *Biopolitics and the "Obesity Epidemic. Governing bodies*. (London: Routledge, 2009) and Mads Peter Karlsen and Kasper Villadsen ed., *Sundhed og magt. Perspektiver på biopolitik og ledelsesteknologi*. (Latvia: Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2017).

¹⁶⁶ Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*. ed. by Michel Senellart. (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2007), 108.

¹⁶⁷ Jeremy Carrette, *Foucault and Religion: Spiritual Corporality and Political Spirituality*. (London: Routledge, 2000), 28, 38-39; Stuart Elden, "The Problem of Confession; The Productive Failure of Foucault's History of Sexuality". *Journal for Cultural Research* 9, no 1, 2005: 23-41; Michel Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the Collège de France 1981-1982*. ed. Frédéric Gros, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

¹⁶⁸ Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France 1977-78* ed. by Michel Senellart. (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 149-150.

¹⁶⁹ Jouni Tilly, "Preaching as master's discourse. A Foucauldian interpretation of Lutheran pastoral power" *Critical Research on Religion* Vol. 7 (2) 113-129., 2019.; Fredrik W. Thue, "Preaching and teaching. The religious origins of Nordic teacher cultures", in in *Schoolteachers and the Nordic Model. Comparative and Historical Perspectives* eds. Jesper Eckhard Larsen, Barbera Schulte, Fredrik W. Thue, (London and New York: Routledge, 2022)

¹⁷⁰ Tanja Täubner, "Zum andern soltu meditim" *Die Meditationspraktiken in der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes*. (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2012)

Christian institutions, like Die Franckeschen Anstalten, through the mechanism of pastoral power, were engaged in the reformulation of governance.¹⁷¹

Whereas the above discussion of pastoral power and biopower in large part touches upon how Foucault and other scholars have understood the specific historical development of power, this discussion is essential as it invites a re-examination of the relationship between pastoral power's concern for the soul and biopower's concern with physical health.

Instead of linking governance of health exclusively to biopower and medicalisation, I will explore how the pastoral care for the soul and the medical care for the body intersected and overlapped, particularly in the area of health, where the care of the body may also involve consideration of the soul, and vice versa. I will focus on how health was problematised as a pastoral problem or a problem of bios – meaning a problem related to the bodily organism – or potentially as both. Specifically, I will use the concept of pastoral to describe how power was directed at the soul and the concept of bios when examining how power is directed at the physical body or organism.

By examining the intersections and overlaps between these two objects for governing – the soul and the body's organism – I seek to explore a possible reinterpretation of the conventional dichotomy that separates power aimed at the soul and the physical features of the body, respectively. Theoretically, in line with Dean, I understand pastoral and biopower as governmentalities that work through problematisation, outlining rationalities and areas for intervention and governing. Maintaining a distinction between the pastoral and bios allows for an examination of how spiritual and physical aspects of health were rationalised. Through this lens, I will explore how the pastoral care for the soul and the care for the physical body, here conceptualised as care for the bios, were more closely intertwined than suggested by the medicalisation theory, influencing and shaping each other in ways that are potentially overlooked in the understanding of medicalisation in the 18th century.

Additionally, I will examine how this interplay potentially influenced pedagogical approaches, steering them towards a focus on controlling the body's physiological features, leading to what might be termed a biopedagogical approach. The term biopedagogics synthesises Foucault's notion of biopower and biopolitics, emphasising the governance of individuals and populations through educational interventions focused on body and health. Although the term has not been widely adopted within historical studies, contemporary sociological analysis employs it to elucidate the body as a politicised space for educational intervention. Valerie Harwood delineates biopedagogy as the art and practice of teaching "life" or bios, reflecting the dual focus of biopower on shaping of the body's physiology at both the individual and the collective level.¹⁷² The concept of biopedagogy thus captures the normalising and regulatory practices within the educational setting aimed at enhancing

¹⁷¹ Michael Dillon, "Politics of Truth and Pious Economies" in *The Biopolitics of Development. Reading Michel Foucault in the Postcolonial Present*. ed. Sandro Mezzadra et al., (New Delhi: Springer, 2013), 165-166, 175-176.

¹⁷² Valerie Harwood, "Theorizing Biopedagogics" in *Biopolitics and the "Obesity Epidemic". Governing Bodies* eds. Jan Wright & Valerie Harwood, (New York: Routledge, 2009), 21.

students' physical health.¹⁷³ Harwood thus underscores how the body's organism becomes imbued with meaning constructed within pedagogical sites and positions biopedagogy as those disciplinary and regulatory strategies that facilitate the governing of bodies in the name of health and life.¹⁷⁴

Within this framework, educational sites are viewed as powerful agents endowed with the power to produce knowledge about the healthy body, to teach and engage learners in processes of meaning-making by establishing practices that are intended to make sense of the world, their own self-understanding, and thereby influence how they act upon themselves and others.¹⁷⁵ In the case of Die Franckeschen Anstalten, the entire institutional complex, including the University of Halle, hospital, dining room, boarding homes, outdoor spaces, and classrooms, constituted a comprehensive pedagogical setting with the power to produce knowledge of health and practices aimed at governing it. However, the explicit aim of educating true Christians necessitated the integration of pastoral power into this biopedagogical framework, giving rise to the concept of biopastoral pedagogy. Biopastoral pedagogy captures the simultaneous care for body and soul, underscoring the theological dimension integral to the institution's health practices. It can reveal how bodily care practices were aimed not only at physical health but also at spiritual improvement. The framework of biopastoral pedagogics thus aligns more closely with the historical context at Die Franckeschen Anstalten, highlighting the inseparability of spiritual, physical, and educational dimensions in shaping the true Christian body.

The analytical strategy is thus built around the key concepts of problematisation, practice, technology, implementation, resistance, and internalisation, along with the two central concepts of pastoral and bios. These concepts will guide the analysis and provide the tools to explore how the truth of the healthy Christian was constructed and governed within the specific historical context of Die Franckeschen Anstalten.

Essentially, the above theoretical outline means that my study focuses on how Pietist authority figures transformed health into an object of knowledge production and governance and how they constructed the truth of the healthy Christian through theological, medical, and pedagogical rationalities. I examine how these rationalities informed and justified specific technologies and practices aimed at governing and producing the healthy Christian within the everyday pedagogical setting with a focus on negotiation, resistance, and internalisation in this context.

¹⁷³ Jan Wright, "Biopower, Biopedagogics and the Obesity Epidemic" in *Biopolitics and the "Obesity Epidemic"*. *Governing Bodies*. eds. Jan Wright & Valerie Harwood, (New York: Routledge, 2009), 1.

¹⁷⁴ Jan Wright, "Biopower, Biopedagogics and the Obesity Epidemic" in *Biopolitics and the "Obesity Epidemic"*. *Governing Bodies*. eds. Jan Wright & Valerie Harwood, (New York: Routledge, 2009), 9.

¹⁷⁵ Jan Wright, "Biopower, Biopedagogics and the Obesity Epidemic" in *Biopolitics and the "Obesity Epidemic"*. *Governing Bodies*. eds. Jan Wright & Valerie Harwood, (New York: Routledge, 2009), 6-7.

Structure of the dissertation

The above outlined framework structures the dissertation into two empirical parts, respectively *Part I: Ordered Rationalities of Health*, which analyses the health rationalities of August Hermann Francke and the institutional physician Christian Friedrich Richter, and *Part II: Disordered Practices of Health*, analysing the practical reconstruction of these rationalities into pedagogical practices and technologies within the institution's daily routines throughout the period 1698-1759.

Part I deals with the question of how health was problematised as an object requiring governance. It delves into the conditions identified as determinants or promoters of health and identifies the underlying ideas about human nature that informed and shaped these rationalities of health. Additionally, it explores which technologies for governing health are prescribed by Francke and Richter and explores the potential issues that might arise if health were left unchecked. Essentially, Part I explores the description and prescription of the ideal model of health in theology and medicine.

Part I is composed of two chapters: Chapter 3 on the construction of health within Francke's theology, followed by Chapter 4 on the affiliated physician Christian Friedrich Richter's construction of dietetics. To analyse the intersection between theology and medicine, I compare the construction of health within each field. The comparison is primarily conducted in Chapter 4, focusing on a comparative analysis of the medical and theological constructs of health throughout the chapter.

Part II deals with the question of how these rationalities were implemented into day-to-day practices in the institutional context. It explores which technologies and practices were employed to achieve health among the pupils, focusing on how these were informed by the theological and medical problematisations of body and health. It further delves into how the mechanism of governing bodies and behaviours shaped the power dynamics within the institution, e.g., teacher-pupil relationship and pupil agency. This is explored by focusing on conflicts that arose when implementing health practices. Furthermore, when possible, this part also explores forms of internalisation, resistance, and negotiation that emerged from pupils or staff in response to imposed health practices and how these challenged the exercise of power.

Part II is composed of three chapters: Chapter 5 is a minor introduction and interpretations of the pedagogy at the institution. This is followed by two empirical chapters: Chapter 6 on physical exercise practice and Chapter 7 on different cleaning practices, food practices, and prevention of particular diseases. The analysis in Part II of how rationalities were translated into technologies and practices also calls for comparing the prescribed models within these rationalities and their implementation. This comparison is conducted throughout both chapters.

I admit that this structure of comparison, to some extent, creates a hierarchy in which theology is presumed to influence medicine and the rationalities of health to influence practice. I am therefore open during the analysis to consider whether some of these influences may also have operated in the other direction.

Selecting the sources

Part I - Ordered rationalities of health

Part I of this dissertation analyses the theological and medical rationalities of health as they were constructed in normative printed sources. These sources, which include sermons and treatises on pedagogics, the pious life, and dietetics, were authored by significant authority figures such as August Hermann Francke and the institutional physician Christian Friedrich Richter. Aligning with Foucault's theories of governmentality, which emphasise the role of authoritative figures in shaping governmentalities, these authors have been selected due to their status as leading authorities within Die Franckeschen Anstalten.

Theological sources

August Hermann Francke never wrote any text explicitly on the body or health. American body historian Ruth Marie Griffith's studies have provided a crucial lens for identifying texts that addressed the body and health in Francke's writings. Griffith posits that notions of the body were often contested within religious conflicts. She observes that Protestant reform movements in the 17th and 18th centuries diverged from officially sanctioned doctrines concerning corporeality – and were subsequently classified as heretical by church authorities.¹⁷⁶ As the German Pietists belonged to such confrontative groups, I started to look into material reflecting conflict to explore how Francke framed the body within such. During the years 1670 until early 1700, Francke was involved in several disputes with the local Lutheran churches in Leipzig, Erfurt, and Halle,¹⁷⁷ which led to multiple investigations from church authorities into Francke's activities and teachings.¹⁷⁸ Throughout these tumultuous years, Francke authored several defensive sermons and

¹⁷⁶ Ruth Marie Griffith, *Born again bodies. Flesh and Spirit in American Christianity*. (London: University of California Press, 2004), 25-27.

¹⁷⁷ Johannes Wallman, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 114-116; Markus Matthias, "Pietism and Protestant Orthodoxy" in *A companion to German Pietism* ed. Douglas H. Shantz, (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Douglas Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 98-117.

¹⁷⁸ Douglas Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 98-117.

booklets justifying his teachings and accusing his opponents of being false prophets who perpetuated a stagnant, worldly Christianity.¹⁷⁹

In these writings, the terms *Gesundheit* (health) and *Leib* (body) surfaced as significant constructs when defining true Christianity. The exploration of Francke's sermons, particularly during these conflict years and his tenure at the institution, has been instrumental in analysing the construction of health and body as a pastoral problem within the discourse of true Christian practice.

Finding and selecting the sources on bodily regimes and health as theological subjects has been a hermeneutical process that involved analysing sources and consulting the digital collection at Franckeschen Stiftungen, which contains more than 8,335 digitised units authored by August Hermann Francke.¹⁸⁰ During my analysis, I focused on how the concepts of *Gesundheit* and *Leib* were related to other concepts within these texts.¹⁸¹ When a concept emerged as defining, I followed this up by performing a keyword search into the collection to explore how such important concepts were constructed in other sources: were they consistently associated with body and health, or was their presence in the first case more coincidental? For instance, the concept of *Fleisch* (the flesh) surfaced as related to health and body in texts Francke discussed true Christianity. Consequently, I investigated the concept of the flesh further in the sources to understand its role within the discourse and to confirm the repeated connection between flesh and health. This led to the retrieval of several sermons. To elucidate Francke's perspective on governing the body, an examination of his compilation of writings delineating the principle of the pious life composed in the 1680s and 1690s has been imperative. These writings include *Schriftmäßige Lebensregeln* (1695), *Von Christen Vollkommenheit* (1695), *Was von dem weltüblichen Tanzen zu halten sei* (1698), and *Schriften zum Studium der Theologie*¹⁸² (1695). Additionally, I have employed Francke's pedagogical treatise *Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworffen* (1702, 1705).¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Erhard Peschke ed., *August Hermann Francke. Werke im Auswahl*. (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 1969), 350, 356; Aland Kurt und Erhard Peschke ed., *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* hrsg. Von Kurt Aland und Erhard Peschke, Abt. 2, Bd. 9 (1987) Predigten: *Der Fall und die Wiederaufrichtung der wahren Gerichtigkeit*; 35.

¹⁸⁰ <https://digital.franckehalle.de/fsfhttps://digital.franckehalle.de/nav/index?&facets=name%3D%22Francke%2C%20August%20Hermann%22>

¹⁸¹ Gesundheit, Tempel, Arztneyen, Kranckheit, Medicus, Essen, Arzt, Tantzen, Trinken, Leib, Fleisch, Körper, Gemüth, Leib, Natur, Motion, Bewegung. I have looked every hit up in the texts and read how it was used in relation to the context.

¹⁸² August Hermann Francke, *August Hermann Francke. WERKE IN AUSWAHL*. ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1969).

¹⁸³ Hermann Lorenzen, *August Hermann Francke Pädagogische Schriften*. (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1957).

Medical sources

The chapter on the rationality of health within dietetics draws on two key publications by the institution's main physician Christian Friedrich Richter, *Kurtzer und deutlicher Unterricht von dem Leibe und natürlichen Leben des Menschen* (1705)¹⁸⁴ and *Die höchstnötige Erkenntniß des Menschen, sonderlich nach dem Leibe und natürlichen Leben* (1715).¹⁸⁵ These are the books Francke endorsed in *Der grosse Aufsatz* as representative of a new and wonderful teaching on the body and health.¹⁸⁶ Although these works are nearly identical in content, the 1715 publication is an enhanced version of the 1705 book. These dietetical texts were not only disseminated inside the institutions but also widely circulated, with Richter's second book reaching its 18th edition by 1791.¹⁸⁷ Within the educational setting, these books were used as teaching resources.¹⁸⁸ Thus, Richter's books elucidate how the Pietists constructed health in the material used for teaching.

I analyse Richter's health rationalities in comparison with Francke's rationality to explore how theology and medicine intersected in the construction of health. While this analysis primarily examines the intersection of theological and medical rationalities, it also outlines the ideal models that both Richter and Francke delineate for how and why health needed cultivation. This examination serves as a foundational reference for the second part of the dissertation, where I explore how these rationalities were translated into pedagogical technologies and practices.

Selecting medical texts for the analysis of medical rationalities concerning health and body has been fairly straightforward, as Richter's treatises on dietetics were explicitly

¹⁸⁴ The full title of the books is: *Kurtzer und deutlichen Unterricht von dem Leibe und natürlichen Leben des Menschen: Woraus ein jeglicher/ auch Ungelehrter erkennen kann/ was die Gesundheit ist/ und wie sie zu erhalten: auch welches die Menschlichen Kranckheiten/ dene Ursachen und Kennzeichen sind/ und wie die von einem jeden zu verhüten/ oder auch bey Ermanglung eines Medici/ ohne Gefahr und mit gutem Success zu curiren: oder XIII. Der sichersten und besten Artzneyen/ zu einer kleinen/ auff alle gewöhnliche Kranckheiten eingerichteten Haus- Reise- und Feld – Apothecken/ mit gnugsamen Bericht von deren Eigenschaften und rechten Gebrauch.* Halle, gedruckt im Waysenhause 1705.

¹⁸⁵ The full title of the book is: *Die höchstnötige Erkenntniß des Menschen, sonderlich nach dem Leibe und natürlichen Leben, oder ein deutlicher Unterricht, von der Gesundheit und deren Erhaltung: auch von denen Ursachen, Kennzeichen und Nahmen der Kranckheiten, und bewährten Mitteln gegen dieselben, Damit ein jeder, auch Ungelehrter, bey Ermanglung eines Medici, sonderlich durch XI. sichere, hiezu hinlänglich erfundene, unßd zu einer bequemen Haus- Reise - und Feld – Apothecken seligirten diesses Tractats vermöge bißhieriger reichen Erfahrung, die gewöhnlichen, auch schweren Kranckheiten, sicher und mit gutem Succes curiren könne.* 1715.

¹⁸⁶ Jürgen Helm, " "Dass auch zugleich die Gottseligkeit dadurch gebauet wird" - Pietismus und Medizin in ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts" *Bereiche zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 26 (2003), 199-211.

¹⁸⁷ D. G. Kramer ed, *A. H. Franckes Pädagogische Schriften nebst der Darstellung seiner Lebens und seiner Stiftungen* (Langensalza: Verlag-Comptoir von Hermann Beyer, 1876), 409; footnote; Jürgen Helm, "Der Umgang mit dem kranken Menschen im Halleschen Pietismus des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts" *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, Bd. 31. H. ½ (1996), 73, note 26.

¹⁸⁸ Jürgen Helm, "Christian Friedrich Richters *Kurtzer und deutlicher Unterricht* (1705). Medizinische Programmschrift des Halleschen Pietismus?" in *Die Geburt einer sanften Medizin. Die Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle als Begegnungsstätte von Medizin und Pietismus im frühen 18. Jahrhundert* ed. Richard Toellner, (Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2004), 35-36.

focused on these themes. These texts provide clear insight into how the institutional physician articulated his understanding of health, diet, and bodily management, making them essential sources for a governmentality analysis.

It could be considered a limitation that I have not included the numerous publications on dietetics from Pietist physicians educated at University of Halle. These texts could offer perspectives on how religious and medical discourse intersected within the context of health and bodily governance. Despite the potential insight these sources might offer, they have been intentionally excluded from this study. The primary object here is not to delineate a broader Pietist discourse on health but to conduct a focused governmentality analysis of the governance of health within the pedagogical context of Die Franckeschen Anstalten. Therefore, I have specifically selected sources written by authority figures directly involved with establishing a pedagogical setting and thus directly affiliated with the institution. As the institutional physician, Richter was involved in the daily running of the institution, and he was a member of the leading conference, which held weekly sessions on how to administer the day-to-day problems within the institutional context. By narrowing the scope of research to texts produced within or directly associated with the institution, I seek to understand not only how these medical rationalities were articulated but also how they represented ideals that were transformed into practical pedagogical strategies that influenced the governance of the pupils' bodies and health. By limiting the sources to these institutional texts, I aim to trace the direct lines of influence between medical rationalities and the pedagogical practices that were designed to implement them, thus providing a clearer understanding of how medical and theological authorities collaborated to shape the conduct of individuals within this specific historical and social context.

These theological, pedagogical, and medical normative sources used in Part I offer insight into the authoritative voices of significant leading figures of the institutions and how they constructed rationalities around the concepts of *Gesundheit* and *Leib*. Analysing these core theological and medical perspectives allows for a foundational understanding of Pietist health rationalities among the institution's leaders.

Part II, Disordered practices of health

The second part primarily relies on handwritten documents sourced from the archive of Franckesche Stiftungen, which today exists as a museum, including a research centre and archive.¹⁸⁹ The archive covers the history of Die Franckeschen Anstalten from its founding at the end of the 17th century to recent history.

¹⁸⁹ <https://www.francke-halle.de/de/>

The conference protocol 1701-1759

The primary document utilised is the *Konferenzprotokolle der Verwaltung der Franckeschen Stiftungen*, 1701-1759.¹⁹⁰ This document contains minutes from weekly conferences conducted by the department heads called inspectors. Initially, August Hermann Francke attended the conference, but from 1705, his attendance at these meetings became infrequent. This collective possessed significant autonomy, and only when the conference failed to reach a consensus or when matters of considerable importance were under discussion did it refer the issue to Francke. In such cases, the conference secretary would outline various positions discussed during the meeting, and Francke would annotate his decision in the margin.¹⁹¹ After Francke's death, the institutions were run by his son-in-law Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen (1670-1739) and Francke's son Gotthilf August Francke (1696-1769), who maintained the same conference system but frequented the meetings regularly. Notably, the institutional physician Christian Friedrich Richter attended the conference from the outset. After Richter's death, Johann Juncker, the new institutional physician, was invited to participate in the conference, which he continued to do onwards. The involvement of the institutional physicians in the conference indicates their significant role within the institution's governance and decision-making processes. Their attendance at these meetings makes the protocol a relevant source when exploring how the physicians' perspectives were integral to the discussions concerning the operation of the institution.

Further, the conference protocol offers a unique opportunity to explore, almost 60 years, the daily operational issues that the leading college deemed crucial to discuss and resolve. This extensive chronological framework facilitates in-depth analysis of everyday problematisation of various issues and efforts to instil order. The protocol comprehensively addresses all facets of managing a large educational institution. My focus has been on entries that explicitly touched upon themes of the body, health, sin, washing, food, exercise, cleanliness, and the disciplining of the pupils, which provide deeper insights into the operational and regulatory challenges of bodily and health education within the institutions.

Regarding the regularity of the minutes, it is noteworthy that around the mid-1730s, there was a drastic fall in the frequency of the meetings minuted. In the first few decades, there were approximately three meetings minuted per week, but during the 1730s, there were months and even years with no entries. There is no explicit explanation for why the practice changed, but one entry says that the conference has been called off for several reasons that are not explicated.¹⁹² However, regarding the focus of this thesis, it is

¹⁹⁰ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1-4

¹⁹¹ Richard Gawthrop, *Pietism and the making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 79.

¹⁹² AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 3: 28 October 1737.

noteworthy that although the frequency of meetings decreases, the topic of physical exercise fills a significant part of the discussions in these meagre years.

Letters, complaints, regulations, notes

In the analysis, I also use the conference protocol as a critical point of reference when examining other sources, such as letters and complaints addressed to the principal director – whether Francke Senior or Junior – as well as more normative sources, such as regulations. While previous studies of everyday practices within the institutions have heavily relied on regulations and policies – often interpreting these as reflections of a very ordered milieu – the conference protocol, in tandem with other sources, allows for a more nuanced interpretation. It reveals that the pedagogical practices were often characterised by negotiations over practices deemed disordered rather than by strict adherence to established norms. By integrating my interpretation of regulations, letters, notes, and pedagogical guidebooks with the recurring issues documented in the conference protocol over time, I aim to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the governing practices within the institutions. These sources, all found in the holdings of the archive, help to paint a fuller picture of how the rational and normative framework was translated into – and sometimes challenged by – everyday practices.

Whereas the conference protocol was easy to select as a relevant source, finding other sources of relevance necessitated a comprehensive search into the archive. Access to the archive's holdings is facilitated through an inventory list, index cards, and an extensive database that allows for searches based on keywords, years, and names. During a three-month stay at the archive, I predominantly utilised the database through keyword searches in my selection of sources. Given the specificity of my research theme – the governing of health within the daily routines of the institution – it was not straightforward to locate pertinent sections of sources within the archive.¹⁹³ My objective to explore health as a pedagogical object of governing, and not just something located within the hospital, was met with certain reservations about the feasibility of finding such data. Still, the librarian and I decided to begin with the keyword search across all thematic subdivisions of the archive, subsequently building on these findings. Employing this method, I have uncovered various sources, including letters, minutes, regulations, and notes, which collectively contribute to a broader understanding of the institutional practices concerning health.

There are inherent limitations associated with sourcing material through this method that present themselves at two levels: the construction of the database and the question of

¹⁹³ The archive is subdivided into the following sections: 1) The Main Archive (AFSt/H). 2) Mission Archive (AFS/M). 3) Economy and Administration Archive (AFSt/W). 4) School Archive (AFSt/S). 5) Archive of Blueprints (AFSt/A). 6) Palm Leaf Archive (AFSt/P). 7) The Image Archive (AFSt/B). 8) Press Archive (AFSt/Z) 9) Estates and Deposits Archive (AFSt/N).

representation of the subject of health and body within the historical sources. The organisation of the database around specific keywords requires the consideration of whether the desired keyword, such as *diätetik*, exists as a searchable word. For instance, the database had no hits on dietethic/dietetic/diätetik, etc. However, I found several documents where the author used the term, but the source was not tagged with this specific keyword. To navigate this issue, I have conducted extensive keyword searches using the range of relevant concepts that emerge in my analysis of theological and medical health rationalities. Further, if a particular keyword was tagged to a document in the database, I explored the associated terms that the database creators have linked to the source of interest; this method enabled me to identify several pertinent keywords for further investigation, leading to relevant sources. However, this suggests that the organisational structure of the database may have precluded my ability to locate potentially relevant sources on health within the archive.

A second possible limitation concerns the explicit articulation of the theme of health in the sources. While formal treatises and sermons, like those by Francke and Richter, offer explicit argumentation, defining concepts and practices clearly, a significant portion of the sources utilised in Part II lack such direct explanations of the problems they address. Furthermore, these authors often presume a shared understanding with the receiver. This implicit approach may lead to the obfuscation of issues relevant to the present research, potentially resulting in the inadvertent exclusion of pertinent sources that articulate themes in unforeseen ways.

This further means that my interpretations of specific decisions and problematisations as being related to health issues rely on how health was articulated within Richter's and Francke's rationalities of body and health and how such subjects were articulated in other sources, such as the conference protocol.

In my analysis of the Pietists' handling of various types of problematisation within the everyday governing, I have accorded significant weight to letters from inspectors and preceptors (the teaching staff) directed specifically to Francke Senior and Junior. When an inspector chose to bypass the official protocols and wrote directly to the director, I read this as indicative of a conflict that could not be resolved within the inspectorate itself, suggesting that some perceived the issue as significant enough to warrant direct contact with Francke. Such direct inquiries have been crucial as they provide nuanced insight into conflicts concerning how to govern various issues, such as the children's physical activities, cleanliness, or food, themes that are also discussed in the conference protocol and reflected in regulations that are more formal and in directives.

A third limitation is the dominant voice of authority figures and their selection of what was rendered essential to be discussed at the conference or in other contexts, underscoring the filtered nature of the sources. The voices of the pupils or parents are mainly silent, but they occasionally surface, sometimes directly in letters but mostly in references to complaints from pupils on various issues. While governmentality studies highlight the crucial role of authority figures in shaping and implementing practices that align with their visions, resistance towards paid is an integral part of power dynamics within any governed organisation. Thus, I have paid particular attention to critiques and concerns articulated by

pupils and preceptors when these occasionally occur, as they provide insight into the reactions to the institutional norms imposed by the leading figures.

Chapter 2: Introducing the Historical Context

Religious conflict

The Hohenzollern dynasty's interest in the Halle Pietists must be understood in the context of the complex religious and political landscape within Brandenburg-Prussia at the end of the 17th century.¹⁹⁴ Far from the powerful absolutist kingdom it would later become in the 18th century, Brandenburg-Prussia was a fragmented collection of seven territories with various religious affiliations and tensions. These tensions between Lutheranism, Calvinism, and the emerging Pietism played a crucial role in shaping the region's political dynamics.¹⁹⁵

The Peace of Augsburg in 1555, intended to quell religious strife within the Holy Roman Empire, had enshrined the principle of "*cuius regio, eius religio*" – "whose rule, his religion". Yet, this principle was far from absolute. Although the Hohenzollern dynasty officially converted to Calvinism in 1613, they did not impose Calvinism on their subjects, especially considering the significant Lutheran population. The Lutheran estates were essential to Brandenburg-Prussia's economic stability, making it necessary for the Hohenzollern to navigate a delicate balance between the Calvinist rulers and a predominant Lutheran population.¹⁹⁶

During the reign (1640-1688) of Elector Frederick William I, tensions with the Lutheran estates escalated, driven by conflicts over finance, politics, and religion.¹⁹⁷ In an

¹⁹⁴ Benjamin Marschke 'Lutheran Jesuits': Halle Pietist Communication Networks at the Court of Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia." *The Covenant Quarterly* 65:4 (November 2006), 19.

¹⁹⁵ Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 79 – 81, 87; Richard Gawthrop, *Pietism and the making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1-2.

¹⁹⁶ Jürgen Luh, "Zur Konfessionspolitik der Kurfürsten von Brandenburg und Könige in Preußen 1640 bis 1740," in *Ablehnung—Duldung—Anerkennung: Toleranz in den Niederlanden und in Deutschland. Ein historischer und aktueller Vergleich*, ed. Horst Lademacher, Renate Loos, and Simon Groenveld (Münster: Waxmann, 2004), pp. 306–324; Rudolf von Thadden, *Die brandenburgisch-preussischen Hofprediger im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der absolutistischen Staatsgesellschaft in Brandenburg-Preussen* (Berlin: de Gruyter 1959); Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 86.

¹⁹⁷ Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 88.

effort to outmanoeuvre the Lutheran estates, Frederick William appointed Calvinist court preachers in royal residences and provincial capitals and filled key administrative positions with Calvinists, among whom there were many of the 40,000 Huguenots he had welcomed after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.¹⁹⁸

In this context, Frederick William's invitation of Phillip Jacob Spener to a position as provost of St. Nicolai Church in Berlin in 1691 reflected the Hohenzollern's ambition to use Pietism to strengthen their control.¹⁹⁹ Spener, a Lutheran but a key figure in the early Pietist movement, had already attracted attention with his reinterpretations of Christian practice, particularly through his influential work *Pia Desideria*.²⁰⁰ His prominence was reinforced by his position as superior court preacher at the electoral court of Saxony from 1685, the most prestigious and powerful position within Lutheranism in the Holy Roman Empire.²⁰¹ However, his open criticism of courtly depravity and sin weakened his position at court,²⁰² and his call for a living faith, conversion, and practical piety led to significant controversy with Orthodox Lutheranism.²⁰³

The foundational collaboration between Francke and Spener likely commenced around 1688.²⁰⁴ At this time, Francke, then a young theologian increasingly drawn to reformist theological perspectives, sought out Spener as his mentor. Francke had already initiated private Bible studies in Leipzig (Saxony), reflecting his growing alignment with the reform ideas presented in Spener's *Pia Desideria*.²⁰⁵ Alongside his lectures given in German rather than Latin, his emphasis on a living faith over theoretical knowledge and ideas of earthly

¹⁹⁸ Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 40-41; Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 88-92; Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 40.

¹⁹⁹ Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 106 – 107.

²⁰⁰ Martin Schmidt, „Der Beitrag der evangelischen Kirchengeschichte zum Aufstieg Berlins.“ *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 20 (1971), 80; Martin Kruse, „Preussen und der frühe Pietismus“ *Jahrbuch für Berlin-Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte* 53 (1981), 10.

²⁰¹ Martin Schmidt, „Der Beitrag der evangelischen Kirchengeschichte zum Aufstieg Berlins.“ *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 20 (1971), 78.

²⁰² Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 106 – 107.

²⁰³ Markus Matthias, „Pietism and Protestant Orthodoxy“ in *A Companion to German Pietism* ed. Douglas Schantz, (Leiden: Brill 2014), 24, 33. Johannes Wallmann, „Vorwort“ in *Philipp Jakob Spener, Briefe aus der Frankfurter Zeit 1666 – 1686*, vol. 1, 1666 -1674 ed. Johannes Wallmann (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1992), v; Martin Brecht, „Philipp Jakob Spener, sein Program und dessen Auswirkung“, in *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert* ed. Martin Brecht, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 371, 373.

²⁰⁴ Johannes Wallman, *Der Pietismus* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen, 2005), 114-116.

²⁰⁵ Karl Heinz Voigt Mühlen, „August Hermann Francke und die Anfänge des Halleschen Pietismus“ in. *Geschichte des Pietismus*, Vol. 1: *Der Pietismus vom Ursprung bis zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Martin Brecht, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

perfection had sparked Pietist awakenings among students and citizens. These activities in Leipzig and later Erfurt (Electorate of Mainz) provoked significant conflicts with the local Lutheran church, city, and university authorities.²⁰⁶ By 1691, Francke had been expelled from both cities,²⁰⁷ leading Spener to invite him to the Berliner court where the Hohenzollern's more tolerant policies allowed Francke to resume his work.²⁰⁸

In 1680, the Prussian Hohenzollerns had acquired the war-ravaged and economically weakened Duchy of Magdeburg, including Halle.²⁰⁹ This historically independent, Lutheran region, resistant to both central authority and Calvinism, became the site of Prussian efforts to establish dominance.²¹⁰ To this end, the Hohenzollern founded a university in Halle, the Friedrichs-Universität, in 1694, hoping to establish a leading Prussian university within the Holy Roman Empire.²¹¹

With Spener's help, Francke was appointed pastor in Glaucha in 1692, a suburb of Halle, and later he also took up a chair at the Friedrichs-Universität. His arrival in Halle marked the beginning of efforts to build a Pietist educational community. However, the initial phase of Francke's tenure was not without conflict. He had submitted a report to the church in Glaucha criticising the spiritual state of the congregation and refused communion to those he did not consider true Christians.²¹² His actions provoked accusation from the local Lutheran church in Halle that he was promoting an un-Lutheran notion of earthly perfection.²¹³ These tensions persisted until the early 18th century, when King Friedrich Wilhelm I's support for Die Franckeschen Anstalten ultimately diminished the Lutheran church's role in these disputes.²¹⁴

The relationship between the Pietists and the Hohenzollern court was, though not without challenges,²¹⁵ strategic on both sides. For the Hohenzollerns, supporting Spener's

²⁰⁶ Markus Matthias, "Pietism and Protestant Orthodoxy" in *A Companion to German Pietism* ed. Douglas Schantz, (Leiden: Brill 2014); Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 107 - 111.

²⁰⁷ Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 112.

²⁰⁸ Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013). 73-112.

²⁰⁹ Ernest F. Stoeffler, *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 41-42.

²¹⁰ Klaus Deppermann, "Die politischen Voraussetzungen für die Etablierung des Pietismus. In Brandenburg-Preußen." *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 12 (1986), 48.

²¹¹ Klaus Deppermann, "Die politischen Voraussetzungen für die Etablierung des Pietismus. In Brandenburg-Preußen." *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 12 (1986), 50.

²¹² Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 120-121.

²¹³ Kurt Aland (ed.), *Werke im Auswahl Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus*, Abt. 2, Bd. 9 (1987) August Hermann Francke Predigten ed. Erherd Peschke, 356.

²¹⁴ Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 111-117.

²¹⁵ Benjamin Marschke 'Lutheran Jesuits': Halle Pietist Communication Networks at the Court of Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia." *The Covenant Quarterly* 65:4 (November 2006)

and Francke's Pietist initiatives helped centralise control. For Francke, the support of the court proved the political protection, patronage, and commercial privileges necessary for his educational and religious reforms.²¹⁶ This collaboration ultimately laid the groundwork for the creation of Die Franckeschen Anstalten, which also came to contribute to the development of a new Prussian bureaucracy.²¹⁷

Die Franckeschen Anstalten

A few years after his appointment as minister in Glaucha, Francke established a school for impoverished children within his residence in 1695. This initial effort quickly expanded to include children from the burgher class who paid tuition.²¹⁸ This project received significant financial backing from Freiherr Georg Rudolf von Schweinitz of Magdeburg, whose generous donation enabled Francke to broaden the educational offering and attract more impoverished students with promises of financial assistance.²¹⁹ In 1698, a major contribution from Elector Frederick III/I facilitated the construction of the Orphanage building, later referred to as Die Franckeschen Anstalten. The same year, Francke was granted several privileges, including 10% of all fines collected within the principality of Halberstadt and the Duchy of Magdeburg, annual donations from regional churches, and a yearly house-to-house collection across the elector's lands. Additionally, Die Franckeschen Anstalten was exempt from paying taxes on purchases of essential goods, and granted rights to produce baked goods, beer, medicines, and to engage in printing and publishing activities.²²⁰

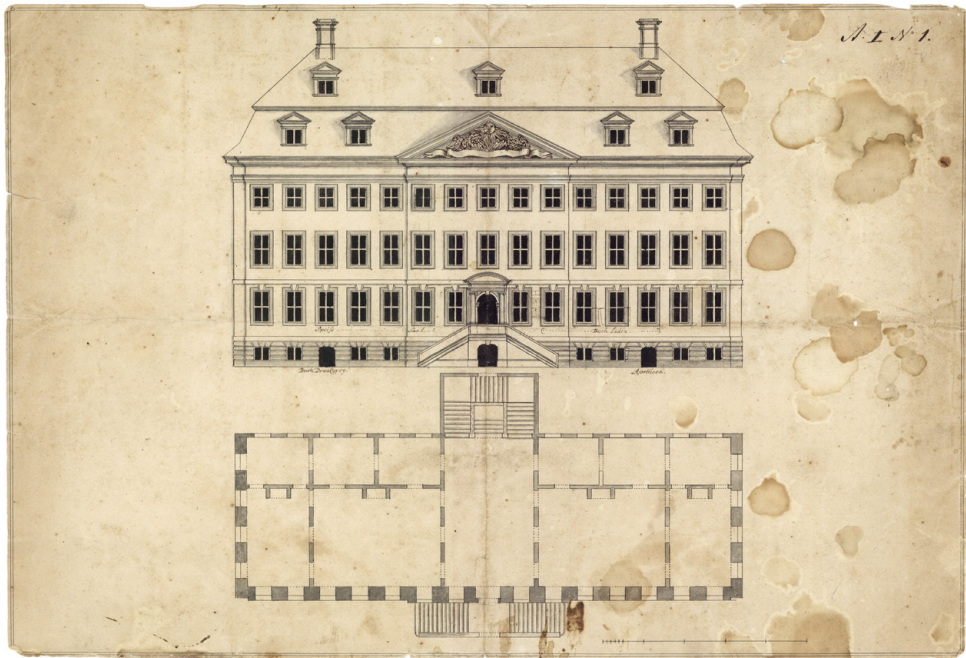
²¹⁶ Benjamin Marschke, "Pietism and Politics in Prussia and Beyond" in *A Companion to German Pietism* ed. Douglas Schantz (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 480-483; See also Hinrich 1963, 1971 and Depperman 1961 for a discussion on the alliance and how it developed over time.

²¹⁷ Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclectism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 9.

²¹⁸ Claus Veltman "'Und würde dann nicht ein solches Werk als eine Stadt, die auf dem Berge liegt, jedermann in die Augen fallen?'" Die Bau- und Entwicklungsgeschichte der Franckeschen Stiftungen bis 1750" in *Gebaute Utopien. Franckes Schulstadt in der Geschichte europäischer Städtenwürfe* ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Leipzig: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2010), 93.

²¹⁹ Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 124; Gustav Kramer, *August Hermann Francke: Ein Lebensbild* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1880) 169-170.

²²⁰ Ernst Bartz, *Die Wirtschaftsethik August Hermann Franckes* (University of California, 1934), 66-67; Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 126-127.



AFSt/ A 02/01/02 Elevation of the entire building and ground floor plan of the Historic Orphanage, 1700.²²¹

These privileges enabled the institution's leaders and their collaborators, including Count Carl Hildebrand von Canstein (1667-1719), to fund a printing house and *Die Cansteinsche Bibelanstalt*, a Bible society dedicated to producing and distributing affordable Bibles and devotional literature across Europe and North America. The institution also capitalised on its rights to produce medicine, manufacturing various balms, tinctures, and powders that were distributed widely, thereby generating significant income to sustain and expand its activities.²²²

At Die Franckeschen Anstalten, various stakeholders can be identified. August Hermann Francke was surrounded by a circle of collaborators who were central to realising and developing the project. Outside the institution, Carl Hildebrand von Canstein was closely

²²¹ AFSt/ A 02/01/02 Titel: Aufriss vom Gesamtgebäude und Grundriss vom Erdgeschoss des Historischen Waisenhauses.

²²² Ernst Bartz, *Die Wirtschaftsethik August Hermann Franckes* (University of California, 1934), 73-76: The sale of medical products generated a significant surplus. Notably, the renowned *Essentia Dulce*, a golden universal tincture, generated 9000 thalers per year between 1710 and 1720, rising to 11.500 thaler per year from 1720 to 1730, and further increasing to 20.500 thaler annually from 1730-1740. By 1761, its annual revenue had reached 36.000 thalers.

involved in the implementation of Francke's project.²²³ His financial contributions and active participation were instrumental in Die Franckeschen Anstalten's initial success and the institution's expansion.²²⁴

Within the educational setting, Francke was supported by the inspectors, who constituted a select administrative circle entrusted with daily oversight and management of the institution.²²⁵ They were predominantly theologians, committed Pietists, and handpicked for the positions.²²⁶ Their role was to administer various aspects of the institution, including the buildings, economy, the different schools, and health care. While Francke maintained overarching control of policy creation and enforcement, detailed aspects of planning and execution were delegated to the inspectors. In principle, these inspectors served as intermediaries who translated the pedagogical aims of education into concrete practice, essentially providing continuity, supervision, and practical guidance. A conference of these departmental leaders including the institutional physician was established to address issues of broader pedagogical and administrative significance.²²⁷ They met regularly, often 2-3 times a week, and frequently deliberated on matters related to health and behaviour, as evidenced in the meeting minutes.²²⁸ This early integration of medical expertise into the fabric of institutional decision-making underscores that such expertise was held at parity with theological and pedagogical knowledge within the administration of the institution.

The pupils constituted a diverse group, differentiated by class, gender, age, and origin, including orphans, town children, noble children, and foreigners, both boys and girls. Despite these distinctions, there was a degree of integration within the institution: for instance, intellectually gifted orphan boys could advance to the Latin School. While Die Franckeschen Anstalten is often associated primarily with the Orphanage, it is thus a misleading notion to understand it as primarily a school for orphans. It was not merely a charitable project for needy children but rather a comprehensive educational enterprise

²²³ Der Briefwechsel Carl Hildebrandt von Canstein mit August Hermann Francke in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus Abt. III: August Hermann Franckes Handschriftlicher Nachlass. Band I* ed. Kurt Aland, (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1972), Einleitung IX-XI.

²²⁴ "Der Briefwechsel Carl Hildebrandt von Canstein mit August Hermann Francke" in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus Abt. III: August Hermann Franckes Handschriftlicher Nachlass. Band I* ed. K. Aland, (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter: Berlin 1972), Einleitung IX-XI.

²²⁵ Heinz Welsch, "Die Franckeschen Stiftungen als wirtschaftliches Grossunternehmen: Untersucht auf Grund der Rechnungsbücher der Franckeschen Stiftungen." (Phil. Diss., U. Halle, 1956), 33.

²²⁶ Gustav Knuth, *A. H. Franckes Mitarbeiter an seinen Stiftungen. Ein Beitrag zur Jubelfeier des zweihundertjährigen Bestehens der Anstalten A. H. Franckes.* (Halle (Saale): Waisenhaus, 1898), 1-18.

²²⁷ Heinz Welsch, "Die Franckeschen Stiftungen als wirtschaftliches Grossunternehmen: Untersucht auf Grund der Rechnungsbücher der Franckeschen Stiftungen." (Phil. Diss., U. Halle, 1956), 33.

²²⁸ AFS/W V/-13, Band 1-4.

aimed at cultivating a Pietist elite.²²⁹ The historian Juliane Jacobi has demonstrated that the children at the Orphanage were a highly selected group, with only a small number coming from the local area of Glaucha.²³⁰

In contrast, the preceptors formed a more homogenous group. They were primarily poor university students who were granted free admission to the University of Halle in exchange for their teaching duties at the institution. This background sharply distinguished their ideological stance from the inspectors, who were firmly embedded within the leadership and committed to realising the overarching aim of shaping true Christians. For the preceptors, the primary motivation was often the opportunity to pursue higher education – a prospect that would otherwise have been inaccessible to them due to their social background. Although some preceptors did indeed identify with the institution's religious and educational mission, the sources clearly illustrate that, as a group, they frequently generated tension by resisting the theological norms that the leaders sought to implement.

While the institution was inspired by Calvinist Dutch orphanages, Die Franckeschen Anstalten differed significantly from these in its aim and structure. Unlike the Calvinist orphanages, which primarily focused on creating God-fearing workers, the Halle Pietists aimed to produce a leadership class equipped with a broad, scientifically grounded education.²³¹ These students were intended to assume influential roles in education, the church, government bureaucracies, and global missionary work catalysing societal and global transformation.²³²

This vision was reflected in the diverse range of schools within the institution and the comprehensive curriculum offered. After the erection of the Orphanage building, the institutions rapidly grew, and alongside the poor school, which provided free education for boys and girls in separate classes, the German school for boys and girls from the burgher class was established. The Latin school was designed for academically gifted boys – including orphans – preparing them for the university, while the Paedagogii Regii catered to the sons of the nobility. The curriculum offered included theology, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, botany, history, geography, geometry, writing, and arithmetic, which differed

²²⁹ Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 123; Juliane Jacobi, “*Man hatte von ihm gute Hoffnung*”: *Das Waisenalbum der Franckeschen Stiftungen 1695 – 1749* (Halle: Franckeschen Stiftungen im Niemeyer-Verlag Tübingen, 1998), see the introduction; Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 16.

²³⁰ Juliane Jacobi, “Pädagogische Avantgarde um 1700. Franckes Schulgründungen im Kontext ihrer Zeit.” in *Die Welt verändern. August Hermann Francke. Ein Lebenswerk um 1700*. eds. Holger Zaunstöck, Thomas Müller-Bahlke and Claus Veltmann, (Leipzig: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2013), 115-123.

²³¹ Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 123.

²³² Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 129; Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 86.

significantly from the traditional school education in the catechism, and most of these subjects were also taught in the Orphanage and the German school. Furthermore, all pupils, regardless of class or gender, participated in hands-on activities, such as producing glass lenses for astronomical purposes and woodturning.²³³ Pupils were trained in the use of various instruments, teaching them how to approach the world in a scientific manner, such as odometers, compasses, quadrants, pendulums, microscopes and altitude microscopes, barometers, and magnets.²³⁴ In 1702, the institutions further expanded their academic offering by establishing an Institute for Oriental Studies. This institute provided instruction in languages such as Chaldean, Syriac, Arabic, and the Ethiopian language, as well as rabbinic and Talmudic writings. When possible, additional languages such as Armenian, Persian, Chinese, Turkish, Greek, Polish, Slavonic, and Russian were also taught.²³⁵

If success is measured by publicity and the capability to attract pupils from all over Europe, Die Franckeschen Anstalten flourished in its first 30 years.²³⁶ From its beginnings in 1695, when Francke established a school in his own home for 12 pupils, enrolment rapidly grew. By 1704, the school had 665 pupils, including 120 orphans, and by 1706 this number had increased to 989, of which 122 were orphans.²³⁷ In 1711, the institution enrolled 1,333 pupils, including 133 orphan children, and 80 teachers. By comparison, the population in Glaucha consisted of about 500 people in 160 households around the time of the erection of the institution.²³⁸ By the time of Francke's death in 1727, enrolment had exceeded 2,200 pupils, and the institution was renowned throughout Europe as a city of schools dedicated to hard work and Christian seriousness accommodating boys, girls, and

²³³ Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 5.

²³⁴ Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 86.

²³⁵ Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 4.

²³⁶ Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 123.

²³⁷ Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 130; Udo Sträter, „Das Waisenhaus zu Glaucha vor Halle.“ in *Kinder, Krätze, Karitas. Waisenhäuser in der Frühen Neuzeit* ed. Claus Veltmann & Jochen Birkenmeier (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2009), 77-87.

²³⁸ Veronica Albrecht-Birkner, *Francke in Glaucha: Kehrseiten eines Klischees (1692 – 17054)*, (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2004) 11-12, 34; for a short introduction to Francke's years in Glaucha before Die Franckeschen Anstalten see Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 119-126.

pupils from all classes in society, including foreigners.²³⁹ To meet the demand for teachers, the *Freitisch* (free table) system was introduced, offering poor university students free meals and lodging in exchange for teaching in the institution. Additionally, a teaching seminar was established to improve the quality of instruction, thus introducing the first teacher education in the German-speaking world.²⁴⁰

To accommodate the rapidly growing number of enrolled students, the institution underwent significant expansion in the following years. Succeeding the initial construction phase in 1698, the Orphanage building was completed in 1701. It housed a bookstore, printing facilities, an apothecary, and medical laboratories on the ground floor, with classrooms and communal spaces above for dining, singing, and sleeping.²⁴¹ In the following years, the campus expanded significantly. Gardens were purchased, and new buildings constructed including the *Mädleinhaus* (girls' house) in 1709, the English house for English students shortly after, and in 1710-1711, a large dining hall capable of seating 400 people, with a prayer- and singing hall with room for 2,000 people.

The Paedagogii Regii building was built in 1711 along with a health care clinic for its students. Between 1713-1715, additional wings were added to house pupils from the Latin school, teachers, theology students, and inspectors overseeing the schools. Smaller "households" accommodating groups of 18-20 orphaned boys who lived with their teacher also resided here.²⁴² Further expansion included a new house for girls and an upgraded bakery in 1716-1717, a new hospital with bathing facilities in 1721 -1723,²⁴³ and a paper mill in 1725. The library building was added between 1726-1728.²⁴⁴

²³⁹ Renate Wilson, "Pietist Universal Reform and Care of the Sick and Poor. The Medical Institutions of the Francke Foundations and Their Social Context." in *Institutions of Confinement. Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500-1950* ed. Norbert Finzsch and Robert Jütte, (Washington D.C: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 152; Renate Wilson, *Pious Traders in Medicine. A German Pharmaceutical* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 18, 54.

²⁴⁰ Claus Veltman ""Und würde dann nicht ein solches Werk als eine Stadt, die auf dem Berge liegt, jedermann in die Auge fallen?" Die Bau- und Entwicklungsgeschichte der Franckeschen Stiftungen bis 1750" in *Gebaute Utopien. Franckes Schulstadt in der Geschichte europäischer Städtenwürfe* Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Leipzig: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2010), 93-94.

²⁴¹ Claus Veltman ""Und würde dann nicht ein solches Werk als eine Stadt, die auf dem Berge liegt, jedermann in die Auge fallen?" Die Bau- und Entwicklungsgeschichte der Franckeschen Stiftungen bis 1750" in *Gebaute Utopien. Franckes Schulstadt in der Geschichte europäischer Städtenwürfe* Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Leipzig: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2010), 93-97.

²⁴² Gustav Kramer, *August Hermann Francke: Ein Lebensbild* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1880), 507.

²⁴³ Holger Zaunstöck, „Medizin, Hygiene und Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert.“ in *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahrhundert.* ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021), 16.

²⁴⁴ Claus Veltman ""Und würde dann nicht ein solches Werk als eine Stadt, die auf dem Berge liegt, jedermann in die Auge fallen?" Die Bau- und Entwicklungsgeschichte der Franckeschen Stiftungen bis 1750" in *Gebaute Utopien. Franckes Schulstadt in der Geschichte europäischer Städtenwürfe* ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Leipzig: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2010), 98-99.

Studies have highlighted the institution's advanced sanitary infrastructure, which included a wooden water pipe bringing fresh water from a spring five kilometres away, facilities for washing clothes, personal hygiene amenities such as bathing and dental care, and latrines across the location.²⁴⁵ Within its first 25 years, the institution had become an almost self-sustaining community, complete with its own water and food supplies, multiple breweries, a hospital, an apothecary, and laboratories for producing medicine – features resembling those of a small, well-organised town.

Die Franckeschen Anstalten has been described as a Christian utopian vision, although Francke's vision of a "*Christianopolis*" was not the reflection of the ideal Christian society, but rather a model for how to educate individuals in Christian ideals. This mission was aimed at realising the utopian ideal of a Christian society by sending students into universal service and active participation in the transformation of society outside the institution.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ Thomas Grunewald, "Die Glauchische Anstalten als medizinische Gesamtopographi." in *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahrhundert*. ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021), 299.

²⁴⁶ Holger Zaunstöck, „Gestaltete Räume. Die Zukunft der Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit und Franckes Schulstadt.“ in *Gebaute Utopien. Franckes Schulstadt in der Geschichte europäischer Stadtentwürfe*. ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2010), 20.



AFSt/A Sd 0076, Die Franckeschen Anstalten in the year 1720, colored pen drawing. The plan shows part of the expansive garden complex as well as the production buildings and school buildings in the background.

It is also important to mention the significant focus on charity activities, medical development and medical care, of both those who lived inside the institution became a part of the activities aimed at people outside. One of the first educational clinics in Europe with a connection to the university was established. This was concretised in an infirmary and a *receptur* where medical and theological students were involved in the treatment of the local population, often poor and diseased, who received this care for free. This system for medical education made Halle an attractive place for studying medicine and resulted in the University of Halle being able to attract prominent professors in medicine like Georg Ernst Stahl and Friedrich Hoffmann (1660 – 1742).²⁴⁷

²⁴⁷ Renate Wilson, *Pious Traders in Medicine. A German Pharmaceutical* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 54.

Medical products were also manufactured at the location, and the Orphanage apothecary had a considerable export of medical products all over Europe and northern America.²⁴⁸ Further free drugs for 12,000 patients were produced yearly, distributed through systematically organised home care as part of the health care initiatives in the institutions. Through contact with poor patients in the hospital, the great popularity of the medical education at the university, and the publishing of literature for the layperson, the institutions had a considerable influence on people outside this specific pietistic environment.²⁴⁹

The full scope of Die Franckeschen Anstalten can be difficult to comprehend. Some scholars have called it “a powerhouse of the Pietist movement [...] a machine for the world-wide propagation of the distinct faith of the German Pietists”.²⁵⁰ The activities that reached out to the world – mission activities, export of medicine, close cooperation with the University of Halle, connections to courts and other pious groups and, not least, the number of students from all over Europe educated in Halle – positioned the institution not simply as an educational entity but as a centre for developing and disseminating practices with far-reaching societal applications. Although this study explores how health was managed within the pedagogical milieu of the institution, this complexity is important to have in mind, as it draws a picture of a place in which the will and power to change the world was strong. Therefore, comprehending why health gained significance within such an institution and the mechanisms through which this was practised is vital to understanding how health later became an object of societal governance.

²⁴⁸ Renate Wilson, “Pietist Universal Reform and Care of the Sick and Poor. The Medical Institutions of the Francke Foundations and Their Social Context.” in *Institutions of Confinement. Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500-1950* eds. Norbert Finzsch and Robert Jütte, (Washington D.C: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 152.

²⁴⁹ Renate Wilson, “Pietist Universal Reform and Care of the Sick and Poor. The Medical Institutions of the Francke Foundations and Their Social Context.” in *Institutions of Confinement. Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500-1950* eds. Norbert Finzsch and Robert Jütte, (Washington D.C: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 147-148: based on journals it can be documented that from 1730-1798 10.973 patients were hospitalised in the infirmary.

²⁵⁰ Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 118; Joke Spaans, “Early Modern Orphanages between Civic Pride and Social Discipline: Francke’s use of Dutch Models” in *Wayenhäuser in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Sträter Udo. Joseph Neumann, Renate Wilson, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2003), 183.

Part I:
Ordered Rationalities of Health

Chapter 3: The Problem of the Flesh

Introduction

At the dawn of the 18th century, God had allowed a light to shine at the University of Halle and Die Franckeschen Anstalten – not only in spiritual matters but, according to August Hermann Francke, in medicine which had provided a new knowledge of body and health that enabled people to treat their bodies as Christians. The issue at stake, Francke explained, was that physicians, in general, had ignored that:

“[...] they have solely adopted the teachings of medicine from the heathens, and remained with them, which could not bring about any other result than this: that the medics have sought to treat the sick as heathens, and the sick have allowed themselves to be treated like heathens, whereby the purpose of God has often been greatly hindered in the patients, because the doctors have led them away from God, focusing solely on certain material causes.”²⁵¹

Francke's construction of medicine and dietetics within the dichotomy of heathen and Christian approaches to bodily care exemplifies a distinct problematisation of medicine. Reflecting an underlying conception that medicine was not simply a set of treatments but encompassed broader moral and spiritual concerns regarding the body, Francke's statements can be interpreted as constructing Pietist dietetics as a governance technology that would shape how individuals related to their own bodies as Christians. While Galenic medicine, including dietetics, originated in ancient philosophy – and therefore in a heathen context – Francke's understanding of heathenism was not limited to historical origins or adherents of other religions. Throughout his writings, he applied the term heathen to anyone who failed to embrace the life of *praxis pietatis*, regardless of whether they identified

²⁵¹ „[...] weil sie die Lehre von der Medicin bloss von denen Heyden angenommen, und auch dabey blieben sind, welches denn auch keine andere Frucht bringen können als diese, dass die Medici die Krancken als Heyden zu curiren gesucht, und die Krancken wie Heyden sich curiren lassen wodurch den (!) öftters der Zweck Gottes an denen patienten sehr gehindert worden, weil sie die Ärzte von Gott ab, bloss auff gewisse materialische Ursachen geführt.“: August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz.* (1711) ed. Otto Podczek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 125-126.

as Christians.²⁵² Thus, Francke frequently equated heathens with individuals he regarded as false Christians – those who outwardly adhered to Christian forms but lacked true piety.

Francke's critique was therefore not primarily directed at physicians for relying upon ancient, non-Christian medical theories – Pietist physicians did so as well – but rather at their failure to reinterpret these teachings in accordance with divine law. In his view, this neglect led to an incomplete understanding of the body, disregarding its divine purpose. By treating patients solely as physical bodies, physicians perpetuated a heathen approach to medicine that ignored God's role in health and illness, failing to integrate faith into all aspects of life, including medicine.

Said differently, the contrast between heathen and Christian ways of treating the body was not only about differing medical philosophies but also part of a broader problematisation of bodily governance. Medicine was not just about healing but about cultivating a Christian self through specific technologies of health and dietetics, aligning bodily care with spiritual discipline and godliness, and thus situating dietetics within the broader struggle between authentic faith and superficial Christianity.

However, Francke continued, this problem of heathen ways of treating the body had been addressed. In Halle, medicine and dietetics were now not only in agreement with reason, in such a way that everyone could easily understand its benefits, dietetics also harmonised with the word of God and the rules of Christianity, fostered godliness alongside physical health, and taught the neglected truths that conventional physicians had overlooked.²⁵³ Or expressed in Foucauldian terms, medicine in Halle functioned as a technology of the self, teaching individuals the truth on how to govern their bodies in a Christian manner.

Francke's reflections on the superiority of this new medical approach were articulated in *Der grosse Aufsatz*, the publication referenced in the introduction to this dissertation, in which he outlined his vision for societal reform through education. However, within *Der grosse Aufsatz*, the precise implications of treating the body as either heathen or Christian remains vague. Francke primarily addressed medicine's failure to provide guidance on Christian bodily care, yet he did not elaborate on the specific ways in which dietetics and bodily practices in Halle aligned with Christian doctrines and principles.

This ambiguity invites further analysis of how body and health emerged as objects of pastoral concern within Francke's broader framework of Christian governance. Central to this analysis is how body and health were problematised as sites of intervention in Francke's own writings. What were the truths neglected by medicine? How were the body and matters of health and disease treated differently in a Christian versus a heathen way? What divine purpose was hindered by the heathen way of treating the body? How were body, health, and spiritual formation interconnected in this Christian rationality? This chapter explores

²⁵² See for instance August Hermann Francke (1701), *Lebensläufe* ed. Markus Matthias, (Leipzig: Evangelische Bibelanstalt GmbH, 1999), 8-9, 11-2, 14-15, 21, 23.

²⁵³ August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz.* (1711) ed. Otto Podczek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 125-126.

these questions with the objective of illuminating Francke's rationality of body and health: what it meant, in Francke's construction, to treat the body in a heathen versus a Christian manner, and further how this was tied to concepts of health, education, and societal reform.

In proceeding to explore Francke's problematisation of the human body and health, this chapter is structured as follows. After a brief introduction on how previous research has interpreted Francke's focus on medicine in *Der grosse Aufsatz*, including an overview of broader contemporary medical discussions, I turn to an analysis of Francke's construction of the Christian body and health. The first section analyses Francke's problematisation of the body, human nature, and true Christianity. I then turn to how Francke prescribed the technologies of bodily regimes, succeeded by an analysis of how this was related to ideas of human improvement. This is followed by an exploration of how Francke's rationality of the body was embedded with medical language and how he constructed health through Christian differentiation. Finally, the chapter discusses the Pietist body, godliness, dietetical categories, and health role models.

The soul and the body: rejecting Cartesian reductionism

Scholars who have explored Francke's framing of medicine and dietetics in Halle as being explicitly Christian have interpreted his statements as a Pietist reaction to contemporary philosophical discussions on the nature of the body.²⁵⁴ New medical theories of the body as a hydraulic machine circulating bodily fluids had gained currency since the 17th century. Although not secular in essence, these theories advanced a mechanical worldview in which God was conceived as having initiated the operation of a vast and intricate cosmic machine. Thereafter, the world – and consequently the human body within it – was understood to function autonomously according to mechanical principles.²⁵⁵

This shift implied that diseases were increasingly understood as failures in the body's mechanics, moving away from traditional Christian interpretations that viewed physical diseases as a manifestation of original sin, divine collective punishment, or messages through which God communicated with individuals.²⁵⁶ To the Pietists, the view of the body

²⁵⁴ Jürgen Helm, „Christian Friedrich Richters *Kurtzer und deutlicher Unterricht* (1705). Medizinische Programmschrift des Halleschen Pietismus?“ in *Die Geburt einer sanften Medizin. Die Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle als Begegnungstätte von Medizin und Pietismus im frühen 18. Jahrhundert* ed. Richard Toellner, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2004), 29, 32.

²⁵⁵ Antonio Clericuzio, “Mechanism and Chemical Medicine in Seventeenth Century England: Boyle's Investigation of Ferments and Fermentation,” Peter M. Distelzweig, “Mechanics' and Mechanism in William Harvey's *Anatomy: Varieties and Limits*,” and Domenico Bertoloni Meli, “Machines of the Body in the Seventeenth Century,” all in *Early Modern Medicine and Natural Philosophy*, eds. Peter Distelzweig, Benjamin Goldberg, Evan R. Ragland (Dordrecht: Springer, 2016); Ingo Wilhelm Müller, *Iatromechanische Theorie und ärztliche Praxis im Vergleich zur galenistischen Medizin: Friedrich Hoffmann, Pieter van Foreest, Jan van Heurne*, ed. Peter M. Distelzweig, Benjamin Goldberg, and Evan Ragland, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991).

²⁵⁶ Gary Ferngren, *Medicine & Health Care in early Christianity*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 141, 149.

as a machine was unacceptable since it excluded God's and the soul's influence on the bodily condition and reduced physical, mental, and spiritual phenomena to either epiphenomena or results of mechanical, physical processes.²⁵⁷ Francke's colleague, the philosopher and jurist Christian Thomasius (1655-1728), had expressed concerns about whether the Cartesian and mechanistic conception of the body would undermine the understanding of how affective forces and passions affected human existence when they were reduced to inert and lifeless processes by the mechanical worldview.²⁵⁸

While Francke shared these concerns about the ignorance of the influence of passions on human existence, his worries extended to the physical body itself and a more tangible connection between bodily actions and the soul. For instance, he argued that food intake not only influenced the body but also had spiritual implications. In his *Schriftmäßige Lebensregeln*, which outlined how to live a pious life, he cautioned, "Excessive eating and drinking burdens both body and soul",²⁵⁹ thus emphasising both physical and spiritual consequences of physical indulgence. By making this connection, Francke reinforced the notion that bodily practices were integral to spiritual discipline, positioning diet and bodily conduct as central concerns in the pursuit of true Christian piety.

The Cartesian medical theory of the mechanical body was contested by the professor of medicine at University of Halle, George Ernst Stahl, who developed a medical theory of the body, *animism*, which can be interpreted as a critical response to the mechanical understanding of the human organism. Stahl's animist theory framed the body as a living entity in which the movement of the anima, or the soul, played a significant role in the aetiology of diseases and movement of the bodily fluids, the humours.²⁶⁰ It has been discussed to what extent Stahl's theory can be interpreted as a specific Pietist-influenced

²⁵⁷ Johanna Geyer-Kordesch, "Georg Ernst Stahl's Radical Pietist Medicine and Its Influence on the German Enlightenment," in *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century* eds. Andrew Cunningham and Roger French (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 69.

²⁵⁸ Gábor Boros, "Leibniz on Love" in *The Concept of Love in 17th and 18th Century Philosophy* ed. Herman De Dijn, Gábor Boros, and Martin Moors, (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 81.

²⁵⁹ „Durch viel Essen und Trincken wird Leib und Seele beschweret.“: August Hermann Francke, *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinrichens, 1715), 20.

²⁶⁰ Johanna Geyer-Kordesch has especially emphasised the connection between Stahlian animism and Pietism. See Johanna Geyer-Kordesch, *Pietismus, Medizin und Aufklärung in Preussen im 18. Jahrhundert: das Leben und Werk Georg Ernst Stahls* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000); Johanna Geyer-Kordesch, "Georg Ernst Stahl's Radical Pietist Medicine and Its Influence on the German Enlightenment," in *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Andrew Cunningham and Roger French, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Johanna Geyer-Kordesch, "Psychomedizin – die Entwicklung von Medizin und Naturanschauung in der Frühaufklärung," in *Vernünftige Ärzte: Hallesche Psychomediziner und die Anfänge der Anthropologie in der deutschsprachigen Frühaufklärung*, ed. Carsten Zelle, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001).

medical theory,²⁶¹ but that it was in clear opposition to the Cartesian and iatro-mechanical conception of the body is evident.²⁶²

In *Der grosse Aufsatz*, Francke indirectly referred to Georg Ernst Stahl's animism. When praising the new teachings concerning the health of the body and natural life, he quoted the dietetic writings of institutional physician Christian Friedrich Richter.²⁶³ Scholars have documented the profound influence of Stahlian animism on Richter's dietetics, which insistently rejected the mechanical conception of the body and was aligned with the Pietist belief that physical ailments were corporeal manifestations of a troubled soul. These aspects of Richter's dietetics are considered central to Francke's commendation of medicine for aligning with Christian principles.²⁶⁴

It is undoubtedly reasonable to posit that Francke's laudation of Halle's medical practices as attaining new Christian heights was embedded in Pietism's rejection of the contemporary Cartesian view of the body, embracing a medical theory that interpreted diseases as a manifestation of a troubled soul. However, it is equally plausible that Francke was simultaneously addressing a contemporary conflict between Pietists and Orthodox Lutherans regarding the legitimacy of their claims to true and genuine Christian identity. The American historian Ruth Marie Griffith has argued that numerous Protestant reform movements in the 17th and 18th centuries often diverged from officially sanctioned doctrines concerning corporeality, resulting in their classification as heretical by church authorities.²⁶⁵ In response to such censure, adherents of these movements, such as the Puritans in England,

²⁶¹ Richard Toellner, „Die Geburt einer sanften Medizin - Die Begegnung von Pietismus und Medizin in den Franckeschen Stiftung“ in *Die Geburt einer sanften Medizin. Die Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle als Begegnungsstätte von Medizin und Pietismus im frühen 18. Jahrhundert* ed. Richard Toellner, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2004), 22; Jürgen Helm, “ „Dass auch zugleich die Gottseligkeit dadurch gebauet wird“ - Pietismus und Medizin in ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts” *Bereiche zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 26 (2003), 205, 207-208; Jürgen Helm, *Krankheit, Bekehrung und Reform. Medizin und Krankenfürsorge im Halleschen Pietismus* (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2006), 204 – 205.

²⁶² Iatro-medicine refers to the medical paradigm that explained health and disease primarily through mechanical and chemical processes in the body. See Ingo Wilhelm Müller, *Iatromechanische Theorie und Ärztliche Praxis im Vergleich zur galenistischen Medizin: Friedrich Hoffmann, Pieter van Foreest, Jan van Heurne* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991).

²⁶³ Jürgen Helm, „Christian Friedrich Richters *Kurtzer und deutlicher Unterricht* (1705). Medizinische Programmschrift des Halleschen Pietismus?“ in *Die Geburt einer sanften Medizin. Die Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle als Begegnungsstätte von Medizin und Pietismus im frühen 18. Jahrhundert* ed. Richard Toellner, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2004), 27.

²⁶⁴ Irtraut Sahmland „Der Mensch lebt nicht vom Brot allein. Grundzüge einer pietistischen Diätetik.“ in, *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahrhundert.* ed. Holger Zaunstock (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021), 81-82, 84.; see also Jürgen Helm, „Christian Friedrich Richters *Kurtzer und deutlicher Unterricht* (1705). Medizinische Programmschrift des Halleschen Pietismus?“ in *Die Geburt einer sanften Medizin. Die Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle als Begegnungsstätte von Medizin und Pietismus im frühen 18. Jahrhundert* ed. Richard Toellner, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2004), 27.

²⁶⁵ Ruth Marie Griffith, *Born again Bodies. Flesh and Spirit in American Christianity.* (London: University of California Press, 2004), 25 -27; See also Elisabeth Fischer and Xenia vonTippelskrich (ed.), *Bodies in Early Modern Religious Dissent. Naked, Veiled, Vilified, Worshipped.* (London: Routledge, 2021).

employed bodily practices like fasting as identity markers and as a way to condemn ecclesiastical policies.²⁶⁶ Consequently, conceptions and practices of the body were entrenched in conflicts between the established churches and the devout reform movements, suggesting that Francke – who was a controversial figure – and his lauding of bodily dietetical practices as promoting godliness may also be interpreted within the context of such conflict.

Although Francke did not explicitly address his concrete conflicts with the local Lutherans from his years in Leipzig, Erfurt, and Halle in *Der grosse Aufsatz*, the book presented a harsh critique of the established church that formed the foundation for Francke's call for a societal reform that should reorient society towards true Christian values. The text constructed a narrative in which society was depicted as profoundly depraved, primarily due to the pervasive un-Christian attitude found in schools, teachers, ministers, and the church itself. Francke argued that this moral and spiritual decay led to a widespread lack of knowledge about how to live a pious life across all societal classes. As a result, people remained ignorant of the means to secure their salvation; they were dangerously wasting their time, and parents were unable to raise their children in a genuine Christian manner, ultimately leading to what Francke described as the daily loss of thousands and thousands of souls.²⁶⁷ Consequently, educational institutions like Die Franckeschen Anstalten were needed to educate elite Christians who would bring true godliness into society after finishing their education.²⁶⁸

Moreover, Francke's clear distinction between general medical practices and those implemented in Halle – where patients were no longer treated in a heathen manner – along with his claim that dietetical practices in Halle could foster godliness²⁶⁹ is particularly noteworthy. These statements about treating the body in a heathen way and the idea that dietetics, which represented bodily health-promoting practices, could enhance godliness suggest that Francke's interest in medicine, health, and the body extended beyond a rejection of the Cartesian mechanical view of the body.

²⁶⁶ James Eric Hazell, *Triumph of Humility. The Puritan Fast Days 1570-1740* (PhD diss. University of Maryland, 1997), 284-285.

²⁶⁷ „[...] solcher Verlust der Zeit nicht mit dem Verlust vieler tausend Seelen verknüpfft seyn sollte.“: August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz*. (1711) ed. Otto Podzcek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962): 52.

²⁶⁸ For the same argument see also August Hermann Francke, *Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworfen* (Halle: In Verlegung des Waysen-Hauses, 1702, 1705), 1702, 1705), 93.

²⁶⁹ August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz*. (1711) ed. Otto Podzcek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 125-126.

Francke's rationality of the body

The body as an instrument in the service of God

In developing his rationality of body and health, Francke rooted his reflections on the body in a broader concern for spiritual reform. When analysing what he saw as the pressing spiritual issues of his time, Francke identified a fundamental problem: individuals, whether deliberately or unintentionally, misused their bodies in ways that deviated from divinely ordained purpose. This misuse occurred on multiple levels. First, people failed to recognise their bodies as tools for serving God, neglecting their role as instruments of divine will. Second, instead of dedicating their bodies to God's service, they indulged in self-gratification, nurturing the flesh rather than sanctifying through pious discipline.

Touching upon the problem of not recognising the body as a tool, Francke embedded this in his larger analysis of societal decay. As previously mentioned, Francke viewed the primary societal issue as widespread ignorance among people regarding how to live a pious life, which he believed resulted in the mass spiritual demise of souls. He problematised this situation by asserting:

“[...] it is not God's fault, as if He no longer wanted to give blessing, help, and salvation, but it is solely the fault in people, that they do not allow themselves to be used as instruments of His grace according to his will.”²⁷⁰

By identifying individuals' failure to align themselves with God's will as the root cause of spiritual decline, Francke underlined that restoring divine order did not fall on God but on human agency. It was contingent upon humans' capability and willingness to surrender themselves as tools of God's service.

For Francke, this surrender was inextricably linked to a specific understanding of the body's purpose. The body was not a neutral entity but a divinely granted instrument, enabling individuals to serve God actively. He articulated this notion explicitly: “A true Christian sanctifies his body and soul to the Lord and gives all his limbs into the service of righteousness so that they may become holy.”²⁷¹ Furthermore, Francke posited that those

²⁷⁰ „[...] es fehle auch itzt nicht an Gott, als ob der nicht *mehr* Segen, Hüllfe und Rettung geben wollte, sondern es fehle allein an den Menschen, *dass sie sich von ihm nicht zu Werkzeugen seiner Gnade nach seinem Willen gebrauchen lassen.*“ (Francke's italics): August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz.* (1711) ed. Otto Podzcek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 53.

²⁷¹ „Ein wahrer Christ heiligt GOTT dem HErrn Leib und Seele/ und giebet alle seine Glieder zum Dienste der Gerechtigkeit/ dass sie heilig werden.“ August Hermann Francke, *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 90.

who fully embraced this role of bodily submission and divine service attained sanctity: “Blessed, indeed, are those tools that willingly offer themselves to serve the Lord so that they may be at ease and His glory may be advanced according to His will.”²⁷² The connection between the body as a tool, subjecting oneself to service, and spiritual fulfilment was here made explicit. In this sense, the body was both the medium and the means through which holiness could be attained – provided it was used correctly.

To use the body correctly meant to recognise its subordinate status and place it within the hierarchical order between God and mankind. Francke articulated this principle explicitly: “God regards people as a king regards his servants.”²⁷³ Just as servant was expected to relinquish their own interests in favour of fulfilling the will of their master, so too were individuals required to surrender their personal desires in service of divine order. The body, therefore, was not left to personal discretion, and Francke reinforced this by asserting:

“The body, however, is the servant and not the master; therefore, it must be content when it receives what is due to a servant, namely its bread, punishment, (that is, the crucifixion of the flesh along with its desires and craving, as so faithfully commanded by Christ and his apostles) and labour.”²⁷⁴

This statement underscored the body’s inferior nature and positioned it as an entity in need of simple nourishment and punishment, articulated as crucifying the flesh: bodily desires and cravings. These indicated the necessity of bodily discipline, positioning the body as an instrument that must be subjected to control rather than indulgence. The proper use of the body required not only recognition of its subservient role but also its active submission to spiritual discipline through controlled sustenance, corrective punishment, and labour.

In other words, Francke’s problematisation of the way people recognised – or remained in total ignorance of – their bodies was embedded within his broader critique of societal disorder and spiritual demise. The failure to govern the body correctly was symptomatic of broader spiritual decay, and consequently, it was not enough to believe in Christian

²⁷² „Gesegnet aber müssen ja ein die Werkzeuge die sich dem Herrn zu Dienst williglich darstellen damit sie bequem sein mögen dass seine Ehre nach seinem Willen durch sie gefördert werde.“: August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz.* (1711) ed. Otto Podzcek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 57.

²⁷³ „GOTT sieht die Menschen an/ wie ein König seine Diener“: August Hermann Francke, *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 106.

²⁷⁴ „Der Leib aber ist der Knecht und nicht der Herr/ darum muß er sich genügen lassen/ wenn er krieget / was einem Knecht gehöret/nemlich sein Brodt/Straffe (die von CHrists und seinen Aposteln so treulich befohlene Creutzigung des Fleisches sammt seinen Lüsten und Begierden) und Arbeit.“: August Hermann Francke, *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 90.

doctrine; one had to embody it – literally – by using the body as a tool of service. The sanctification of the body was a lived practice that determined one's proximity to God. Francke's way of rationalising the aim of the body positioned the regulation of bodily behaviour as central to true Christianity, making bodily discipline a fundamental requirement for divine grace and societal reform.

Human nature and the problem of the flesh

While the initial problematisation of the body focused on individual's failure to recognise its fundamental purpose as an instrument of divine service, this issue was further embedded in a deeper anthropological problem: human nature itself. This concern was intimately tied to Francke's call for the crucifixion of the flesh – a demand articulated by positioning the body within the hierarchical structure of creation. This meant that employing the body as an instrument of service was not merely about willingness to serve. According to Francke, serving was also about how one approached the flesh and carnal inclinations within human nature.

The flesh was identified as the presence of original sin within every individual, and it represented a broader and more pervasive category, encompassing all forms of sinful – or carnal – desires directed towards earthly pleasure that manifested across the body, mind, and passions. In Francke's view, the deeds of the flesh included a wide array of blatant Christian sins such as: “[...] adultery, fornication, impurity, lewdness, idolatry, sorcery, enmity, strife, envy, wrath, dissension, division, factions, hatred, murder, gluttony, drunkenness, and similar vices.”²⁷⁵

However, according to Francke, fundamentally, carnal sins encompassed any action, passion, or thought undertaken to gratify desires that were not rooted in a desire to serve and glorify God.²⁷⁶ In a text dedicated to the instruction of theology students on how to align their behaviour to the service of God, he wrote:

“[the student] guards himself against all extravagant behaviour and does not accustom himself to idleness, time-wasting company, unnecessary travels, and other things that hinder his Christian calling. He particularly avoids all drunkenness, debauchery, and feasting, as well as all useless and time-wasting, not to mention openly evil company. He also avoids all kinds of games, which at the very least divert or turn the mind away from God; this also includes worldly dancing, all drinking, and other places where his

²⁷⁵ „[...] Ehebruch/ Hurerey/ Unreinigkeit/ Unzucht/ Abgötterie/ Zauberey/ Feindschaft/ Hader/ Neid/ Zorn/ Zank/ Zwietracht/ Rotten/ Hass/ Mord/ Fressen/ Saufen und dagleichen.“:August Hermann Francke, *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinrichens, 1715): 54.

²⁷⁶ August Hermann Francke, *Kurzer und einfältiger Unterricht. Wie die Kinder zu wahren Gottseligkeit und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind, zum Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworfen.* 1705, this edition is from Hermann Lorenzen, *August Hermann Francke Pädagogische Schriften.* (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1957), 13, 23.

attendance might lead him into sinful behaviour or cause offence to others. He avoids comedies, public fooleries, and other time-wasting activities of worldly-minded people; all vain strolling, riding, driving, and in winter, the useless, vain and therefore also sinful, sleigh rides, etc.”²⁷⁷

This meant that ordinary activities like amusing oneself with friends, playful actions, or any entertainment whatsoever, were framed as carnal – and as such sinful – activities that drove the individual into wasting his time and away from his duty to Christian service. To complicate things, apparently pious action could also be a manifestation of the flesh and, therefore, sinful. In his own spiritual autobiography, Francke described in detail how he lived in a heathen way before his conversion.²⁷⁸ Although outwardly a diligent student of theology – speaking many languages, living an apparently pious life, attending church regularly – his way of life was motivated by the carnal desire to become a learned and distinguished man of honour, to gain the admiration of others, earn money, and enjoy the company of his friends. This motivation ultimately led to what Francke defined as a heathen way of life which, though seemingly pious, still honoured the flesh rather than God, prioritising worldly success and pleasure over spiritual devotion.²⁷⁹

This perspective, in which even the perceived pious life was viewed as susceptible to sin, implied that ordinary and some even necessary activities – such as socialising, studying, working, resting, sleeping, laughing, talking, amusing oneself, eating, and drinking – were repeatedly emphasised by Francke as potential acts of the flesh. If not correctly governed, these actions could quickly become expressions of carnal desires and associated with a heathen way of life.

While carnal desires seemed to creep into all aspects of life, even in places that appeared holy, carnal inclinations were impossible to eradicate due to their origin in human nature: “[...] for by nature, we are inclined to love the lust of the flesh, the desires of the eyes, and

²⁷⁷ §15: “Er hütet sich für allem ausschweifenden Wesen/ und gewöhnet sich nicht zum *Müßiggang/ Zeitverderbender Gesellschaft/ unnützen Reisen/*, und anderen dem Christlichen und äusserlichen Beruf hinderlichen Dingen; Sonderlich meidet er alle Trunckenheit/ Saufferey und Schmauserey/ alle unnützlichen und Zeitverbringende/ geschweige offenbarlich böse Gesellschaft/ allerley Arth von Spielen/ als die zum wenigsten das Gemüth von Gott divertiren oder abkehren/ dahin auch das Weltübliche Tantzen gehöret/ alle Trinck- und andere Oerter/ deren Besuchung ihm selbst zu sündlichem Wesen Gelegenheit geben/ oder doch andern zum Anstoss gereichen möchte; alle Comoedien/ Opern und öffentliche Narren- Spiele/ und andern Zeit-Verderb irdisch gesinnter Menschen/ alles eitele spatzieren gehen/ reiten/ fahren/; und im Winter das unnützliche/ eitele und also auch sündliche/ Schlitten-Fahren/ u.s.f. (Franckes italics): August Hermann Francke, “Schriften zum Studium der Theologie.” In *August Hermann Francke. WERKE IN AUSWAHL.*, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), 177.

²⁷⁸ August Hermann Francke (1701), *Lebensläufe* ed. Markus Matthias, (Leipzig: Evangelische Bibelanstalt GmbH, 1999) 8-9.

²⁷⁹ August Hermann Francke (1701), *Lebensläufe* ed. Markus Matthias, (Leipzig: Evangelische Bibelanstalt GmbH, 1999) 8-9, 11-2, 14-15, 21, 23.

a prideful behaviour [...].”²⁸⁰ Francke emphasised that carnal inclinations would trouble everyone – even the reborn and pious Christian, who would also encounter: “[...] the weakness of the flesh and the innate sinful nature [...]”²⁸¹

However, what distinguished the reborn and true Christians from those Francke labelled heathen Christians was the pious individual’s willingness to control and govern these carnal inclinations. He asserted:

“Those who belong to Christ have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires [...]. Therefore, all who call themselves Christians should prove their Christianity to others who are unconverted by demonstrating that they have mastery over their flesh and its lusts and desires. In this way, they could truthfully boast of something that no heathen or unbeliever could boast of.”²⁸²

This meant that since the true Christian – like everyone else – remained perpetually influenced by the flesh, maintaining the status of a pious Christian required adherence to the *praxis pietatis* – a pious lifestyle characterised by a continuous struggle against carnal desires. This practice aimed to emulate the sin-free and holy existence that defined humanity’s original state in paradise.²⁸³ The extensive weight placed on the systematic

²⁸⁰ “[...] denn, weil wir von Natur so geartet sind, dass wir lieben Fleisches-lust, Augenlust und hoffärtiges Wesen [...]”: August Hermann Francke, „Auswahl aus den Predigt-nachschriften (AFSt) 1693 bis 1725 Katechismuspredigten: Über die VII. Bitte“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* eds. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 10 = 2 / August Hermann Francke Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 594.

²⁸¹ „[...] die Schwachheit des Fleisches und die angebohrne sündliche Unart [...]“; August Hermann Francke, 1695, „Anhang von der Christen Vollkommenheit“ in August Hermann Francke, *Schriftmäßige Lebensregeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten/ die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GÖTT bewahren und im Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens sel., 1715), 116.

²⁸² „St. Paulus sagt, welche Christum angehören, die creutzigen (haben gecreutziget) ihr Fleisch samt den Lüsten und Begierden Gal. V, 24. So sollten dann nun alle, die sich Christen nenne, eben dadurch den Beweiss ihres Christenthums gegen andere Unbekehrte führen, dass sie die Herrschaft hätten über ihr Fleisch und dessen Lüste und Begierden, und also mit Wahrheit sich etwas rühmen könnten, dessen sich kein Heyden, oder Ungläubiger rühmen könnte“ (Francke’s italic): August Hermann Francke „Der Fall und Wiederaufrichtung der wahren Gerechtigkeit“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke, Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 58-59.

²⁸³ Martin Brecht, "Zwischen Schwachheit und Perfektionismus. Strukturelemente theologischer Anthropologie des Pietismus.", Udo Schnelle: Die Konstruktion des Neuen Menschen. Grundzüge neutestamentlicher Anthropologie all in *Alter Adam und Neue Kreatur. Pietismus und Anthropologie. Beiträge zum II. Internationale Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2005.* eds. Udo Sträter et al. (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag Tübingen, 2009), 66-67; Claudia Drese, "Der Weg ist das Ziel. Zur Bedeutung des Perfektionismus für die frühe pietistische Theologie" in *Perfektionismus und Perfektibilität. Streben nach Vollkommenheit in Aufklärung und Pietismus.* ed. Konstanze Baron and Christian Soboth, (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 2018); Martin Schmidt, "Der Pietismus und das moderne Denken" in *Pietismus und moderne Welt* ed. Kurt Aland, (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1974), 11-16.

cultivation of religious passions and feelings in order to battle carnal passions in Halle Pietism has been elucidated by Rydberg and Täubner, who have shown that Francke emphasised the cultivation of religious feelings such as fear and love of God, thereby putting oneself in states of agonising struggle. This would lead to the experience of God like “a living water” flowing through and permeating the soul, thus increasing faith.²⁸⁴ However, here I want to draw attention to the fact that Francke also linked the flesh closely to the body and the controlling of its desires as reflected in his assertion that: “[...] whoever pampers their body according to the counsel and encouragement of the flesh needs a sharp rod.”²⁸⁵ The flesh in Francke’s rationality was intimately bound to the body as a site where sinful inclinations were felt, enacted, and resisted. My point is not that Francke differed from other theologians who emphasised the body as site of the flesh, but rather that Francke’s *cultura animi* did not aim solely at cultivating emotions. This exemplifies that for the Pietists, it was not only the cultivation of passion that mattered in the care of the soul – the body was a battleground for the soul’s salvation and a locus of pastoral intervention.

Technologies of subjugating the flesh

The issue of how to govern carnal tendencies permeated much of Francke’s writings, particularly in his texts addressing the adoption of a pious life. In *Lebensregeln*, Francke spoke to those already motivated to pursue *praxis pietatis* but were unsure how to practise it daily. Essentially, *Lebensregeln* served as a comprehensive guide on how to govern the carnal aspects of human nature, and it addressed a wide range of specific topics such as how to socialise, laugh, speak, smile, manage body language, pray, work, and control one’s passions. Notably, sexuality was not an explicit theme in the book and was barely mentioned. The work was divided into two parts: the first outlined situation-specific guidelines aimed at helping individuals maintain a clear conscience when in societal settings, while the second focused on spiritual exercises suited for God-pleasing solitude.

Tanja Täubner has analysed how these guidelines were incorporated into a structured spiritual daily routine that included five key areas: 1. nurturing the soul, 2. attending to the body’s necessary needs, 3. reflecting on the day’s tasks in order to live wisely and prudently, 4. work, and 5. rest from work.²⁸⁶ While Täubner demonstrates that the care of the soul was prescribed through self-techniques like meditational practices such as prayers, contemplation

²⁸⁴ Andreas Rydberg, *Inner Experience. An Analysis of Scientific Experience in Early Modern Germany*. Uppsala Studies in History of Ideas 48. 245 pp. (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017), 99-100.

²⁸⁵ “Wer aber mit seinem Leibe nach dem Rath und Eingeben des Fleisches zärtelt, der bedarf einer scharffen Ruthe“ August Hermann Francke, *August Hermann Franckens Schrifftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll*. (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 90.

²⁸⁶ Tanja Täubner, “Zum andern soltu meditirn“ *Die Meditationspraktiken in der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes*. (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2012), 133-134.

of scripture, and devotional literature, and self-examination, I will explore how Francke prescribed techniques for governance of the bodily needs, like eating, sleeping, resting, and moving the body, as an integral aspect of soul care – nota bene categories similar to the non-naturals in dietetics.

Since Francke vehemently condemned indulgence in any carnal aspect of human nature and commanded people to crucify the flesh and punish the body, one might expect him to advocate disciplinary practices and technologies of strict asceticism and self-denial as self-technologies to govern the flesh. However, Francke did not advocate any practices of abstinence, be it fasting or excessive work, as a means of disciplining the flesh. In fact, he frequently argued against exaggerating any practice that would weaken the body in any way. This was closely linked to Francke's emphasis on the idea that man needed a functional body to be able to serve God. Being a tool implied adhering to the godly imperative of labour, and this necessitated a body maintained in a state conducive to work, which was why a constant focus on nourishing it, resting it, and energising it moderately for this purpose was essential.

However, before plunging into labour, its motivation needed to be scrutinised. As Francke asserted:

“[...] if work has no other purpose than merely to pass the time in society, as indeed many do, then it is sinful, for you do not consider that with your useless diversion, you are driving God and His precious grace from you.”²⁸⁷

This implied that if one's profession or activities resulted in a waste of time, waste of money, or led to lavishness, immoderation, luxury, or other sins and vices or harmed one's neighbour, a change of profession was imperative to align with God's intentions.²⁸⁸ When all one's intentions were directed towards honouring God, one was further obligated to: “[...] provide the necessary sustenance to the body.”²⁸⁹ This demand thus constructed the body as an entity that should be kept in a smoothly running state and ready for labour.

²⁸⁷ “[...] hat aber die Arbeit keinen andern Zweck/ als nur die Zeit in der Gesellschaft zu vertreiben/ wie es würcklich von viele geschehen/ so ist sündlich/ indem du nicht bedenckest/ daß du mit deiner unnützen Zeitvertreibung GOTT mit seiner theuren Gnade von dir vertreibest. *Ach vertreibe doch deine Faulheit*” (Francke's italics.) August Hermann Francke, *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715, 98.

²⁸⁸ August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 100.

²⁸⁹ „Damit du deinem Nechsten deine Liebe im Wercke erzeiget/ und (wenn es erstlich mit diesen beyden richtig ist) (3) Daß du den nothdürfftigen Unterhalt dem Leibe darreichet”: August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 98-99.

The problem of providing necessary sustenance to the body revolved around the fact that the body required food, drink, and rest, but these necessities were also seen as gateways to spiritual downfall. Francke acknowledged the challenges in discerning the body's true needs, as the innate carnal desires often demanded more than was necessary,²⁹⁰ and therefore, instructions – or what can be understood as technologies of governing bodily desires – on how to handle this were necessary. These techniques centred on practising what Francke termed Christian wisdom (*christliche Klugheit*) and moderation, which both served as guiding principles to balance physical needs with spiritual discipline.

Christian wisdom was an introspective process that served as a moral framework for individuals to discern whether their actions were of the flesh and consequently forbidden. This process encouraged self-examination, urging individuals to: “[...] examine your desires and cravings and the movements of your mind; examine whether they are directed towards bodily, earthly, visible, and temporal things.”²⁹¹ The ultimate criterion for determining the permissibility of an action was to ensure: “The main purpose must be the honour of God [...] The Honour of God must always be kept in view in all things.”²⁹² This meant that if one ate because of hunger until one was full, the action of eating honoured God, but as soon as one ate to please the tongue, the flesh had taken over.²⁹³

Combined with the practice of moderation, one could further test whether an action was of the flesh or intended to honour God. This was reflected in a passage on how to eat and drink, where Francke emphasised the importance of practising moderation as a way to test one's spiritual wisdom.

“A consistent moderation will be a great test of your spiritual wisdom. If your mouth is still so indulgent as to choose the best for yourself, to satisfy yourself with delicate

²⁹⁰ „Durch viel Essen und Trincken wird Leib und Seele beschweret.” August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundschaft gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 20.

²⁹¹ “[...] prüfe deine Luste und Begierden und Gemüths-Bewegungen/ prüfe/ ob sie auff leibliche/ irrdische/ sichbare und zeitliche Dinge gerichtet sind[...].” August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundschaft gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 56.

²⁹² „Der Hauptzweck muss die Ehre Gottes sein [...] Die Ehre Gottes muss in allen Dingen [...] immer vor Augen sein“: August Hermann Francke, *Kurzer und einfältiger Unterricht. Wie die Kinder zu wahren Gottseligkeit und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind, zum Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworfen.* 1705, this edition is from Hermann Lorenzen, *August Hermann Francke Pädagogische Schriften.* (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1957), 13.

²⁹³ August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundschaft gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 19-20.

foods for the sake of good taste, and to eat and drink without true hunger or thirst, then you are not yet moderate.”²⁹⁴

Therefore, meals had to be approached with moderation, and Francke explicitly advocated eating frequent but small, temperate portions to satisfy hunger, emphasising restraint over excessive consumption, which led to sinful indulgence and hindered one's spiritual and physical readiness for work.²⁹⁵ In a sermon, Francke elaborated on the practice of moderation, linking it to monitoring several bodily needs and performing one's duties with joy: “By moderation, one generally understands the virtue in which a person guards against all excess in eating and drinking [...].”²⁹⁶ But moderation extended far beyond this, as moderation was also:

“[...] where a person is not lazy or sluggish in what they are supposed to do; but rather reduces their sleep as much as may be required to fulfil their duties. And with a cheerfulness of mind, they carry out their tasks.”²⁹⁷

Thus, while resting and sleeping were actions addressed by moderation, the right amount of rest and sleep had to be further monitored:

“Nature cannot exist without rest. 1) But consider that you must not rest more than you work; otherwise, you belong among the lazy and idle [...]. Make sure that your rest is in accordance with the condition of your body. For one cannot distribute rest

²⁹⁴ „Eine beständige Massigkeit wird eine grosse Probe seyn deiner geistlichen Klugheit. Wenn dein Mund noch so leckerhaftig ist/ das beste vor dich zu wehlen / dich mit der niedlichen Speise/ um des guten Geschmacks willen/ zu sättigen/ und unordentlich zu essen und zu trincken / ohne rechten Hunger und Durst/ so bist du noch nicht mäßig.“: August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 20.

²⁹⁵ August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 19.

²⁹⁶ „Durch die Mäßigkeit pflegt man sonst zu verstehen diejenigen Tugend, da der Mensch vor allem Übermaß in Essen und Trincken sich hütet [...] da der Mensch nicht träg oder schläfrig ist in dem, was er thun soll; sondern vielmehr seinem Schlaf so viel abbricht, als zur Verrichtung, der ihm obliegenden Pflicht erfordert werden mag. Und mit einer Munterkeit des Gemüths seine Geschäfte verrichtet.“ August Hermann Francke, „Der reine und unbefleckte Gottesdienst“ (Gehalten in der Schul-Kirche in Halle, 1704) in A. H. Francke, *Predigten über die Sonn- und Fest-Tags=Episteln.* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1726), 718.

²⁹⁷ „Durch die Mäßigkeit pflegt man sonst zu verstehen diejenigen Tugend, da der Mensch vor aller Übermaß in Essen und Trincken sich hütet [...] da der Mensch nicht träg oder schläfrig ist in dem, was er thun soll; sondern vielmehr seinem Schlaf so viel abbricht, als zur Verrichtung, der ihm obliegenden Pflicht erfordert werden mag. Und mit einer Munterkeit des Gemüths seine Geschäfte verrichtet.“ (Gehalten in der Schul-Kirche in Halle, 1704) August Hermann Francke, „Der reine und unbefleckte Gottesdienst“ in A. H. Francke, *Predigten über die Sonn- und Fest-Tags=Episteln.* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1726), 718.

equally: one person needs more rest than another. However, be cautious not to pamper your body or accustom it to more rest than it needs. Test your rest carefully by reducing it for 3 or 4 days and see whether the matter could not get even further.”²⁹⁸

The method for asserting the legitimacy of bodily needs thus involved conducting small experiments – such as sleeping slightly less and reducing portion sizes at meals while increasing their frequency – to determine whether sustained productivity could be maintained without increased need for rest or food. If feelings of hunger or fatigue arose, they could be addressed accordingly; otherwise, the additional time and energy could be allocated to work.

Importantly, as long as one approached resting with moderation, this did not mean that any activity was allowed in the pause, which was also illustrated by Francke’s disapproval of time-wasting activities. A needed break could easily be turned into a Sabbath for the flesh and blood: “[...] through bodily, perishable and earthly pleasure [...]”.²⁹⁹ While Francke acknowledges that breaks were necessary in order not to exhaust oneself, one should refrain from spending these on social activities such as dancing,³⁰⁰ playing, feasting, taking a stroll or, in general, spending leisure time on “[...] carnal pleasures.”³⁰¹ Instead, one could pray or read edifying literature,³⁰² ultimately framing every moment to be used constructively towards serving the divine imperative of crucifying carnal desires. The difficulties in finding

²⁹⁸ „Die Natur kan nicht bestehen ohne Ruhe: (1) Bedencke aber/ daß du nicht mehr ruhen als arbeiten müssest/ sonst gehörestu mit unter die Faulenzer und Müßiggänger... (2) Siehe zu/ daß deine Ruhe sich nach deiner Leibes=Beschaffenheit richte. Den man kan die Austertheilung nicht gleich machen/ der eine braucht mehr Ruhe als der andere. Hüte dich aber/ daß du den Leib nicht verzärtelst / und ihn zu mehr Ruhe gewehnest/ als er nöthig hat. Probiere deine Ruhe wohl/ durch Abziehung einiger Ruhe auff 3. Oder 4. Tage/unde siehe zu/ ob die Sache nicht weiter angehen solte.“ August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundschaft gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 107-108.

²⁹⁹ „Seinem Fleisch und Blut durch leibliche/ vergängliche und irrdische Wollust einen Sabbath feyern/ ist wider GOTTES Gebot.“ August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundschaft gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 110.

³⁰⁰ August Hermann Francke, “Was von dem Weltüblichen Tanzen zu halten sei 1697“ in *August Hermann Francke. WERKE IN AUSWAHL*, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), 383-391.

³⁰¹ “[...] müßiggehen/ mit spaßieren/spielen/ tantzen/ springen/ gastieren und anderen *fleischlichen* Lustarbeiten hinbringen.” (Francke’s italic), August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundschaft gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 110.

³⁰² August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundschaft gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 61-62, 106.

this delicate balance between giving the body what it needed for sustenance and falling into carnal lust are encapsulated in this section on how to balance work:

“Whoever works too little is punishable for their laziness; but whoever works too much in external and worldly matters is foolish, for they weaken their body too much so that it cannot last long. [...] Likewise, whoever works too much is also godless, for the soul is most burdened by excessive work, so that one can never truly become solemn and come to healthy thoughts, and in general, such a person is also driven by ambition and greed.”³⁰³

These passages illustrate how Francke’s pastoral care involved technologies of bodily self-regulation aimed at finely calibrating the body’s needs without tipping into sin. The balance between giving the body sufficient rest and nourishment and restraining it from indulgence or overexertion was framed as a spiritual task. In this case, work became a site of moral discernment: too little signals sloth, while too much indicates godlessness driven by ambition or greed.

In general, moderation would help break what can be described as the chain reaction of sin. Such a process was exemplified in the consequences of e.g. overeating, which led to bodily lethargy that impeded work after the meal, simultaneously disturbing the ability to rest properly at night. This, in turn, led to rumination and anxiety, interfering with restful sleep, leading to fatigue, and leaving the body unprepared to fulfil one’s spiritual obligations.³⁰⁴ As the primary purpose of these techniques was to prevent sin and to secure basic bodily needs, how one ate, drank, slept, moved, and rested was, for Francke, a reflection of one’s state of Christianity. Indulgent excesses like: “[...] gluttony, drunkenness, excess, [...]”³⁰⁵ marked ungodly Christians, while true Christians practised

³⁰³ „Wer zu wenig arbeitet/ ist straffbahr wegen seiner Faulheit; wer aber zu viel in äuserlichen und weltlichen Dingen arbeitet/ ist unverständig/ den er schwächet seinem Leib zu sehr/ daß er nicht lange dauern kann [...] Darnach wer allzu viel arbeitet/ der ist auch gottloß/ denn die Seele wird am allermeisten durch Arbeit beschweret/ daß er niemals recht nüchtern werden und zu gesunden Gedancken kommen kann/ und ist insgemein auch darbey Ehr= und Geldgierig“ (Francke’s italics): August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 102.

³⁰⁴ August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 109; August Hermann Francke. “Schriften zur Lebensführung” in *August Hermann Francke. WERKE IN AUSWAHL*, ed. Erhard Peschke (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), 718.

³⁰⁵ „[...] Fresserey, Säufferey, Vollerey [...]“: August Hermann Francke, „Auswahl aus den Predigtnachschriften (AFSt) 1693 bis 1725 Katechismuspredigten: Über die VII. Bitte“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* Kurt von Aland (ed.) (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 10 = 2 / August Hermann Francke Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 581.

moderation and discipline. The reborn individual ensured proper and restful sleep at night, avoided overindulgence, and approached meals – and life in general – with restraint.³⁰⁶ The true Christian was expected to practice continuous moderation, testing the individual's capacity to live by Christian wisdom that maintained a fast of the mind.³⁰⁷

Thus, whereas Christian wisdom aimed at identifying whether an act was of the flesh, moderation functioned as a technique to guard against falling into the snares of carnal inclination. These techniques were of great importance as they could prevent certain actions – which were not inherently and overtly sins and which the reborn Christian was also required to engage in – from turning into deeds of the flesh. This meant that the virtue of moderation was a comprehensive practice to be exercised in eating, drinking, sleeping, pausing, and working, and it was portrayed as the most excellent way to honour God.³⁰⁸ Recalling the body as the key instrument in divine service, Francke's imperative: "Since God has also given you the body, see to it that you maintain it according to God's order"³⁰⁹ meant constantly giving the body what it needed, but moderately, so it would always be apt for divine service.

To sum up, Christian wisdom and moderation emerge in Francke's writings as two interrelated pastoral self-technologies aimed at disciplining the body without denying its essential functions. In this framework, bodily maintenance was not an end in itself but a means of spiritual alignment. By cultivating restraint and intentionality, the Christian could resist the temptations of excess while preparing the body for sustained labour in service of God. This dual effort – to avoid indulgence and to scrutinise one's motivations – required ongoing self-surveillance and self-examination. Bodily acts were to be constantly evaluated to determine whether they served the spiritual vocation or strayed into carnal gratification. Moderation, then, functioned as a regulatory principle: it not only moderated intake and actions but also mediated the moral and spiritual legitimacy of bodily needs.

Thus, Francke's vision of piety encompassed a disciplined approach to everyday bodily practices, foregrounding the body as a site of spiritual vulnerability and a potential vehicle for sanctified labour. The explicit problematisation of the flesh and, consequently, the body as a contested space where the spiritual aim and sinful desires clashed, thus constructed a

³⁰⁶ August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinrichens, 1715), 109.

³⁰⁷ August Hermann Francke *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinrichens, 1715), 20.

³⁰⁸ Erhard Peschke ed., *August Hermann Francke. WERKE IN AUSWAHL.*, (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), VII. Schriften zur Lebensführung.

³⁰⁹ „Weil dir Gott auch den Leib gegeben/ so siehe zu/ dass du ihn auch nach Gottes Ordnung erhaltest.“ August Hermann Francke, *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinrichens, 1715), 88-89.

pastoral logic of bodily care where how one ate, rested, moved, and engaged with the world was central to fulfilling the divine command of serving. Nevertheless, it is crucial to remember that the ultimate aim of pastoral care was the soul's salvation.

Flesh, Christian perfection, and damnation

Francke's construction of the connection between carnal dominion, bodily control, and the soul's well-being was closely intertwined with the accusations levelled against him at the end of the 17th century, which charged that he taught false doctrines. One of the accusations was that he advocated the possibility of Christian perfection, which the Lutheran Orthodox Church deemed impossible.³¹⁰ The core issue arose from Francke's assertion that those who have experienced spiritual rebirth could potentially steer clear of sin by adhering to God's law and avoiding the inherent consequence of original sin – that humans were inherently sinners and incapable of being otherwise.³¹¹

Theologian Claudia Drese posits that the Halle Pietists espoused a novel idea, emerging within Pietism towards the end of the 17th century, that Christian perfection was attainable in the present life, challenging the prevailing notion of *perfectio absoluta* (absolute perfection) being attainable only in the afterlife.³¹² The emphasis on perfection also found expression in the Halle Pietist perspective on societal improvement. Church historian Udo Sträter has pointed to a difference between Martin Luther's and Francke and Spener's beliefs in the necessity of improving the world. While Luther claimed that all prophecies were already fulfilled and that man could not expect changes in the temporal world, Francke and Spener advocated the opposite: God's promises and prophecies remained yet to be fulfilled, and the most significant changes were still to come.³¹³ This outlook was mirrored in Francke and Spener's chiliasm, the expectation that Christ would soon reign for 1,000 years before the final battle with Satan and the Day of Judgement. That Christ could appear on earth at any minute implied that it was a Christian duty to work actively for societal

³¹⁰ Veronika Albrecht-Birkner and Udo Sträter, "Die radikale Phase des frühen August Hermann Francke" in *Der radikale Pietismus. Perspektiven der Forschung* eds. Wolfgang Breul, Marcus Meier, Lothar Vogel, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 63-65.

³¹¹ Claudia Drese, "Der Weg ist das Ziel. Zur Bedeutung des Perfektionismus für die frühe pietistische Theologie" in *Perfektionismus und Perfektibilität. Streben nach Vollkommenheit in Aufklärung und Pietismus*. eds. Konstanze Baron and Christian Soboth, (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 2018), 37.

³¹² Claudia Drese, "Der Weg ist das Ziel. Zur Bedeutung des Perfektionismus für die frühe pietistische Theologie" in *Perfektionismus und Perfektibilität. Streben nach Vollkommenheit in Aufklärung und Pietismus*. eds. Konstanze Baron and Christian Soboth, (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 2018).

³¹³ Udo Sträter, "Der Hallische Pietismus zwischen Utopie und Weltgestaltung." in *Interdisziplinäre Pietismusforschung. Beiträge zum Ersten Internationalen Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2001* ed. Udo Sträter, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2005), 27.

improvement as a strategy to prepare for the coming of Christ.³¹⁴ The belief in the potential realisation of a final perfected state on earth distinguished Francke and Spener's chiliastic theology from their predecessors.³¹⁵

These ideals of perfection within Pietism were reflected in Francke's construction of the body as a spiritual battleground. Despite Francke's refutation of the claim of advocating complete perfection and acknowledging its impossibility, he continued to assert that Christian perfection, which was defined as a sin-free state, was partly achievable for the reborn Christian.³¹⁶ In *Von Christen Vollkommenheit*, written in 1691 but published in 1695 as an appendix to *Schriftmäßige Lebensregeln*,³¹⁷ Francke elaborated on the possibility of striving for perfection and what would happen if one did not. Quite sharply, he asserted that those who clung to the notion that justification by faith alone was sufficient to receive God's grace failed to recognise that indulgence in carnal desires diminishes spiritual strength. Nevertheless, Francke posited:

"[...] it is possible that a person may attain a mature strength in Christianity, free themselves from old habits, and overcome their flesh and blood, and that one person may be more perfect than another."³¹⁸

Consequently, the dominion of the flesh and carnal inclinations was linked to the possibility of building up Christian perfection.

This practice of Christian perfection – the striving for a sin-free way of life – was also articulated as glorifying God in the body. In several sermons, Francke described how, when exercising dominion over the flesh, the true Christian would know that he was: "a temple

³¹⁴Ulrike Gleixner, *Pietismus und Bürgertum. Eine historische Anthropologie der Frömmigkeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2005), 24-25, 63-64; Martin Schmidt, "Der Pietismus und das moderne Denken" in *Pietismus und moderne Welt* ed. Kurt Aland, (Luther-Verlag: Witten, 1974), 23; Claus Bernet, "Expectations of Philadelphia and the Heavenly Jerusalem in German Pietism" in *A Companion to German Pietism* ed. Douglas Schantz, (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 140.

³¹⁵Claus Bernet, "Expectations of Philadelphia and the Heavenly Jerusalem in German Pietism" in *A Companion to German Pietism* ed. Douglas Schantz, (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

³¹⁶Claudia Drese, "Der Weg ist das Ziel. Zur Bedeutung des Perfektionismus für die frühe pietistische Theologie" in *Perfektionismus und Perfektibilität. Streben nach Vollkommenheit in Aufklärung und Pietismus*. eds. Konstanze Baron and Christian Soboth, (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 2018).

³¹⁷Erhard Peschke ed., *August Hermann Francke. WERKE IN AUSWAHL.*, (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), 350, 356.

³¹⁸"[...] daß der Mensch zu einer männlichen Stärke im Christenthum kommen könne/ sich der alte Gewohnheiten zu entschlagen/ und sein Fleisch und Blut zu überwinden/ und daß ein Mensch immer vollkommener sey als der andere." : August Hermann Francke, 1695, „Anhang von der Christen Vollkommenheit“ in August Hermann Francke, *Schriftmäßige Lebensregeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten/ die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren und im Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens sel., 1715), 119.

of the living God, in whom God dwells and walks.”³¹⁹ Francke linked the notion of man as a temple³²⁰ directly to the body, as the individual who:

“[...] earnestly guards himself against external occasions for evil, [...] likewise avoids secret sins, impurity, and shame in true fear of God, fully knowing and considering that his body is a temple of the Holy Spirit, who is within him, whom he has received from God, and that he is not his own but belongs to God, having been dearly bought. Therefore, he glorifies God in his body and in his spirit, which are God’s.”³²¹

In contrast, deviating from divine order was directly linked to eternal perdition. Over and over, Francke asserted that people who indulged in carnal activities would not inherit the Kingdom of God.³²² In several sermons, he vividly depicted carnal desires as the pathway to hell, and indulging in carnal actions as resulting in a state of sin with immediate existential dangers.³²³ In *Lebensregeln*, Francke addressed the reader directly, stating that if:

³¹⁹ “[...] ein Tempel des lebendigen Gottes, in welchen Gott wohnet v. wandelt [...]“: August Hermann Francke, „Auswahl aus den Predigt-nachschriften (AFSt) 1693 bis 1725: Sonntagspredigten, Das Creütz-Schifflein Christi.“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 10 = 2 / August Hermann Francke Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 506.

³²⁰ August Hermann Francke, „Schriften zum Studium der Theologie.“ In *August Hermann Francke. WERKE IN AUSWAHL.*, ed. Erhard Peschke (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), §16, p.177; August Hermann Francke, *Schriftmäßige Lebensregeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten/ die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren ind im Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinrichens sel., 1715), 89-90; August Hermann Francke, „August Hermann Franckens, S. Theol. Prof. und Past. Sonn-Fest- und Apostel-Tags-Predigten: Die Verführung unter dem Namen Gotte“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 91.

³²¹ “Und indem er sich also vor äusserlicher Gelegenheit des Bösen mit allem Ernst hütet/ so vermeidet er nicht weniger auch in wahrer Furcht Gottes heimliche Sünde/ Unreinigkeit/ und Schande /wohl wissend und bedenkend/ dass sein Leib sey ein Tempel des heiligen Geistes/ der in ihm ist/ welchen er hat von Gott/ und dass er nicht sein selbst/ sondern Gottes/ und theur erkauffet ist/ darum er Gott preiset an seinem Leibe und in seinem Geiste / welche sind Gottes. (Franckes italic) in August Hermann Francke, „Schriften zum Studium der Theologie.“ In *August Hermann Francke. WERKE IN AUSWAHL.*, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), 177.

³²² August Hermann Francke „Der Fall und Wiederaufrichtung der wahren Gerechtigkeit“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 60, 68.

³²³ August Hermann Francke „August Hermann Franckens, S. Theol. Prof. und Past. Sonn-Fest- und Apostel-Tags-Predigten: Von dem Wercke der Bekehrung“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 55.

“[...] your deeds are manifest works of the flesh; as long as you do such things, you have no inheritance to expect in the Kingdom of God.”³²⁴

In a sermon called *On the Righteous Growth of Faith: Or, on the True Foundation, Strengthening, Fortification, and Completion of Faith* Francke illustrated the consequences with a dramatic depiction of the slumbering and unaware Christian masticated by the devil: a carnal-minded person is shown sleeping, unconscious of hell's maw opening beneath his bed, leading to the descent into the abyss when the bed ultimately collapses under him.³²⁵ This problematisation of carnal inclinations as being linked to damnation turned the body into a site where a pathway appeared: either the soul could reside in its earthly temple, or the body would be a direct avenue to damnation.

Francke's construction of the gratification of carnal desires as a dangerous route to damnation significantly challenged the Lutheran doctrine which asserted that faith alone ensured eternal grace. While Francke did not totally dismiss the classical Reformation tenet of justification by faith alone, he strongly emphasised carnal and bodily control as central to salvation and as a means to build perfection. For Francke, the common belief that faith alone could guarantee justification was a dangerous delusion:

“Do not most people live in deliberate and intentional sins, and yet, in such a damnable state, firmly and steadfastly imagine that through faith in the Lord Jesus, they will be eternally saved?”³²⁶

³²⁴ „Deine Wercke sind [...] offenbahre Wercke des Fleisches/ so lange du solches thust/ hast du kein Erbteil im Reihe Gottes zu erwarten.“ August Hermann Francke, *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinrichens, 1715), 54.

³²⁵ August Hermann Francke „August Hermann Franckens, S. Theol. Prof. und Past. Sonn-Fest- und Apostel-Tags-Predigten: Vom Rechtschaffenen Wachsthum des Glaubens/ Oder: Von der wahren Glaubens-Gründung/Kräftigung/Stärckung und Vollbereitung“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 25.

³²⁶ „Leben nicht die meisten Menschen in wissentlichen und vorsetzlichen Sünden , als in, und dennoch bilden sie ihnen bey solchem verdammlichen Zustande steif und fest ein , daß sie durch den Glauben an den HERRN JESUM ewig selig werden wollen ?“ in August Hermann Francke „Der Fall und Wiederaufrichtung der wahren Gerechtigkeit“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke Erhard Peschke, (Berlin:de Gruyter, 1987), 56.

Indulging in carnal activities meant traversing the treacherous path of the flesh, leading directly to eternal damnation,³²⁷ thus impeding the possibility of salvation. While the practice of crucifying the flesh did not in itself secure salvation, it served as a safeguard against falling into damnation through sinful actions. By striving for Christian perfection and subduing carnal desires, individuals could prevent themselves from being led astray, thus maintaining the spiritual discipline necessary to avoid moral corruption. For Francke, this act of restraint was crucial in ensuring that one's actions did not deviate from the path of righteousness, though it was not, in itself, the means of attaining salvation.

To sum up, while Francke denied the possibility of achieving absolute perfection, he maintained that the reborn Christian could improve his Christianity towards a state of relative perfection by glorifying God in the body, which, when living free from sin, would transform into a temple of the soul. In this rationality, the body was more than a physical instrument for service; it was either a temple of the soul or a gateway to damnation. Care of the body – through moderation, introspection, and avoidance of carnal indulgence – was thus a vital practice of caring for the soul and building up godliness. Ultimately, while bodily control did not in itself guarantee salvation, it was essential to preserving the soul from corruption and remaining on the path towards divine grace.

The Pietist body

Indeed, the governance of corporeal desires is not unique to Pietism but a theme that runs throughout Christian history, where bodily decadence, deprivation, and ruin were understood as manifestations of the flesh that needed to be controlled by the virtuous Christian.³²⁸ So what was distinctive in Francke's rationality of flesh and body?

The Christian way of disciplining the flesh has primarily been explored in the context of antiquity and the medieval period, with scholars such as Caroline Walker Bynum and Michel Foucault shedding light on how the flesh and discipline of the body played central roles in religious identity and governance. However, they approach the issue from different

³²⁷ August Hermann Francke, „Auswahl aus den Predignachschriften (AFSt) 1693 bis 1725 Katechismuspredigten: Über die VII. Bitte“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) - : Abt. 2, Bd. 10 = 2 / August Hermann Francke Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 590; August Hermann Francke, *August Hermann Franckens Schriftmäßige Lebens-Regeln. Wie man so wohl bey als auch ausser der Gesellschaft die Liebe und Freundlichkeit gegen den Nächsten, die Freudigkeit eines guten Gewissen für GOTT bewahren, und in Christenthum zunehmen soll.* (Leipzig: Bey Johann Heinichens, 1715), 54.

³²⁸ Charles Lloyd Cortright, *Poor Maggot-Sack that I Am": The Human Body in the Theology of Martin Luther* (Dissertation: Marquette University, 2011); Michel Foucault, *The Confessions of the Flesh. History of Sexuality, Volume 4.* Ed. Frédéric Gros, (New York: Pantheon Books, 2021); Ruth Marie Griffith, *Born again Bodies. Flesh and Spirit in American Christianity.* (London: University of California Press, 2004); Veronika Grimm, *From Feasting to Fasting. The Evolution of a Sin* (London: Routledge, 1996).

frameworks. Bynum focuses on how bodily practices shaped medieval religious thought, particularly within monastic communities, where bodily asceticism, fasting, sexual restraint, and self-denial were viewed as paths to transcendence and union with the divine.³²⁹ Foucault's analysis, especially in *Confessions of the Flesh* (2018), examines early Christian practices of self-scrutiny and confession as mechanisms for governing bodies and carnal desires. Foucault situates the flesh as a key site of power relations within the Church's efforts to regulate sexuality and behaviour.³³⁰

In contrast to Bynum's and Foucault's observation of sexuality as a central object of governance in early Christian and medieval constructions of the flesh, Francke rarely engaged with sexuality in his rationality of flesh and body. Instead, Francke's focus was on transforming the body into a tool for divine service, with a particular emphasis on labour as the fulfilment of God's will. He envisioned bodily discipline as a means to prepare for Christ's millennial kingdom, and his concerns were orientated towards the governance of a body apt for work. Unlike medieval practices of governing flesh and body, which were often characterised by strict asceticism and confined to cloistered communities,³³¹ Francke argued that exercising dominion over the flesh was a moderate practice and a universal Christian duty not limited to monks, nuns, or those living in monastic-like groups.

Central to this difference between Francke and earlier rationalities of body and flesh is the recognition that Francke's rationality was embedded within a broader notion – and indeed tangible practices – of education, shaped by a concern for society's moral and spiritual condition. In response to what was perceived as the degeneration of the church and its failure to instil proper moral discipline, Francke did not see the minister's position as a preacher as sufficient to teach soul care. Instead, he advocated for educational institutions capable of producing true Christians who would contribute to societal improvement. Tanja Täubner has situated Die Franckeschen Anstalten within a genealogical tradition of schooling that reaches back to the Greco-Roman philosophical schools, which emphasised the care of the self. According to Täubner, this tradition was significantly transformed through its assimilation into Christian monasticism, where the care of the self evolved into the care of the soul. Monastic institutions established disciplined regimes of everyday life, underpinned by a complex set of teachings designed to act upon oneself, what Foucault might describe as technologies of the self. Täubner concludes that the institutional structure and daily rhythms of Die Franckeschen Anstalten bore striking similarities to monastic life: the religious saturation of the institution, the precise calculation

³²⁹ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast. The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Caroline Walker Bynum, "'... And Woman His Humanity': Female Imagery in the Religious Writing of the Later Middle Ages," in *Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols*, ed. Caroline Walker Bynum, Stevan Harrell and Paula Richman, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986).

³³⁰ Michel Foucault, *Confessions of the Flesh. The History of Sexuality, Volume 4*. (Pantheon Books: New York, 2021).

³³¹ Michel Foucault, *Confessions of the Flesh. The History of Sexuality, Volume 4*. (Pantheon Books: New York, 2021).

and regulation of time, rigorous discipline, frequent admonitions, and shared devotional practices. She argues that Francke's pedagogy must be understood as a form of pastoral power, in which the pedagogical objective was achieved when the pupil had internalised a serious and sustained care for his soul. In this framework, meditation functioned as the principal technique for cultivating the soul, *cultura animi*.³³² While I have not yet touched upon pedagogical practices, this study has shown that in Francke's rationality, the body was not external to this spiritual cultivation and that bodily discipline was integral to the project of *cultura animi*. The education of the layperson, which was a central object in Francke's vision for a pious society, thus required institutions like Die Franckeschen Anstalten to spread knowledge of how to care for the soul through bodily care. Hence, while the parallels with monastic life are evident, there is also a notable departure: Francke's rationality emphasised a universalist project of spiritual and bodily discipline, extending beyond the cloistered elite to the broader public. In this sense, Francke's rationality exemplifies the formulation of a pedagogical imperative rooted in a specific regime of pastoral power: the universal project of cultivating the body as a means of cultivating the soul and, by extension, a mechanism for moral regulation of society through education.

As previously noted, Protestant reformers reinterpreted rather than rejected monastic bodily practices, a point underscored by Ruth Marie Griffith, who shows that diverging conceptions and practices of the body were often entrenched in doctrinal conflicts.³³³ As shown, Francke's problematisation of pleasing bodily desires played a significant role in his definition of true Christianity and rejection of, in his eyes, a corrupt Lutheran church. Similarly, Martin Luther's perspective on the body and flesh had marked a decisive break with the asceticism of monasticism and was integral to Luther's own critique of the disdain for the bodily experience.³³⁴ As scholars such as Lyndal Roper and Charles Lloyd Cortright have shown, Luther took a more tolerant approach to bodily needs like eating, drinking, and sexuality. For Luther, the enjoyment of sexual activity was permitted within the confines of marriage, and enjoying the pleasure of bodily desires, like a delicious meal or the pleasant company of good friends, was not inherently sinful. In this sense, Luther's view of the body and flesh was relatively lenient, allowing Christians to exercise discretion in their daily lives without excessive restraint.³³⁵

Francke's perspective, however, departed sharply from this more permissive Lutheran stance. Central to this divergence was Pietism's rejection of *adiaphora*, which was at the core of Francke's conflict with the local Lutheran churches. Within theological discourse, *adiaphora* refers to religious practices, beliefs, or rituals considered indifferent or non-

³³² Tanja Täubner, "Zum andern soltu meditirn" *Die Meditationspraktiken in der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes*. (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2012), 5-13.

³³³ Ruth Marie Griffith, *Born again Bodies. Flesh and Spirit in American Christianity*. (London: University of California Press, 2004), 23- 68.

³³⁴ Lyndal Roper, "Martin Luther's Body: The "Stout Doctor" and His Biographers." *American Historical Review*, vol. 115, issue 2, April 2010, pp. 351-384, 355, 380.

³³⁵ Lyndal Roper, "Martin Luther's Body: The "Stout Doctor" and His Biographers." *American Historical Review*, vol. 115, issue 2, April 2010, pp. 351-384, 383.

essential to matters of faith and salvation – those actions not explicitly commanded or forbidden by divine law. The concept of *adiaphora*, tracing its origin to ancient Greece and further explored within the medieval theological discussion, found substantial development within early modern Protestantism. In traditional Lutheran theology, *adiaphora* represented a space of Christian freedom, where believers were permitted to engage in practices that did not directly affect their Christianity, as long as they did not conflict with essential doctrines or divine commandments. Actions such as eating, drinking, social behaviour, and other daily activities were permissible within this framework, provided they were approached with a clear conscience and within the bounds of faith.³³⁶ This allowed for a degree of personal discretion in managing worldly desires as long as they did not interfere with one's faith or salvation. Lyndal Roper posited that one of Luther's distinguishing features was his remarkably positive attitude towards the body and its various needs.³³⁷

However, for the protestant reformers, who grappled with the relationship between faith, human conduct, and salvation, the issue of Christian freedom within the realm of *adiaphora* resurfaced as a significant concern. Notably, Pietism and Calvinism exhibited hostility towards the notion that there existed things indifferent to salvation, particularly in their re-evaluation of sin, characterising it as any action failing to glorify God.³³⁸ This reconceptualisation collapsed the space of indifference: all actions – including those involving the body – were now morally charged and potentially redemptive or damning. Whereas Luther allowed for bodily enjoyment as long as it did not obstruct salvation, Francke emphasised that bodily desires posed a threat that needed to be mitigated through strict self-surveillance and moderation, which underscores a fundamental divergence in their understanding of human conduct and salvation. In Francke's rationality, the body resurfaced as a vital site of pastoral care and a key battleground in the struggle between true and false Christians. Charles Lloyd Cortright has further argued that Luther's theology of the body was primarily eschatological, concerned with the body's place in resurrection and afterlife rather than on the body-soul relationship or the day-to-day bodily discipline.³³⁹ By

³³⁶ G. R. Evans, "Sancta Indifferentia and Adiaphora: 'Holy Indifference' and 'Things Indifferent.'" *Common Knowledge* 15, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 23–38.; Markus Friedrich, "Orthodoxy and Variation: The Role of Adiaphorism in Early Modern Protestantism," in *Orthodoxies and Heterodoxies in Early Modern German Culture*, serie *Order and Creativity, 1550–1750*, Studies in Central European Histories, vol. 42, ed. Randolph C. Head and Daniel Christensen (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007).

³³⁷ Lyndal Roper, "Martin Luther's Body: The "Stout Doctor" and His Biographers." *American Historical Review*, vol. 115, issue 2, April 2010, pp. 351–384.

³³⁸ Sdzuj, Reimund B., "Adiaphora", in *Encyclopedia of Early Modern History Online*, Editors of the English edition: Graeme Dunphy, Andrew Gow. Original German Edition: Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit. Im Auftrag des Kulturwissenschaftlichen Instituts (Essen) und in Verbindung mit den Fachherausgebern herausgegeben von Friedrich Jaeger. Copyright © J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung und Carl Ernst Poeschel Verlag GmbH 2005–2012. Consulted online on 13 February 2024 http://dx.doi.org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/10.1163/2352-0272_emho_SIM_016600 First published online: 2015 First print edition: 20160321

³³⁹ Charles Lloyd Cortright, 2011: *Poor Maggot-Sack that I Am": The Human Body in the Theology of Martin Luther* (Dissertation: Marquette University, 2011), 48, 242.

rejecting *adiaphora* and insisting on strict bodily governance, Francke, by contrast, was focused on the body's role in earthly existence as a productive tool for societal reform.

While Francke did not entirely abandon the Reformation principle of justification by faith, his construction of the body as a vehicle for devotion through proper governance was central to his rationality and construction of the flesh, marking a significant departure from what he defined as a corrupt church. The Pietist body was a spiritually charged, disciplined vessel prepared for individual and societal transformation.

Scholars such as August Nitschke, Berthold Ebert, and Jürgen Helm have analysed the Pietist conception of the body and argued that Halle Pietism conveyed a dubious or contradictory notion of the body. They argue that the influence of Christian dualism, which posits the body as inherently carrying original sin, led to a perception of the body marked by ambivalence and inconsistency, as the body was expected both to be despised and revered.³⁴⁰ However, this apparent ambivalence can be understood as a coherent internal logic when viewed in the context of Francke's attempts to delineate Pietism as distinct from Lutheran Orthodoxy. By constructing bodily discipline as a serious pastoral problem, Francke did not express ambivalence towards the body, but rather revealed that bodily conduct was linked to the healing of the troubled soul. In this light, the body's dual potential for leading to either perfection or perdition did not signal inconsistency but established a coherent internal logic for identifying true Christianity and pointing towards a way to care for the soul. Rather than reflecting ambivalence, the body emerged as a distinct entity in which pastoral and doctrinal conflicts over true Christianity were contested and resolved. Thus Francke's rationalisation of the body marked a significant departure from both Catholic ascetic traditions and Lutheran leniency. By rejecting *adiaphora* and insisting on rigorous control of bodily desires, Francke positioned the disciplined body not only as a signifier of individual true Christian faith but as the foundation for collective and societal moral and spiritual transformation.

To conclude on Francke's rationality of the body, Francke's pastoral rationality can be understood as a distinctly Pietist articulation of pastoral power, in which the body emerged as a central site of for building up godliness and Christian perfection through the discipline of the flesh. However, this regime aimed not only at individual godliness but at forming a body fit for service: perfectly controlled and ready for productive work. By insisting that that the body was the tool that could lead to true Christianity, Francke's rationality was inseparable from his educational vision of world change through human change.

³⁴⁰ Berthold Ebert, "Zur Rolle der Körpererziehung in den Franckeschen Stiftungen unter Einfluss von August Hermann Niemeyer" in "*Seyd nicht träge in dem was ihr thun sollt.*" August Hermann Niemeyer (1754-1828): *Erneuerung durch Erfahrung* ed. Christian Soboth, (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2007), 92-93; Jürgen Helm, "'Erde, Fettigkeit, subtiler Schleim und Wasser' - Der Pietismus und die Leiblichkeit des Menschen" in "*Der Herr wird eine Herrlichkeit an uns offenbaren*" *Liebe, Ehe und Sexualität im Pietismus* ed. Wolfgang Breul, (Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen: Halle, 2011), 173; August Nitschke, „Gymnastik, Fechten und Tanzen im 18. Jahrhundert. Die Ausbilden des Körper auf den Schulen von August Hermann Francke“ in *Das Kind in Pietismus und Aufklärung* eds. Josef N. Neumann and Udo Sträter, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000).

At this point, I would like to briefly highlight the similarity between Francke's pastoral bodily care and dietetics. These parallels are significant to acknowledge when considering the interrelation between Francke's construction of the body and his endorsement of dietetical regulation as a way to build up godliness. Dietetics prescribed control over physical health by carefully managing food, drink, sleep, exercise, air, excretions, and emotional state – elements understood to affect the body's balance and overall health. Similarly, Francke's pastoral logic advocated for vigilant regulation of many of these same aspects – though notably excluding air and excretions. Importantly, both dietetics and Francke's pastoral care emphasised the individual's personal responsibility to care for and regulate the body. However, while dietetics primarily aimed at preserving physical health, Francke framed such regulation within a broader spiritual discipline, presenting bodily care as a means of maintaining the body as a vessel for divine service and building godliness through bodily control.

Recognising these resonances between dietetics and Francke's pastoral construction of bodily care sets the stage for a closer examination of how Francke understood and constructed the concept of health.

Francke's rationality of health

As mentioned in the introduction, in the historiography of large-scale health initiatives in the 18th century, scholarly attention has largely focused on secularisation processes, interpreting health as a secular, medical category primarily associated with the physical body, positioning this in contrast to religion, which has been seen as mainly concerned with the soul rather than the body. However, the analysis of Francke's rationality of the body has elucidated that he constructed the treatment of the body to have a profound impact on the soul, and it played a central role in his vision for universal societal improvement. In this section, I will explore how Francke drew upon a longstanding tradition of framing the human relationship to God within medical terms, focusing on how he constructed a rationality of health within his framework of the serving body, *praxis pietatis*, and true Christianity.

In a sermon from 1717, Francke posited that:

“There are also many who still have spiritual life within them, but they are not healthy in faith, not healthy in love, not healthy in spiritual strength, but they are diseased.”³⁴¹

³⁴¹ “Also sind auch manche, die zwar das geistliche Leben noch in ihnen haben, aber nicht gesund im Glauben, nicht gesund in der Liebe, nicht gesund in den geistlichen Kräften, sondern kranck sind“ August Hermann Francke, *Eine Ermahnung zur dankbaren Erkenntniß der empfangenen Gnadel und zur Sorgfalt in derselben bis ans Ende fest behalten zu werden* (Erhalten in der Schul=Kircke in Halle 1707) in A. H. Francke, *Predigten über die Sonn= und Fest=Tags=Episteln*. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1726), 1216.

This elucidates how Francke employed a medical language of health and disease to conceptualise faith and spiritual strength. Clearly, he did not relate the terms health and disease to physical conditions but to spiritual states such as faith, spiritual love, and strength. These key spiritual virtues were constructed as possible sites for infection, diseases, and virtues that needed to be healthy.

While some scholars interpret this kind of medical language as metaphorical illustrations of the morality of the Christian,³⁴² historians Johann Anselm Steiger and Fritz Krafft have argued that such language was not merely symbolic in describing the relationship between Christians and the divine powers.³⁴³ Several studies have shown that within a Christian context, spiritual diseases were conceptualised as ontological truths – real but invisible afflictions of the soul, representing spiritual conditions that required healing.³⁴⁴ In particular, the notion of original sin had, since antiquity, been conceptualised as an inescapable primordial disease lingering inside all people by Christian thinkers. While the aetiology of physical diseases historically has been interpreted in various ways, including as a result of God's intervention, demonic influence, or magic, the theological perspective fundamentally framed them as consequences of original sin, which manifested itself as an ailing body.³⁴⁵

Steiger has demonstrated that Luther, in several instances, argued for an affinity between medicine and theology. According to Luther, medicine and theology shared a common goal: healing. However, Luther posited the limitations of medicine as it only addressed physical diseases, pointing out that powders, balms, and pills could not heal the gravest ailment of all – original sin. In Luther's view, medicine only treated the physical symptoms of original sin, whereas spiritual ailments were left in vain, which was why theology was needed as a healing discipline that aimed at curing spiritual infections threatening the soul.³⁴⁶

This perspective on medicine and theology as healing disciplines was reflected in the motif of *Christus Medicus*, which emerged in the antique world and portrayed Jesus and

³⁴² The medical historian Gary Ferngren have posited this language as merely metaphorical: Gary Ferngren, *Medicine & Health Care in early Christianity*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 146–147. He also posits stories of demonic possessions in the Bible rather as metaphorical than constructions of demons as aetiology of diseases, 140.

³⁴³ Fritz Krafft, *Christus ruft in die Himmelsapotheke. Die Verbildlichung des Heilandsrufs durch Christus als Apotheke. Begleitbuch und Katalog zur Sonderausstellung im Museum Altomünster (29. Nov. 2002 bis 26. Jan. 2003)*. (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft 2002.), 25; Johann Anselm Steiger, *Medizinische Theologie: Christus medicus ind theologica medicinalis bei Martin Luther und im Luthertum der Barockzeit: mit Edition dreier Quellentexte* (Leiden: Brill. 2005); See also Daniel McCann, *Soul Health. Therapeutic Reading in Later Medieval England*. (Wiltshire: University of Wales Press, 2018), 5.

³⁴⁴ Dr. Jean-Claude Larchet, *Therapy of Spiritual Illnesses. An Introduction to the Ascetic Tradition of the Orthodox Church vol. 1, vol. 2, vol. 3*. (Montréal: Alexander Press, 2012).

³⁴⁵ Albrecht Classen, *Religion und Gesundheit – Der heilkundliche Diskurs im 16. Jahrhunderts*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011); Gary Ferngren, *Medicine & Health Care in early Christianity*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009).

³⁴⁶ Johann Anselm Steiger, *Medizinische Theologie: Christus medicus ind theologica medicinalis bei Martin Luther und im Luthertum der Barockzeit: mit Edition dreier Quellentexte* (Leiden: Brill. 2005), 7–13.

God as physicians offering faith as healing medicine for the spiritually diseased Christian. This motif also appeared in Protestant devotional literature in the 16th and 17th centuries. Johann Arndt, whose works significantly influenced Spener and Francke,³⁴⁷ depicted Jesus as an apothecary and physician in his *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* (1609-1611, Four Books on True Christianity).³⁴⁸ Here, Christ was portrayed as an apothecary crafting tinctures and balms infused with religious and healing virtues such as gentleness, mercy, charity, and mildness,³⁴⁹ a motif that surfaced concurrently with the emergence of the Protestant pious groups in the 17th century.

Steiger and Krafft interpret the medical and therapeutic language surrounding spiritual diseases and the healing powers of faith, God, and Christ as indicative of a belief in the existence of real soul diseases that required treatment through Christ and God's medical and healing powers. Thus, Francke's use of medical terminology reflects a broader Christian tradition in which spiritual diseases were interpreted as actual conditions affecting the individual's faith and relationship with God. So, how did Francke construct health as an object of pastoral care? Moreover, what role did the body play within his pastoral construction of health?

Physical diseases

To analyse Francke's construction of health, it is crucial first to understand how he constructed the link between sin and bodily and spiritual diseases.

While Francke frequently touched upon the theme of spiritual and physical diseases throughout his writings, he addressed it most directly in his sermon, *Christ, Our Physician*.³⁵⁰ In this sermon, Francke began by declaring:

“Jesus Christ, who is our physician in spiritual and bodily weaknesses, proves himself to us as our life and physician, and he grasps us through the word of grace, that we

³⁴⁷ Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 10-19.

³⁴⁸ Fritz Krafft, *Christus ruft in die Himmelsapotheke. Die Verbildlichung des Heilandsrufs durch Christus als Apotheker. Begleitbuch und Katalog zur Sonderausstellung im Museum Altomünster (29. Nov. 2002 bis 26. Jan. 2003)*. (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2002), 21-29. The oldest motif with Jesus as apothecary is from 1619 by Michael Herr, 30.

³⁴⁹ Fritz Krafft, *Christus ruft in die Himmelsapotheke. Die Verbildlichung des Heilandsrufs durch Christus als Apotheker. Begleitbuch und Katalog zur Sonderausstellung im Museum Altomünster (29. Nov. 2002 bis 26. Jan. 2003)*. (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2002), 32-34.

³⁵⁰ August Hermann Francke, „Christus Unser Arzt. (Predigt) Am XVII. Sonntage nach Trinitatis. (Gehalten in er Ulrichs=Kirche in Halle, Anno 1723)“ in A.H. Francke, *Sonn= und Fest=Tags=Predigten*. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1724), 1447-1460.

may become healthy in faith and be strengthened to walk continually before his face".³⁵¹

Francke thus constructed Jesus as the healer of both physical and spiritual diseases and the source of health.

No doubt, according to Francke, all physical diseases originated in sin.³⁵² In alignment with traditional Christian thinking, he also stated that physical disease was an unavoidable side effect of original sin, thus attacking all individuals, no matter their Christian status as either false or true Christians. However, Christ could heal such physical ailments, as he was the carrier of all worldly sins, and turning towards the grace of Christ could induce physical health when Christ bestowed his healing powers.³⁵³

However, Christ did not merely heal people for his own pleasure. To receive the healing power of Christ, Francke accentuated that physical diseases should be considered as opportunities for reflecting upon one's personally committed sins and the need for conversion if one should receive proper healing. As I have shown, Francke's conceptualisation of sin equalled the carnal inclinations in human nature, and committing sins was conceptualised as failing to crucify the flesh and resist its desires. Francke thus directly linked the indulgence in carnal activity to physical diseases, stating: "[...] many people misuse the gifts of God, using them in excess – their clothes for show, their food and drink for gluttony [...]"³⁵⁴ which encouraged God to send them a physical disease as a warning of the dangers of their way of life.³⁵⁵ Therefore, the path from physical illness to healing began with a recognition of personal sin as its underlying cause. Francke illustrated this through the example of a man who, rather than focusing solely on his physical symptoms, allowed the divine light to illuminate his conscience. This introspection led him to acknowledge the inner turmoil brought about by sin, as he realised that his suffering was self-inflicted through moral transgression. Francke wrote that:

³⁵¹ "Jesus Christus, der in geistlichen und leiblichen Schwachheiten unser Arzt ist, bewaise sich an uns auch ietso als unser Leben und unser Arzt, und ergreife uns durch Wort der Gnade, dass wir Gesund werden im Glauben, und gestärcket werden, vor seinem Angesicht zu wandeln immerbar". August Hermann Francke, „Christus Unser Arzt. (Predigt) Am XVII. Sonntage nach Trinitatis. (Gehalten ind er Ulrichs=Kirche in Halle, Anno 1723)“ in A.H. Francke, *Sonn= und Fest=Tags=Predigten*. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1724), 1447.

³⁵² August Hermann Francke, „Christus Unser Arzt. (Predigt) Am XVII. Sonntage nach Trinitatis. (Gehalten ind er Ulrichs=Kirche in Halle, Anno 1723)“ in A.H. Francke, *Sonn= und Fest=Tags=Predigten*. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1724), 1451.

³⁵³ August Hermann Francke, „Christus Unser Arzt. (Predigt) Am XVII. Sonntage nach Trinitatis. (Gehalten ind er Ulrichs=Kirche in Halle, Anno 1723)“ in A.H. Francke, *Sonn= und Fest=Tags=Predigten*. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1724), 1451.-1452.

³⁵⁴ "[...]mancher Mensch missbrauchet die Gaben Gottes, brauchet dieselbe zum überfluss, seine Kleider zum Pracht, sein Essen und Trincken zur Fresserey..." August Hermann Francke, „Auswahl aus den Predigtnachschriften (AFSt) 1693 bis 1725 Katechismuspredigten: Über die VII. Bitte“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 10 = 2 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin:de Gruyter, 1989), 594.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

“[...] he did not merely focus on the external illness, as others who were present perhaps did; rather he looked inward into his own heart and there recognised how troubled and downcast he was on account of sin [...] since his conscience told him that he had brought this illness upon himself through sin, [...]”³⁵⁶

The act of self-examination was thus not merely therapeutic but the necessary precondition for divine mercy and true healing. In his sermon *The Experience of the Glory of God*, Francke stated:

“But if people, through the punishment they receive because of their sins, are brought to the recognition of their sins and convert to the one whose hand has struck them, then in Christ Jesus, he will be gracious to them again, heal the person and make them healthy from the illness that He sent upon them due to their sin.”³⁵⁷

Although Pietism fully accepted the legitimacy of medical treatment, such as balms, pills, and powders,³⁵⁸ Francke emphasised that these alone were insufficient. Genuine healing required the patient to undergo a spiritual transformation by confronting their sins and submitting to God’s word.³⁵⁹ In this view, illness was not merely a physical condition but a divine signal urging moral reflection and repentance. As illustrated, at the heart of this construction of the cause of diseases was the belief that carnal desires – such as gluttony or indulgence in bodily pleasures – were the true source of affliction. Diseases, then, functioned as both punishments and pedagogical tools sent by God to awaken the sinner

³⁵⁶ [...] daß er nicht bloß auf seine äusserliche Krankheit sahe , wie etwa andere, die zugegen war; sondern daß er in das inwendige seines Hertzens hinein schaute und daselbst erkannte, wie betrübet und niedergeschlagen er seiner Sünde halber war [...] dieweil ihm sein Gewissen sagte, daß er diese seine Krankheit durch seine Sünden sich selbst zugezogen hätte, [...]” August Hermann Francke, „Auswahl aus den Predigten nachschriften (AFSt) 1693 bis 1725, Sonn- und Fest-Tags-Predigten 1724 , Die Gerechtigkeit und Stärke im HERRN.“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 10 = 2 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 338-339.

³⁵⁷ “ [...] wenn aber die Menschen durch die Straffen, so ihrer Sünden wegen empfangen zur Erkenntniß ihrer Sünden, sich bringen lassen, und sich bekehren zu (dem) deßen Hand ihm geschlagen hat, so läst er sich in Christo Jesu wieder gnädig finden, heilet den Menschen und machet ihn gesund von der Krankheit, die er ihm um seiner Sünde willen zugeschicket hat [...]” August Hermann Francke, „Auswahl aus den Predigten sammlungen 1706 bis 1726, Predigten und Tractätlein, 1723 Die Erfahrung der Herrlichkeit Gottes“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 10 = 2 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 176.

³⁵⁸ See for instance Renate Wilson, *Pious Traders in Medicine. A German Pharmaceutical Network in Eighteenth-Century North America*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Irmtraut Sahmland & Hans-Jürgen Schröder (ed.), *Medizin- und kulturgeschichte Konnexe des Pietismus. Heilkunde und Ethik, arkane Traditionen, Musik, Litteratur und Sprache Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus*, Band 61, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2016).

³⁵⁹ August Hermann Francke, „Christus Unser Arzt. (Predigt) Am XVII. Sonntage nach Trinitatis. (Gehalten in der Ulrichs=Kirche in Halle, Anno 1723)“ in A.H. Francke, *Sonn- und Fest=Tags=Predigten*. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1724) 1451-1453

to the need for repentance and reform. Importantly, this explanation entailed no reflection upon how diseases developed within the human organism – they were a result of divine intervention and original sin.

German historians Mathias Vollmer and Fritz Krafft have argued that, within traditional Christian thought, while physical illness was generally understood as a consequence of original sin, it was not typically interpreted as the result of individually committed sins. The presence of diseases in the world was constructed as an inevitable part of the fallen human condition, and epidemics were often interpreted as collective punishments inflicted by God upon society³⁶⁰ or signs of the work of God revealing itself in the body.³⁶¹ Such experiences of suffering were frequently construed in a positive theological light – as opportunities to imitate Christ's passion and draw closer to the divine.³⁶² Within this interpretive framework, diseases served as general, collective warnings rather than targeted, individualised messages from God.

In contrast, Francke thus introduced a more individualised interpretation of the aetiology of disease. While he continued to frame illness as a mode of divine communication and correction, he emphasised personal and moral responsibility in the prevention of such afflictions. For Francke, physical diseases were not merely the general result of humanity's fallen state but could be a direct consequence of one's own sinful behaviour. This marked a significant shift in reasoning: from viewing illness as an unavoidable outcome of original sin to understanding it as potentially provoked by individual actions, particularly those associated with carnal desires.

Within this framework, the therapeutic process was inseparable from the pursuit of true Christianity. True healing required more than physical remedies: it demanded self-examination, the identification of sinful conduct, and genuine repentance. Illness thus became a moment of spiritual testing – an occasion to assess the state of one's soul and reorient oneself towards God. By linking disease causation to personal sin, Francke advances a rationality of individual accountability, moving away from traditional collective paradigms, framing diseases as deeply personal consequences of failing to live in accordance with Christian virtue.

While Francke did not construct physical diseases as explicit markers of true and false Christianity, they were constructed as possibilities to convert or, for the already converted,

³⁶⁰ Matthias Vollmer, "Sünde – Krankheit "Väterliche Züchtigung" Sünden als Ursache vor Krankheit vom Mittelalter bis in die frühe Neuzeit" in *Religion und Gesundheit – Der heilkundliche Diskurs im 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Albrecht Classen, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 262, 271.

³⁶¹ Fritz Krafft, *Christus ruft in die Himmelsapotheke. Die Verbildlichung des Heilandsrufs durch Christus als Apotheker. Begleitbuch und Katalog zur Sonderausstellung im Museum Altomünster (29. Nov. 2002 bis 26. Jan. 2003)*. (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2002), 16.

³⁶² Albrecht Classen, *Religion und Gesundheit – Der heilkundliche Diskurs im 16. Jahrhunderts*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011); Gary Ferngren, *Medicine & Health Care in early Christianity*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Gary B. Ferngren, *Medicine and Religion: A Historical Introduction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014); Phillipa Koch, *The Course of God's Providence. Religion, Health, and the Body in Early Modern America* (New York: New York University Press, 2021).

a chance to honour God through suffering. The latter was reflected in a somewhat positive interpretation of being ill as an ailment, which, when handled correctly as outlined, could become an act of honour and increase faith as the sickness thus: “[...] was not unto death but to the glory of God.”³⁶³ This meant that through the acceptance of Jesus as the ultimate physician, individuals could not only regain physical health³⁶⁴ but, even more importantly, strengthen their spiritual strength and faith, thereby directly: “[...] promoting the health of the soul amid bodily illness and thereby [gaining] what the body lost through sickness.”³⁶⁵

Essentially, Christ would: “[...] grasp us through the word of grace, that we may become healthy in faith.”³⁶⁶ This meant that Francke constructed a link between physical illness and spiritual growth, where self-reflection could transform sickness into an act of honouring God, thereby enhancing both physical and spiritual health. To Francke, healing the body was inseparable from healing the soul, and physical suffering served as a moment of grace through divine correction, whereby spiritual renewal could be realised.

In this way, Francke did not confine the concept of health to the physical body alone but extended it to the soul, which would attain spiritual health when the individual confronted his sins. While drawing on traditional Christian notions linking sin to disease, Francke intertwined the governance of the flesh with gaining spiritual health, emphasising the necessity of relying on Christ’s healing powers in order to recover from physical diseases.

This perspective allowed the maintenance of a healthy faith even in the face of physical suffering, highlighting the redemptive possibilities inherent in bodily illness. While physical illness could be painful and challenging, it was nevertheless an opportunity to honour God and gain spiritual health.

Spiritual diseases

In stark contrast to the somewhat positive construction of physical diseases were the far more perilous spiritual diseases. Francke argued that spiritual illnesses, such as “unbelief”

³⁶³ „[...] die Kranckheit ist nicht zum Tode, sondern zur Ehre Gottes.” August Hermann Francke, „Christus Unser Arzt. (Predigt) Am XVII. Sonntage nach Trinitatis. (Gehalten in der Ulrichs=Kirche in Halle, Anno 1723)” in A.H. Francke, *Sonn= und Fest=Tags=Predigten*. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1724), 1455.

³⁶⁴ August Hermann Francke, „Christus Unser Arzt. (Predigt) Am XVII. Sonntage nach Trinitatis. (Gehalten in der Ulrichs=Kirche in Halle, Anno 1723)” in A.H. Francke, *Sonn= und Fest=Tags=Predigten*. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1724) 1450-1451, 1453-1454.

³⁶⁵ [...] unter der leiblichen Kranckheit die Gesundheit der Seelen befördert, und an derselben erfasset was durch Kranckheit dem Leibe abgehet.” August Hermann Francke, „Christus Unser Arzt. (Predigt) Am XVII. Sonntage nach Trinitatis. (Gehalten in der Ulrichs=Kirche in Halle, Anno 1723)” in A.H. Francke, *Sonn= und Fest=Tags=Predigten*. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1724), 1455.

³⁶⁶ „[...] ergreife uns durch das Wort der Gnade, dass wir gesund werden im Glauben“ August Hermann Francke, „Christus Unser Arzt. (Predigt) Am XVII. Sonntage nach Trinitatis. (Gehalten in der Ulrichs=Kirche in Halle, Anno 1723)” in A.H. Francke, *Sonn= und Fest=Tags=Predigten*. (Halle, Waisenhaus, 1724), 1447.

(*Unglaube*) and “loftiness of the heart” (*Hoheit des Herzens*), were far more insidious due to their invisible nature. Francke described these as:

“[...] two severe and incurable diseases for all people, afflictions of the mind, soul and spirits, which certainly cannot be healed by natural means, but instead, He Himself, Jesus Christ, must be the physician to make us healthy, if things are to turn out well.”³⁶⁷

Though less apparent than physical diseases, these internal afflictions profoundly undermined one’s faith, and their intangible nature made them particularly challenging to diagnose and treat, allowing them to fester and severely erode the individual’s spiritual health.

Just as physical diseases were understood to originate in sin, so too were spiritual afflictions.³⁶⁸ However, suffering from spiritual illness could never merely be a by-product of original sin; rather, it resulted from the individual’s failure to acknowledge the fundamentally pathological condition of human existence and that the human condition in itself was a threat to the soul. Healing spiritual ailments required recognising that genuine faith was grounded in the experience of suffering and spiritual awakening. As Francke expressed it: “And this, then, is the foundation of faith, namely, that one is drawn through affliction, outwardly or inwardly, to recognise the sicknesses of one’s soul and hear the Word of God with delight and love [...]”.³⁶⁹ Consequently, if the individual acknowledged his own moral corruption and surrendered to Christ – accepting the need to crucify the flesh – Jesus, as the ultimate physician, would ensure: “ [...] that body and soul may be reunited and presented before His countenance in eternal health and clarity.”³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ „[...] zwey schwere und allen Menschen unheilbare Krankheiten, Gemüths = Seelen = und Geistes=Krankheiten, welche gewiß durch natürliche Mittel nicht können gehoben werden, sondern da er selbst, Jesus Christus, der Arzt seyn muss, uns gesund zu machen, wenn es anders wohl ablaufen soll“ August Hermann Francke, „Christus Unser Arzt. (Predigt) Am XVII. Sonntage nach Trinitatis. (Gehalten in der Ulrichs=Kirche in Halle, Anno 1723)“ in A.H. Francke, *Sonn= und Fest=Tags=Predigten*. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1724), 1456.

³⁶⁸ August Hermann Francke, „Christus Unser Arzt. (Predigt) Am XVII. Sonntage nach Trinitatis. (Gehalten in der Ulrichs=Kirche in Halle, Anno 1723)“ in A.H. Francke, *Sonn= und Fest=Tags=Predigten*. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1724)1451.

³⁶⁹ “Und das ist also die Gründung des Glaubens, nemlich, dass man durchs Creutz äusserlich oder innerlich gezogen wird, seiner Seelen Krankheiten erkennet, das Wort Gottes mit Lust und Liebe höret [...]” August Hermann Francke „August Hermann Franckens, S. Theol. Prof. und Past. Sonn-Fest- und Apostel-Tags-Predigten: Vom Rechtschaffenen Wachsthum des Glaubens/ Oder: Von der wahren Glaubens-Gründung/Kräftigung/Stärckung und Vollbereitung“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 16.

³⁷⁰ „[...] Leib und Seele wieder vereinigen und in ewiger Gesundheit und Klarheit vor seinem Angesichte darstellen werde.“ August Hermann Francke, „Christus Unser Arzt. (Predigt) Am XVII. Sonntage nach Trinitatis. (Gehalten in der Ulrichs=Kirche in Halle, Anno 1723)“ in A.H. Francke, *Sonn= und Fest=Tags=Predigten*. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1724), 1459.

While all people were prone to physical and spiritual diseases, Francke identified a particular susceptibility to spiritual ailments among a specific group: the false and ungodly Christians. These individuals were especially vulnerable to such due to their failure to confront and restrain their sinful inclinations. In the sermon, *On the Righteous Growth of Faith*, Francke urged the carnal-minded people to recognise: “[...] the illness and mortal danger of your soul.”³⁷¹

Similarly, in *On the Works of Conversion*, he posed the rhetorical question: “How is it possible to be healed if you still cling to the lust of the eyes and the flesh and to a life of pride and arrogance?”³⁷² In the subsequent passage Francke explicitly stated that one should know that if one embraced carnal lust, one was responsible for one’s own bad spiritual health and ruin.

For Francke, spiritual diseases were not abstract or metaphorical conditions but direct consequences of the individual’s unwillingness to exercise control over the flesh. False Christians – those who outwardly professed faith but failed to live according to its moral demands – were, in his eyes, the most afflicted by such invisible maladies precisely because their inner corruption contradicted their external religiosity.³⁷³

Conversely, Francke posited that the words of God acted as “a healthy spring”,³⁷⁴ with Jesus aiming to restore “the health of humankind’s hearts”³⁷⁵ through “the healing teaching

³⁷¹ “[...]die Kranckheit und Todesgefahr deiner Seele [...]“ August Hermann Francke „August Hermann Franckens, S. Theol. Prof. und Past. Sonn-Fest- und Apostel-Tags-Predigten: Vom Rechtschaffenen Wachsthum des Glaubens/ Oder: Von der wahren Glaubens-Gründung/Kräftigung/Stärckung und Vollbereitung“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 26.

³⁷² “Wann GOtt dir immer also nachrufft, und du dennoch bleibst kleben an Augen-Lust, Fleisches-Lust, und hoffärtigem Leben, wie ist es möglich, daß du sollest geheylet werden von deinen Sünden?“ August Hermann Francke „Erster Teil: Auswahl aus den Predigtsammlungen 1706 bis 1726: Buß-Predigten 1706: Von dem Wercke der Bekehrung.“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 10 = 2 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin:de Gruyter, 1989), 59.

³⁷³ August Hermann Francke „August Hermann Franckens, S. Theol. Prof. und Past. Sonn-Fest- und Apostel-Tags-Predigten: Vom Rechtschaffenen Wachsthum des Glaubens/ Oder: Von der wahren Glaubens-Gründung/Kräftigung/Stärckung und Vollbereitung“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin:de Gruyter, 1987), 27.

³⁷⁴ “[...] gesunden Quelle“ in August Hermann Francke „Der Fall und Wiederaufrichtung der wahren Gerechtigkeit“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin:de Gruyter, 1987), 58 also page 54 „[...] gesunde Lehre unsere Kirchen.“

³⁷⁵ August Hermann Francke, „Christus Unser Arzt. (Predigt) Am XVII. Sonntage nach Trinitatis. (Gehalten ind er Ulrichs=Kirche in Halle, Anno 1723)“ in A.H. Francke, *Sonn= und Fest=Tags=Predigten*. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1724)1447-1448.

of Christ” that prompted sinners to forsake their sinful nature.³⁷⁶ This redemptive and healthy potential, however, was resisted by the carnally-minded, who rejected “the healing teaching of the church”, twisting God’s word to suit their carnal and earthly desires. According to Francke, such an attitude: “[...] poisoned God’s healthy teaching” and threatened to undermine the transformative potential of God’s word, which was essential for fostering a healthy faith.³⁷⁷

By explicitly employing a medical vocabulary that established a dichotomy of disease and health as synonymous with sin and sinlessness, Francke positioned spiritual health as the defining marker of the pious Christian – an identity realised through the practice of carnal discipline. In doing so, he integrated the concept of health into a broader rationality of flesh and body, in which regulating bodily desires was vital for the enhancement of soul health.

While Francke did not embed the construction of physical disease within his framework of true Christianity – acknowledging that physical afflictions were an unavoidable consequence of the human fallen state – the construction of spiritual illness played a far more divisive role. Within this logic, spiritual health became a diagnostic category that sharply divided individuals into two groups: those spiritually diseased and those spiritually healthy, depending on their relationship to the flesh. It was the individual’s capacity to resist carnal desires that determined their spiritual condition and, ultimately, their status as healthy or diseased Christians.

Building up faith and health through suffering

Existing research on health and dietetics in the 18th century and onward often asserts that medical discourses aimed at establishing a culture of physical health and well-being in society, and that health in the early modern period was conceptualised as bodily vitality and a joyous mind free from disease.³⁷⁸ Against this backdrop, Francke’s rationality of health stands in stark contrast. Francke was often accused of prohibiting worldly well-being, lust,

³⁷⁶ „[...] die heilsame Lehres des Herrn Christ.“ in August Hermann Francke „Der Fall und Wiederaufrichtung der wahren Gerechtigkeit“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 51, se also page 56.

³⁷⁷ „[...] zur Gesundheit des Glaubens“ in August Hermann Francke „Der Fall und Wiederaufrichtung der wahren Gerechtigkeit“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 58.

³⁷⁸ Elaine Carrera, “Introduction” in *Emotions and Health 1200-1700* ed. Elaine Carrera, (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1-17; Michael Stolberg, “Der gesunde Leib. Zur Geschichtlichkeit frühneuzeitlicher Körpererfahrung” in ed. Paul Münch „Erfahrung“ alt Kategorie der Frühneuzeitgeschichte *Historischer Zeitschrift*. Beihefte, Band 31, R. (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2001); Christina Vanja, „Diätetik in frühneuzeitlichen Hospitälern – Überlegungen zum „sozialen Ort der Gesundheit“ in *Essen und Trinken im Spital. Ernährungskultur zwischen Festtag und Fasttag*. ed. Artur Dimeier, (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2018).

fun, and things that, according to the church, were not even to be considered sinful.³⁷⁹ In countering the accusations, Francke clarified that he only prohibited worldly pleasures,³⁸⁰ highlighting the contrast that:

“In God, there is pure delight. A joyful heart and clear conscience are a constant well-being. Therefore, I wish that [...] people would choose heavenly joy instead of the swinish lusts of the world and the flesh.”³⁸¹

This highlights two fundamentally different constructions of well-being. While Francke adopted a medical vocabulary and wrote of disease and health, his notion of health was not rooted in physical vitality or emotional exuberance but in spiritual joy and moral discipline. Health, for Francke, was achieved through resisting worldly desires and aligning the soul with God. The goal of health was a strong and enduring faith, and this state of spiritual well-being was built through suffering, loss, and moral struggle.

In his sermon, *On the Righteous Growth of Faith*, Francke argued that suffering and loss served as divine tools to awaken the heart and love by prompting the individual to acknowledge the misery of his soul. In this way, God's love and care for humankind were revealed.³⁸² Suffering, thus, functioned as a spiritual catalyst, directing the individual towards Christ and enabling a conversion.³⁸³ Surrendering to God's command to reject worldly pleasure – which in itself was not pleasurable – was essential for the growth of faith. Francke explained this process clearly:

³⁷⁹ Albrecht-Birkner and Udo Sträter, “Die radikale Phase des frühen August Hermann Francke” in *Der radikale Pietismus. Perspektiven der Forschung* eds. Wolfgang Breul, Marcus Meier, Lothar Vogel, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 64-65.

³⁸⁰ August Hermann Francke „Der Fall und Wiederaufrichtung der wahren Gerechtigkeit“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 68.

³⁸¹ „In Gott ist eine reine Wollust. Ein fröhliches Hertz, oder ein gut Gewissen, ist ein stetes Wohlleben. Darum wolte ich, [...] man an statt der säurischen Welt- und Fleisches-Lust die himmlische Lust erwählen möchte.“ in August Hermann Francke „Der Fall und Wiederaufrichtung der wahren Gerechtigkeit“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 68.

³⁸² August Hermann Francke „August Hermann Franckens, S. Theol. Prof. und Past. Sonn-Fest- und Apostel-Tags-Predigten: Vom Rechtschaffenen Wachsthum des Glaubens/ Oder: Von der wahren Glaubens-Gründung/Kräftigung/Stärkung und Vollbereitung“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 11- 14.

³⁸³ August Hermann Francke „August Hermann Franckens, S. Theol. Prof. und Past. Sonn-Fest- und Apostel-Tags-Predigten: Vom Rechtschaffenen Wachsthum des Glaubens/ Oder: Von der wahren Glaubens-Gründung/Kräftigung/Stärkung und Vollbereitung“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 13.

“[...] faith becomes more certain with each new experience [of conquering the flesh], as faith is victorious and overcomes the world. Each time this happens, faith is strengthened, and a person progresses from faith to faith, from clarity to clarity.”³⁸⁴

The consequence of this way of building faith was that: “[...] a believer, the more he is strengthened by the grace and power of Jesus Christ, [will not] willingly plunge his soul back into the sickness of sin.”³⁸⁵ In this way, Francke linked suffering and avoiding temptations to spiritual growth, resulting in a flourishing soul. This way of building up faith ultimately aimed at the true Christian attaining a state where: “[...] his heart, mind, and spirit may stand in a right sobriety, a right proper health, and in a divine composure.”³⁸⁶ Thus, Francke’s construction of health did not aim at physical well-being, vitality, or the prevention of physical diseases but was instead closely connected to the experience of suffering – both the physical suffering when physically diseased and particularly the spiritual suffering when acknowledging the misery of humankind’s fallen state. Both kinds of suffering were an opportunity to introspect on one’s sins and way of life, thus building up faith and spiritual health. True health was obtained through self-inspection and monitoring one’s actions, and the product of resisting carnal temptations, enduring suffering, and cultivating a faith that brought body and soul into alignment with divine order.

Francke’s conceptualisation of soul health – grounded in recognition of the soul’s inherent ailments and the individual’s responsibility to cure this through suffering, introspection, moderation, and conquering the world’s temptations – bears notable similarities to the concept of *salus animae* (the healthy/saved soul) as elucidated by Daniel McCann. McCann demonstrates how late English Medieval authors framed reading edificial literature as a therapeutic practice aimed at promoting soul health through the

³⁸⁴ „Welche Gewißheit zwar wol auch der Glaube in seiner ersten Kraft empfanget, aber gewiß, so oft eine neue Erfahrung da ist, und der Glaube zum Siege wird, der die Welt überwunden hat, so oft wird der Glaube gestärket, und gehet der Mensch gleichsam aus Glauben in Glauben, aus Klarheit in Klarheit.“: in August Hermann Francke „August Hermann Franckens, S. Theol. Prof. und Past. Sonn-Fest- und Apostel-Tags-Predigten: Vom Rechtschaffenen Wachsthum des Glaubens/ Oder: Von der wahren Glaubens-Gründung/Kräftigung/Stärckung und Vollbereitung“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 21.

³⁸⁵ „Also wird auch ein Gläubiger, ie mehr er durch die Erfahrung der Gnade und Kraft Jesu Christi gestärket ist, seine Seele nicht gerne wieder in die Sünden-Kranckheit stürzten;“ in August Hermann Francke „August Hermann Franckens, S. Theol. Prof. und Past. Sonn-Fest- und Apostel-Tags-Predigten: Vom Rechtschaffenen Wachsthum des Glaubens/ Oder: Von der wahren Glaubens-Gründung/Kräftigung/Stärckung und Vollbereitung“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 21.

³⁸⁶ „[...] einem jeden, der sich einen Christen nennet, daß sein Hertz, Gemüth und Geist in einer rechten Sobrietät in einer rechten gehörigen Gesundheit und göttlichen Fassung stehe.“ August Hermann Francke, „Der reine und unbefleckte Gottesdienst“ (Gehalten in der Schul-Kirche in Halle, 1704) in A. H. Francke, *Predigten über die Sonn- und Fest-Tags=Episteln*. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1726), 719.

experience of difficult, unpleasant, and intense emotional states, which in turn fostered piety.³⁸⁷ This parallels Francke's conceptualisation of practices that led to spiritual health, which was not associated with physical well-being but rather with a sustained struggle against the impulses of the body, passions, and mind. While Francke's conceptualisation of the flesh also encompassed passions, this analysis of his rationality of body and health has shown that bodily discipline played a central role in obtaining soul health.

The aim of health?

Research in early modern dietetics has often highlighted that Christian teachings – particularly the notion of the seven deadly sins – provided a significant moral framework for early modern medical discourse, including health literature on longevity and health. Scholars have noted that dietetical texts frequently aligned bodily health with moral virtue, suggesting that indulgence in practices such as excessive eating or drinking was not only detrimental to physical health but also displeasing to God.³⁸⁸ While this moral alignment has been acknowledged, less attention has been paid to how this relationship between health and divine order constituted a fully integrated system – where health was not merely underpinned by moral values but where bodily regulation operated as both a medical and a spiritual imperative aiming at improving health. Focusing on moderation and how it has been activated as a health-promoting technology helps illuminate how bodily discipline functioned as a theological and medical practice, particularly in Francke's rationality of health, where physical discipline was integral to spiritual well-being.

Moderation as a health-preserving technology is traceable back to ancient philosophy, also within the *cultura animi* tradition, in which moderation was regarded as the key to a healthy body and soul.³⁸⁹ Anita Guerrini – who has explored the concept of moderation within medical dietetics from 1500-1750 – has shown that by the 18th century, moderation had become a central tenet of medical dietetic health in relation to the regulation of the non-naturals – external factors believed to influence a person's health: food and drink, exercise and rest, excretion and retention, sleep and wakefulness, air and places, and passions. These factors had to be carefully moderated to maintain bodily health and prevent physical illness, and one way of achieving this regulation was through temperance. Guerrini has argued that while there was no clear consensus on what temperate practices entailed,

³⁸⁷ Daniel McCann, *Soul Health. Therapeutic Reading in Later Medieval England*. (Wiltshire: University of Wales Press, 2018), 11.

³⁸⁸ Anita Guerrini, "The impossible ideal of moderation. Food, drink, and longevity." In *Lifestyle and Medicine in the Enlightenment. The Six Non-Naturals in the Long Eighteenth Century*. ed. James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, (London: Routledge, 2020), 86-87.

³⁸⁹ Gary Ferngren, *Medicine & Health Care in early Christianity*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 29.

and such practices could vary a lot, they were frequently linked to ideas of physical longevity.³⁹⁰

Francke's rationality of health reflects a parallel yet distinct moral-medical logic. His theology framed indulgence not only as a moral failing but also as the root of spiritual diseases. Sin, in this framework, was both the cause of illness and the obstacle to spiritual health. Moderation, therefore, was not simply a virtue but a pastoral technique aimed at cultivating the soul's health by regulating bodily impulses. In this theological system, physical discipline was necessary to maintain the soul in a state of readiness for divine grace.

Whereas Guerrini's analysis of dietetics and moderation emphasises physical longevity through bodily balance, Francke's concept of moderation served a spiritual health purpose: the preservation and longevity of the soul. His concern was not the optimisation of bodily vitality per se, but the body's capacity to serve God. Practices such as regulating food, rest, and labour – closely resembling the dietetical non-naturals – were meant to prevent indulgence and thus protect the soul from corruption.

This theological framing of moderation did not advocate for asceticism or complete abstinence. Rather, Francke rejected extreme bodily deprivation, which was common among groups akin to the Pietists, like the Puritans, who fervently fasted periodically as a sign of the will to conquer the flesh, or the Immortalists' and Shakers' adoption of celibacy.³⁹¹ Francke's departure from other pious groups' ways of practising bodily discipline reflects his specific view of the body as a divinely appointed *tool* – its care and use were essential, not mainly for bodily purity, but to support Christian service.

In this context, moderation was not only preventive but also formative and productive as each act of restraint was an act of spiritual health that aligned the soul more closely with God's will. As Francke understood health not as an absence of physical disease but as the spiritual clarity and composure that enabled divine service, proper health was achieved through daily acts of moderation that trained the soul to resist temptation and remain faithful. Thus, while dietetical literature, according to Guerrini, framed moderation as a key to physical longevity, Francke's use of moderation extended far beyond the body, linking bodily techniques directly to the longevity of the soul. His emphasis on preventive behaviour, personal responsibility, and self-regulation resonated with key principles of dietetics but with a different telos: salvation rather than physical longevity. A key distinction between Francke's and dietetical rationalities framing of moderation lies in their object of control. In dietetics, as outlined by several researchers, bodily desires were regulated to maintain physical equilibrium; in Francke's rationality, bodily desires were regulated to overcome sin. The technologies – moderation, regulation, and introspection – were similar, but the aims diverged.

³⁹⁰ Anita Guerrini, "The impossible ideal of moderation. Food, drink, and longevity." in *Lifestyle and Medicine in the Enlightenment. The Six Non-Naturals in the Long Eighteenth Century*. eds. James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, (London: Routledge, 2020), 86.

³⁹¹ Ruth Marie Griffith, *Born again Bodies. Flesh and Spirit in American Christianity*. (London: University of California Press, 2004), 33-35, 51-52.

Thus, Francke's use of moderation can be seen as both a medical and a pastoral technology for cultivating a healthy soul. His rationality defined health as fundamentally spiritual, identifying sin as the root cause of diseases and positioning moderation as its cure. While grounded in biblical theology, Francke's vision of spiritual health echoed many of the principles found in dietetics, demonstrating a shared emphasis on bodily regulation, self-governance, and moral responsibility.

To sum up, Francke's rationality of health integrated societal, spiritual, and physical dimensions, using medical language to frame the governance of body and soul. In line with the *Christus Medicus* tradition, he constructed original sin as a disease, consequently framing human existence as inherently pathological. Central in this rationality was the health-promoting way of life *praxis pietatis*, in which the individual crucified all earthly desires. This theological rationality posited that despite the pathological fallibility of human nature, individuals had the agency and responsibility to cultivate their own spiritual health. Francke's health rationality challenges the distinction between religious and medical practices, highlighting how the care and health of the soul and body were deeply intertwined in his vision of the true Christian life. Essentially only true Christians were healthy. Moreover, Francke's construction of spiritual health as integral to the chances of salvation made the governance of the body and healthy soul a central matter to one's eternal fate.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how August Hermann Francke's rationality of the body and the healthy Christian responded to what he considered a pressing medical and societal concern of his time. Addressing the questions posed at the outset – 1) what truths did Francke assume medicine had neglected, 2) how the Christian and heathen approach to the body diverged, and 3) how were health, body, and spiritual formation interlinked – it has shown that Francke's rationality represented a distinctive configuration of pastoral power, reconstructed within the Pietist theological framework. Francke's construction of the body was rooted in the ongoing theological conflict between Pietism and the Lutheran Church, and Francke's attempts to differentiate the former from the latter. Circling around the true nature of Christian piety and in contrast to both later secular medical views and institutional Lutheranism, Francke integrated bodily discipline, physical nourishment, and spiritual health care into a unified vision of Christian perfection and societal reform.

Francke's rationality rested on a fundamental dichotomy between what he construed as Christian versus heathen treatment of the body. The former entailed using the body as an instrument of divine service, governed by moderation and spiritual discipline, positioning the body as an instrument within a broader spiritual economy of time. The heathen was marked by indulgence, carnal gratification, and neglect of one's duties towards God. In this dichotomy, Francke redefined the body as an essential site of pastoral care – an object to be

managed not for its own sake, but for the sake of soul health and the moral order of the community.

Francke's pastoral rationality thus positioned the body as a critical object of governance, its carnal inclinations rendered potentially destructive to the soul's salvation. The cast of the body as a pastorally governable terrain, preventing soul death, justified a system of governance that extended to everyday bodily practice, through self-surveillance and moderation, and testing of needs. These practices can be interpreted as spiritual self-technologies aimed at subduing carnal inclination and fostering spiritual resilience. In this way, Francke's rationality of care can be seen as a resampling of the classical conception of pastoral care: a form of governance that individualises, moralises, and continuously monitors the self, in the name of salvation. However, the distinct focus on bodily governance as linked to a productive body and societal reform is notable in Francke's version of pastoral power.

While Francke's rationality differs from biopower in its spiritual orientation, it shares notable structural affinities. Both emphasise the regulation of bodily practices, the optimisation of life (in this case spiritual), and the practice of bodily discipline through everyday routines. Francke's use of medical vocabulary and therapeutic language positioned indulgence in food, drinking, laziness, etc. as serious disease-inducing activities, thus presenting bodily discipline as a form of religious medicine. This challenges the medicalisation thesis by illustrating how spiritual and medical language could be integrated into a coherent regime of bodily and spiritual governance.

Although Francke did not aim to normalise bodies in a clinical or statistical sense, his approach functioned as a technology of health – but with salvation as its ultimate end. His emphasis on moderation, dietary regulation, emotional control, and disciplined routines prefigures logics later associated with biopolitical governance, even as it remains theologically framed. Crucially, the body was not merely a site of personal sanctification but a medium for societal transformation. Francke's educational institution aimed to cultivate a Christian elite capable of governing themselves and others through spiritual discipline. In this way, his rationality of health extended beyond the individual, contributing to a wider project of religiously grounded social reform.

In conclusion, Francke's rationality of body and health reflects a Pietist articulation of pastoral power, centred on the regulation of bodily practices for the sake of spiritual and societal renewal. While this does not constitute biopower in the classical Foucauldian sense, it shares key operational features with it, particularly in its self-techniques of bodily management, its aim of optimising life (albeit spiritual life), and its focus on education embedded in institutional frameworks. In this way, Francke's rationality of the body provides an example of how pastoral power could operate as a technology of health. The structural similarities between dietetics and Francke's rationality thus mark a pivotal moment in the genealogy of health governance, where the construction of bodily discipline as imperative to spiritual health became a bridge between salvation, the healthy life, and societal reform.

Chapter 4: The problem of Bile, Blood, and Bad Digestion

Introduction

A significant shift in medical literature emerged at the onset of the 18th century. Departing from the tradition of dietetical texts published in Latin, which primarily targeted medical students and an elite readership, new publications in the vernacular began to appear, aimed at educating a broader audience on achieving physical health through a healthy way of life grounded in dietetical principles.³⁹² Among the earliest of these works was a 1705 publication by the physician at the institution, the Pietist Christian Friedrich Richter (1676-1711), titled *Kurtzer und deutlicher Unterricht von dem Leibe und natürlichen Leben des Menschen*,³⁹³ followed by the expanded edition in 1715, *Die höchstnöthige Erkenntniß des Menschen, sonderlich nach dem Leibe und natürlichen Leben*,³⁹⁴ both published by Die Franckeschen Anstalten's printing house.³⁹⁵ The latter was published posthumously and

³⁹² Signe Mellemegaard, *Kroppens natur. Sundhedsoplysning og sundhedsidealer i 250 år*. (Århus: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 1998) 66, 106; Johanna Geyer-Kordesch, *Pietismus, Medizin und Aufklärung in Preussen im 18. Jahrhundert. Das Leben und Werk Georg Ernst Stabl*. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000) 128-129; Renate Wilson, *Pious Traders in Medicine. A German Pharmaceutical Network in Eighteenth-Century North America*. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 209-211.

³⁹³ *A brief and clear instruction of the body and the natural life of man*. The full title of the book is: *Kurtzer und deutlichen Unterrichts von dem Leibe und natürlichen Leben des Menschen: Woraus ein jeglicher/ auch Ungelehrter erkennen kann/ was die Gesundheit ist/ und wie sie zu erhalten: auch welches die Menschlichen Kranckheiten/ deren Ursachen und Kennzeichen sind/ und wie die von einem jeden zu verhüten/ oder auch bey Ermangelung eines Medici/ ohne Gefahr und mit gutem Success zu curiren: oder XIII. Der sichersten und besten Arzneyen/ zu einer kleinen/ auff alle gewöhnliche Kranckheiten eingerichteten Haus- Reise- und Feld – Apothecken/ mit gnugsamen Bericht von deren Eigenschaften und rechten Gebrauch*. Halle, gedruckt im Waysenhouse 1705.

³⁹⁴ *The crucial knowledge of man, especially of the body and natural life*. The full title of the book is: *Die höchstnöthige Erkenntniß des Menschen, sonderlich nach dem Leibe und natürlichen Leben, oder ein deutlicher Unterricht, von der Gesundheit und deren Erhaltung: auch von denen Ursachen, Kennzeichen und Nahmen der Kranckheiten, und bewährten Mitteln gegen dieselben, Damit ein jeder, auch Ungelehrter, bey Ermangelung eines Medici, sonderlich durch XI. sichere, hiezu hinlänglich erfundene, und zu einer bequemen Haus- Reise - und Feld – Apothecken seligirten Medicamenta und Gebrauch dieses Tractats vermöge bißhieriger reichen Erfahrung, die gewöhnlichen, auch schweren Kranckheiten, sicher und mit gutem Succes curiren könne*. (Halle: gedruckt im Waysenhouse 1715).

³⁹⁵ Eckhard Altmann, *Christian Friedrich Richter. Arzt, Apotheker und Liederdichter des halleschen Pietismus* (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1972), 67.

completed by his brother, the physician Christian Sigismund Richter (1672-1739), who also served as institutional physician for a period.³⁹⁶ Richter's dietetics represented the medical novelty developed in Halle that August Hermann Francke had emphatically endorsed in *Der grosse Aufsatz*.³⁹⁷ These two volumes offered a distinctly Christian perspective on the principles and purposes of dietetics, articulating its intrinsic connection to God's order and aim for humankind.

Richter had pursued studies in theology and medicine at the University of Halle, the latter under the guidance of the professor in medicine Georg Ernst, and he held the position of Orphanage Medicus from 1699 until he died in 1711.³⁹⁸ While Richter's books marked a significant moment as the first publications on dietetics from the printing house, they were not an isolated endeavour. Situated within a broader intellectual and institutional context, Richter's work reflected a tendency among his Pietist colleagues and medical professors at the University of Halle to explore the relationship between spiritual and physical health.³⁹⁹ This interest in dietetics and physical health, however, was by no means unique to Pietism. From the late 17th century and well into the 18th, dietetical literature – particularly in the vernacular – proliferated across various confessional and intellectual contexts, reflecting a broader cultural concern with health, way of life, and bodily

³⁹⁶ See bibliographical information on Christian Sigismund Richter at the digital collection at Die Franckeschen Stiftungen: <https://digital.francke-halle.de/nidn/p0010934> visited the 13. 04. 2025, 15.33.

³⁹⁷ Jürgen Helm, "Christian Friedrich Richters Kurtzer und deutlicher Unterricht (1705) – Medizinische Programmschrift des Halleschen Pietismus?" in *Die Geburt einer sanften Medizin: Die Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle als Begegnungstätte von Medizin und Pietismus im frühen 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Richard Toellner, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2004), 25-26.

³⁹⁸ Arina Völker, "Die medizinischen und pharmazeutischen Einrichtungen der Franckeschen Stiftungen während der halleschen Amtsphase von Georg Ernst Stahl," and Wolfram Kaiser, "Der Lehrkörper der Medizinischen Fakultät in der halleschen Amtszeit von Georg Ernst Stahl," in *Georg Ernst Stahl (1659–1734)*, ed. Wolfram Kaiser and Arina Völker, *Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 66 (Halle-Wittenberg, 1985); Wolfram Kaiser, Karl-Heinz Krisch and Werner Piechocki, „Collegium Clinicum Halense,“ in *250 Jahre Collegium Clinicum Halense 1717–1767*, ed. Wolfram Kaiser, Karl-Heinz Krisch and Werner Piechocki, *Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle – Wittenberg*, 3 (Halle-Wittenberg, 1967).

³⁹⁹ Georg Ernst Stahl's Latin work on dietetic was translated into German in 1734 by Johann Storchen as *D. Georg Ernst Stahls königl. Preußischen Hoff-Raths und Leib=Meidici. Theoretische und practische Abhandlung von Der Diät. Aus dem Lateinischen ins Teutsche vertiret und mit vielen Noten und Anmerckungen erläutert, von d. Johann Storchen alias Pelargo*, 1738, Leipzig. Stahl's student Johann Samuel Carl published the spiritual oriented diet *Dietica sacra: Zuch des Leibes zur Heiligung der Seelen beforderlich und Von der Diät vor Gesunde und Krancke*, in 1719. Another student of Stahl's Michael Alberti wrote in 1728 a dissertation *De longevitate ex diete, quam auspice Deo propitio*. Friedrich Hoffman, also professor in medicine but not an adherent of Pietism, published a 9- volume series between 1714 and 1728 on disease prevention through lifestyle: *Gründliche Anweisung, wie ein Mensch vor dem frühzeitigen Tod- und allerhand Arten Krankheiten durch ordenliche Lebensart sich verwahren könne*. Johann Julius Hecker, a teacher at the Hallische Pädagogium, who studied under Francke, published a teaching resource *Betrachtung des menschlichen Körpers Nach der Anatomie und Physiologie, Nebst einem Anhang allerhand zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit dienender Regeln und Anmerckungen [...]* in 1734. Finally, Johann Juncker, medical supervisor at the orphanage from 1716 wrote the dissertation *Dietica ad Longevitatem* in 1744.

regulation.⁴⁰⁰ Nonetheless, the marked engagement of Pietist physicians with this genre indicates not only an active participation in contemporary medical discourse but also a concerted effort to shape it according to Pietist values. In Halle, this engagement took a particularly pronounced form. The constellation of the University of Halle, Die Franckeschen Anstalten, and the institutional and educational network between these created an environment in which medicine, education, and religious reform were deeply interconnected. The location can be interpreted as a site of power in the Foucauldian sense – where theological, medical, and pedagogical authorities intersected to produce knowledge and legitimise the truth and where governing strategies were employed to teach students to act upon themselves in accordance with the ideal of the faithful Christian. This context is highly significant for the interpretation of Richter's dietetics.

Although Christian Friedrich Richter's medical writings have been interpreted in various ways within scholarly research, many of these readings tend to extract the texts from their original institutional and theological setting. Eckard Altmann, for example, downplays the religious dimensions of Richter's works, framing them primarily as contributions to Enlightenment-era health education. He argues that Richter sought to empower lay readers with rational strategies for preserving health and self-treatment during illness, thereby promoting autonomy and countering superstition.⁴⁰¹ Jürgen Helm has emphasised the commercial dimensions of Richter's publications, noting their heavy promotion of Halle apothecary products. While Helm has noted that these volumes were used as teaching resources within the institution,⁴⁰² his interpretation positions them primarily as vehicles of advertisement of Halle pharmaceutical products within a burgeoning medical marketplace.⁴⁰³

It is undoubtedly the case that Richter's books articulated an educational purpose for lay audiences outside the institution and that they achieved considerable commercial success – evidenced by their continued circulation throughout the 18th century,⁴⁰⁴ with the second volume reaching its 18th edition by 1791.⁴⁰⁵ However, the sheer size and content of these

⁴⁰⁰ See for instance James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff (ed), *Lifestyle and Medicine in the Enlightenment. The Six Non-Naturals in the Long Eighteenth Century*. (London: Routledge, 2020).

⁴⁰¹ Eckard Altmann, *Christian Friedrich Richter. Arzt, Apotheker und Liederdichter des halleschen Pietismus* (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1972), 66-68.

⁴⁰² Jürgen Helm, "Christian Friedrich Richters Kurtzer und deutlicher Unterricht (1705) – Medizinische Programmschrift des Halleschen Pietismus?" in *Die Geburt einer sanften Medizin: Die Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle als Begegnungstätte von Medizin und Pietismus im frühen 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Richard Toellner, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2004).

⁴⁰³ Jürgen Helm, "Der Umgang mit dem kranken Menschen im Halleschen Pietismus des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts" *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, Bd. 31. H. ½ (1996); Jürgen Helm, *Krankheit, Bekehrung und Reform. Medizin und Krankenfürsorge im Halleschen Pietismus* (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2006), 35.

⁴⁰⁴ Jürgen Helm, "Der Umgang mit dem kranken Menschen im Halleschen Pietismus des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts" *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, Bd. 31. H. ½ (1996), 73.

⁴⁰⁵ D. G. Kramer (ed.), *A. H. Franckes Pädagogische Schriften nebst der Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Stiftungen* (Langensalza: Verlag-Comptoir von Hermann Beyer, 1876), 409.

texts suggest aims that went beyond concerns of popular information or making a profit. Spanning 614 and 1,352 pages, respectively – rather long if intended as a practical manual for a lay audience – the volumes contained detailed anatomical descriptions and specific reflections on the bodily challenges of student life. These features point to their function not only as general health guides, but also as pedagogical textbooks aimed at an educational purpose. While both Altmann's and Helm's interpretations of Richter's books offer important insights – one underscoring the rise of lay health literacy and the other the economic aspects of Pietist production of medicine – these perspectives downplay the profoundly religious and pedagogical context of these texts detaching them from the pedagogical aim of educating Christians within the institution. A more comprehensive understanding of their purpose requires situating them within this context of education, which was fundamentally concerned with spiritual health in the formation of true Christians as shown in Chapter 3.

Furthermore, the central objective of Francke's rationality – the cultivation of soul health, a state that could not be separated from the regulation of the sinful aspects of the body – provides a critical framework for understanding the integration of medical reasoning in Pietist rationalities of health. It sets the stage for examining how this relationship between soul, body, and health was developed in Christian Friedrich Richter's dietetics.

In the context of Halle Pietism, the relationship between body and soul has been discussed in research, particularly with a distinct focus on the Pietist understanding of disease aetiology, yet mainly from a perspective that explores the internal evolution of medical knowledge towards modern standards. Altmann and Helm have touched upon Richter's integration of sin within his medical theory, noting how he posited that deviating from Christian values could lead to illness. However, while Altmann and Helm acknowledge these religious elements in Richter's medical thought, they present the notion of a relationship between sin, body, and diseases as a historical curiosity rather than a genuine medical theory.⁴⁰⁶ As such, they did not further explore how these concepts were systematically construed and interconnected within Richter's rationalities of health.

However, when drawing on the work of historian Michael Dillon, it becomes clear that such religious elements were not incidental or vestigial remnants of pre-modern thought but, in contrast, central to the transformation of moral reasoning in the period – and accordingly, to be expected within contemporary medical thought as well. Dillon argues that the 17th and 18th centuries saw a significant reinterpretation of Christian doctrines, partly driven by Protestantism's emphasis on salvation by faith alone (*sola fide*). According to Dillon, this doctrinal reorientation not only redefined spiritual truths but also recalibrated the everyday behaviour of believers, aligning them with the tenets of the

⁴⁰⁶ Eckhard Altmann, *Christian Friedrich Richter. Arzt, Apotheker und Liederdichter des halleschen Pietismus* (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1972), 69, 71, 78, 80; Jürgen Helm, *Krankheit, Bekehrung und Reform. Medizin und Krankenfürsorge im Halleschen Pietismus* (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2006), 33.

Protestant faith.⁴⁰⁷ This implies that concepts such as sin and the soul evolved in tandem with changing religious perspectives on lived life,⁴⁰⁸ suggesting practical implications for how health, disease, and moral failures were interpreted. In this light, Francke's sharp critique of *sola fide* as a dangerous delusion becomes particularly significant. His insistence that divine order required the mortification of the flesh, while at the same time portraying such discipline as beneficial for soul health, points to the need for a closer examination of how Richter's dietetical rationality of body and health was shaped by theological categories such as sin, salvation, and damnation.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the theological linkage between sin and disease has a long and complex history. Within theological discourse, this connection has typically been framed in two ways: either as a manifestation of God's collective punishment of communities for their inherent rebellion rooted in original sin or, as in Francke's writings, as a personal providential sign meant to prompt individuals to reflect upon their own committed sins. In both cases, disease and health were understood as a spiritual condition rather than a physical one – illness signified divine intervention, not a malfunction of the physical system per se. Yet, this raises an important ambiguity: while Francke's rationality positioned sin and carnal inclination as the metaphysical cause of disease and spiritual unhealth, it remains unclear how Richter interpreted this relationship within a medical framework. Did he, like Francke, interpret sin as prompting divine punishment, godly messages, or as a part of a tangible mechanism within the physical organism?

This chapter explores how Christian Friedrich Richter's dietetics articulated a distinct medical rationality of health grounded in theological assumptions and spiritual goals. The central question guiding the analysis emerges from the claim made by August Hermann Francke that dietetical practices could contribute to the cultivation of godliness. How, precisely, could the medical regulation of the body foster spiritual transformation?

To address this question, the chapter focuses on how Richter problematised the body – understood here as the physical organism, or bios – and how this problematisation was shaped by categories of sin, salvation, and damnation. By comparing Richter's medical-theological construction of health with Francke's project of pastoral governance and pursuit of Christian perfection, the chapter explores how dietetical practices were positioned as central techniques for cultivating a godly life and society.

⁴⁰⁷ Michael Dillon, "Politics of Truth and Pious Economies" in *The Biopolitics of Development. Reading Michel Foucault in the Postcolonial Present*. ed. Sandro Mezzadra et al., (New Delhi: Springer, 2013), 169-171.

⁴⁰⁸ For a discussion on the evolving interpretation of sin see Walter Sparr, "Sin", in: *Encyclopedia of Early Modern History Online*, Editors of the English edition: Graeme Dunphy, Andrew Gow. Original German Edition: Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit. Im Auftrag des Kulturwissenschaftlichen Instituts (Essen) und in Verbindung mit den Fachherausgebern herausgegeben von Friedrich Jaeger. Copyright © J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung und Carl Ernst Poeschel Verlag GmbH 2005–2012. Consulted online on 7 February 2024 http://dx.doi.org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/10.1163/2352-0272_emho_COM_028539 First published online: 2015, First print edition: 20180208

While existing scholarship has acknowledged the role of emotional discipline in Pietist health practices,⁴⁰⁹ the broader set of non-naturals – food and drink, exercise and rest, excretion and retention, sleep and wakefulness, air and places – have received less attention as objects of theological and medical governance.⁴¹⁰ While I will leave the analysis of environmental factors to Part II, this chapter extends prior analyses of emotional regulation by examining how a wider array of health-related techniques functioned as technologies of the self, directed not only at physical health but also at the formation of the Christian soul. In doing so, it interrogates how the bodily organism was rendered governable and intelligible through theologically informed health regimes. In doing so, the chapter traces the intersection of pastoral rationality and biopower within Halle Pietism, illuminating how emerging forms of power operated through the regulation of body and soul.

The chapter is structured as follows. First, I briefly introduce dietetics, humoral pathology, and medicine in the 18th century. I then turn to the analysis of Richter's problematisation of body and health, considering how he constructed the physical organism, the aim of the body and how he interpreted sin in relation to these. This is followed by a section on how Richter constructed a set of technologies for governing physical health. Finally, I consider how Richter's dietetical rationality intersected with practices of Christian perfection and educational reform.

Dietetics, humoral pathology, and medicine in the 18th century

To understand Richter's arguments, his dietetics needs to be situated in the historical medical context. Before proceeding to the analysis, a brief overview of the prevailing medical understanding of the body during the period, particularly the frameworks of humoral pathology and dietetics, is therefore required.

While the conflict between Stahlian animism and the Cartesian mechanical understanding of the nature of bodily processes has already been introduced, it is essential to note that both theories were rooted in the older framework of humoral pathology. Originating with Hippocrates and later systematised by Galen, this theory was the cornerstone of academic medical thought for centuries. It posited that physical health and disease were determined by the balance of four humours: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and

⁴⁰⁹ Andreas Rydberg, "Michael Alberti and the Medical Therapy of the Internal Senses." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol. 74, No. 3, 2019, pp. 245-266, 257; Christian Soboth, "„Also, wären keine Affecten, so wären kein Leben.“ Affekte und Affektkontrolle im Halleschen Pietismus" in *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021), 104; *Gefühl und Norm: Religion und Gefühlskulturen im 18. Jahrhundert. Beiträge zum V. Internationalen Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2018*, ed. Daniel Cyranka, Thomas Ruhland, Christian Soboth, and Friedemann Stengel, 2 vols., *Hallesche Forschungen* 61/1–2 (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021).

⁴¹⁰ Irntraut Sahmland „Der Mensch lebt nicht vom Brot allein. Grundzüge einer pietistischen Diätetik.“ in, *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Holger Zaunstöck (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021), 96.

black bile. These humours, believed to possess specific qualities (hot, wet, cold, and dry), influenced an individual's temperament (sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholic) and susceptibility to disease.

Imbalances in the humours, whether inherited or caused by external factors like diet and environment, were constructed as the root cause of illness. These imbalances would manifest as overabundance or deficiency of certain fluids, necessitating therapeutic cures like laxatives, vomitives, bloodletting, cupping, and leech therapy to restore the balance. With the discovery of blood circulation in the 17th century by William Harvey, the concept of bodily humour was reinterpreted in light of circulation, and misbalances could now also manifest as humours that had become too thin or thick, impeding the natural flow within the body, clogging it up with slimy substances and leading to different ailments.

Central to humoral pathology was the system of dietetics, which focused on disease prevention by regulating the non-naturals. These external factors, believed to be within the individual's control, included: 1. sleeping and waking, 2. food and drink, 3. excretions and retentions, 4. passions/emotions, 5. Air and places and 6. motion and rest.⁴¹¹ The non-naturals were contrasted with the naturals, which referred to the body's innate substances and functions – such as the humours, organs, the four elements (air, fire, earth, and water), four qualities (hot, cold, dry, and wet), and the four humours.⁴¹² While the naturals were largely fixed, the non-naturals were seen as modifiable and thus became the focus of preventive health practices.

Thus, early modern dietetics encompassed a broad spectrum of possible elements one could regulate to influence the balance of the humours. For example, consuming dry foods was thought to counteract excessive moisture within the body, and spicy food could heat cold humours. The concept of exercise or physical activity for health maintenance also differed significantly from the modern understanding, quite literally meaning the mechanical motion or movement of bodily limbs. The primary aim of bodily motion was to promote the balance and smooth movement of the humours within the body, thereby preventing stagnation and restoring internal flow. Within this understanding of the bodily system, activities such as riding in a coach or a sedan chair were considered forms of physical exercise, as the small shakes and jolts experienced during such rides were believed to stimulate the circulation of fluids. This gentle jarring of the body would loosen and mobilise humours that had thickened, thereby restoring balance and promoting physical health as the flow within the body was maintained. Exercise that warmed the body was also considered beneficial for physical health, albeit for reasons different from those associated

⁴¹¹ For an introduction to humoral pathology see for instance: Frank Juul Agerholm *Diætetikken væsen og uvæsen. En filosofisk kritik*. (DPU: Aarhus Universitet, 2016), 9-10; James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, “The most valuable part of medicine”. The six non-naturals in the long eighteenth century.” in *Lifestyle and Medicine in Enlightenment. The six Non-Naturals in the Long Eighteenth Century*. ed. James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, (London: Routledge, 2020).

⁴¹² For a summary of the naturals, non-naturals, and contra-naturals see: Emch-Deriaz, A. (1992). “The non-naturals made easy.” In: Porter, R. (ed.). *The popularization of medicine. 1650-1850*. London: Routledge. p. 134f.

with cardiovascular exercise today. The heat generated during activities was believed to warm and liquefy thick, fatty, and slimy humours, promoting smoother circulation and facilitating the expulsion of excess fluids through perspiration.⁴¹³

Historians James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff regard humoral pathology and dietetical regimens as a surprisingly strong structure for understanding how to remain healthy, a perspective that persisted in clinical medicine until the late 19th century.⁴¹⁴ While the 18th century was marked by continuity in this tradition, dietetical recommendations were shaped by the specific context they were embedded in and varied according to geographical region, prevailing fashions, and colonisation, demonstrating the dynamic interplay between medical theories, cultural context, and evolving social practices.⁴¹⁵

Richter's rationality of the body and health

The aim of the body

Richter opened his books with a narrative strikingly similar to Francke's, echoing his theological framework with only subtle variations. Like Francke, Richter began by asserting that humans were created with a distinct and higher purpose. As he wrote:

“[...] humans and their minds have been constituted and placed in this world by their Creator for a very different ultimate purpose than other creatures; thus, the enjoyment of this temporal life and use of created things, in and of themselves, are not the reason for this creation: [...]”⁴¹⁶

In line with Pietist suspicion towards worldly pleasures, Richter reinforced that the aim of human life was not earthly enjoyment but the fulfilment of divine purpose. He continued

⁴¹³ James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, “For it is the debilitating fibres that exercise restores” Movement, morality and moderation in eighteenth-century medical advice literature.” in in *Lifestyle and Medicine in Enlightenment. The six Non-Naturals in the Long Eighteenth Century*. ed. James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, (London: Routledge, 2020).

⁴¹⁴ James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, “The most valuable part of medicine”. The six non-naturales in the long eighteenth century.” in in *Lifestyle and Medicine in Enlightenment. The six Non-Naturals in the Long Eighteenth Century*. ed. James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, (London: Routledge, 2020), 5, 8.

⁴¹⁵ Klavs Bergdolt, *Wellbeing. A Cultural History of Healthy Living*, (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2008), 2-3; David Gentilcore, *Food and Health in Early Modern Europe. Diet, medicine and society 1450-1800*. (London: Bloomsbury 2019), 180, 124.

⁴¹⁶ „[...]dass der Mensch und sein Gemüthe zu einem ganz andern Endzweck als die übrigen Geschöpfe von seinem Schöpfer constituirt und in diese Welt gesetzt worden: und dass also der Genuss dieses zeitlichen Lebens, und der Gebrauch der Creaturen, an und vor sich selbst nicht die Ursache seiner Erschaffung sey:[...]“ Richter, 1715, 3-4.

by emphasising, as Francke had done, that God – the master – had equipped his servant with a tool to fulfil this end:

“[...], and such are the body and its limbs, which are thus endowed with a particular form and structure, from which one can clearly perceive that they have been given to the soul for the fulfilment of this ultimate purpose.”⁴¹⁷

Building on this theological anthropology, Richter extended it to the physical organism, emphasising that it was intentionally designed to serve the soul, further explaining:

“Without the bodily senses, there would be no perception; without the brain, no thoughts; and without nerves and muscles, no external movement or actions. Thus, the soul, without the body, would be like an artist without instruments, whose skills and knowledge are of no use.”⁴¹⁸

Thus, every limb and organ, in its form and function, was to be understood as a structure purposefully arranged to carry out the will of God, realising the soul’s higher calling.⁴¹⁹ In this way, Richter constructed the organism itself not as an independent or self-contained entity but as a divinely configured instrument of the soul’s agency. Like Francke, who had also posed the body’s value in its utility for the aim of serving God, Richter showed how the brain, nerves, and senses supported this aim.

This construction of the body as having a specific aim not only defined its divinely ordained purpose but also laid the ground for a specific problematisation of bodily use, like Francke’s, namely, the concern that the body, when misdirected, could deviate from its intended function and thereby obstruct the fulfilment of God’s will. For Richter, the central danger lay in the misuse of created things, like food and drink, when they were no longer employed in the service of the Creator but instead redirected towards worldly pleasure and self-indulgence. As he warned:

“One of the greatest errors commonly committed is this: that created things are not rightly considered according to their intended purpose for which they were ordained; but rather, they are misused for a completely different end than that which the Creator intended when He brought them forth. As a result, a truly harmful disorder

⁴¹⁷ „[...] und solche sind der Leib und dessen Gliedmassen, welche daher mit einem solchen Gestalt und Struktur versehen sind, daß man daraus eigentlich wahrnehmen kann, daß sie der Seele zu Vollziehung solches Endzwecks gegeben seyn”. Richter 1715, 5.

⁴¹⁸ [...] sind eben diejenigen , um deren Willen der Leib formiret worden, weil sie ohne demselben nicht zuwege gebracht werden können . Denn ohne die leiblichen Sensoria wäre keine Empfindung , ohne das Gehirn wären keine Gedancken , und ohne die Nerven und Musculn wäre keine äusserliche Bewegung und Verrichtung ; und also wäre die Seele ohne dem Leib wie ein Künstler ohne Instrumente, welchen seine Kunst und Wissenschaft nichts hilft.“, Richter 1715, 294-295.

⁴¹⁹ Richter 1715, 210.

arises in the world, by which the purpose of God – which He pursued in the creation of visible things – is in an improper manner annulled, or rather obstructed. For that which was ordained for the honour and service of the Creator is not applied to that end, but is instead, as it were, stolen and used for the honour and pleasure of man.”⁴²⁰

In this diagnosis, bodily misuse became both a moral and cosmological threat – a source of disorder that frustrated the divine order of creation. According to Richter, many individuals had inverted the proper relationship between soul and body, allowing their bodies to become dominant lords,⁴²¹ exploiting the senses to please the flesh,⁴²² thus failing to fulfil the divine intention for their embodied existence: “[...] [the one] that abuses the body [does] not fulfil the intentions of God.”⁴²³ Or, in other words, Richter framed the world as haunted by a destructive disorder caused by people’s indulging in overconsumption of food and drink to please their appetite, their satisfying of carnal desires through bodily movement, and the priority of earthly glory over divine values.⁴²⁴

According to Richter, although a life oriented towards sensual pleasures may appear pleasurable on the surface,⁴²⁵ it entailed two significant problems that threatened both spiritual integrity and physical health. First, such a lifestyle posed a direct threat to salvation. Those who indulged in bodily pleasures at the expense of spiritual preparation, Richter warned, would ultimately find themselves unfit for eternal life. As he put it:

“[...] when they find themselves entirely unfit and unprepared to exist beyond time in eternity – a state they gave little thought to in this world – they will then, with fear and pain, realise that they should have prioritised the care of their souls over

⁴²⁰ Einer der grössten Fehler/so insgemein begangen werden/ ist dieser/ daß man die geschaffenen Dinge nicht recht nach dem Endzweck betrachtet/ unb welches willen sie verordnet sind; sondern sie zu einem ganz andern Absehen missbrauchet/ als die Meynung des Schöpfers gewesen der sie hervor gebracht: wodurch denn gewiß eine so schädliche Unordnung in der Welt entsteht/ daß darüber der Zweck Gottes/den er bey Erschaffung der sichtbaren Dinge geführt/ ungebührlicher Weyse aufgehoben/ oder vielmehr verhindert wird; indem dasjenige/ was zur Ehre und Dienst des Schöpfers verordnet ist/ nicht dazu angewendet/ sondern zu Ehre und Wollust der Menschen gleichsam geraubt wird; [...] Richter 1705, 2 (ix).

⁴²¹ Richter 1705: 2; Richter 1715: 9, 11.

⁴²² Richter 1715: 9,10-11, 17.

⁴²³ “[...] der missbrauchet seinen Leib/ und erfüllet nicht die Intention GÖttes”, Richter 1705, 3 (2).

⁴²⁴ Richter 1705, Vorrede (unpaged); Richter 1715, 1-32: Vorrede, von dem rechten Gebrauch des Leibes.

⁴²⁵ Richter 1705, 21.

pampering the flesh and used the grace offered to them in this life to prepare for eternity.”⁴²⁶

Second, the carnal mode of existence was itself a generator of physical disease. Richter asserted that though many were unaware of these risks, their disregard for dietetical principles often became the very foundation of premature death or chronic diseases: “Most people often lay the foundation for their premature death, or at least for severe illnesses: [and] they bring [...] such condition upon themselves.”⁴²⁷

Both Richter and Francke shared a theological anthropology in which the body was constructed as a divinely ordained instrument, never to be used for pleasure but to serve the soul in fulfilling God’s will. They both linked failure of bodily discipline to health problems: for Francke, such failures led to spiritual maladies, whereas Richter placed the emphasis on self-inflicted physiological ailments. Throughout the books, Richter consistently illustrated how a life driven by carnal desires disrupted the humoral balance, demonstrating the direct physiological impact of indulgence. For example, in a passage, he detailed how overindulgence in food burdened the body’s natural processes:

“The excess of food, which is not necessary for the maintenance and renewal of lost strength, becomes a burden to nature. When the body is overfilled, it hinders the necessary circulation of the blood, causing it to become thick and slimy. This, in turn, leads to conditions such as an overabundance of blood, which subsequently provokes various bodily movements as the body attempts to free itself from this excess. From this, many different illnesses arise.”⁴²⁸

Here, the problematisation of overindulgence was articulated in terms of a biological risk that needed to be avoided through a dietetical way of life. While Francke linked bodily illness to divine intervention in response to sinful living, Richter, by contrast, reframed sin-induced disease not as an act of God’s intervention but as a predictable outcome of disrupted physiological order, particularly within the humoral system.

⁴²⁶ „Und wenn sie sich ganz ungeschickt und unbereitet finden werden/ forthin ausser der Zeit in der Ewigkeit zu seyn/ an welche sie so wenig in dieser Welt gedacht/ werden sie nicht als denn mit Angst und Schmerzen erkenne / daß sie die Seelen=Verpflegung der Verzärtelung der Fleisches hatten sollen verziehen/ und sich in der Zeit durch die dagebotene Gnade zur Ewigkeit bereiten lassen?“ Richter 1705, Vorrede xiv-xv (4-5); Richter 1915, Vorrede, xxxiii- xxxiv (17-18).

⁴²⁷ „Und aus eben dieser Ursache legen vielmahls die meisten Menschen selbst den Grund zu ihrem frühzeitigen Tode, oder doch wenigstens zu schweren Kranckheiten: [...] indem sie [...] solche selbst einführen.“ Richter 1715, Vorberich §4, 4. See also 647.

⁴²⁸ „Denn der Überfluß der Speisen / welcher zur Erhaltung und Ergänzung der verlornen Kräfte nicht nöthig ist , wird der Natur zur Last / und indem der Leib zu sehr damit angefüllet wird , so hindert er die nöthigen Bewegungen des Geblütes / und giebet solchergestalt Anlaß / daß es dicke und schleimigt wird / zu geschweigen der Vollblutigkeit / so daraus entstehet / umb welcher willen hernach viel Bewegungen entstehen / den Leib davon zu befreyen / woraus auch mancherley Kranckheiten entspringen.“ Richter 1705, 18: 10; Richter 1715, 512: §59.

The healthy way to spend time

As briefly touched upon in Chapter 3, how one spent one's time was a central theme in Francke's construction of the healthy Christian. He repeatedly stressed that time spent gratifying the flesh was time squandered – precious moments that could have been devoted to serving God but instead steered the individual towards damnation.⁴²⁹

Richter embedded the construction of self-inflicted diseases and the risk of losing physical health within this framework. He explicitly stated that the primary objective of his dietetics was to teach individuals to: "Use their bodies rightly, during the brief span of their lives, without wasting time, for the glory and praise of God and their own salvation."⁴³⁰ Throughout the books, he frequently scorned those who misused their time for eating, sleeping, and other carnal indulgences, arguing that such behaviours hindered the body's true purpose.⁴³¹ Asking the reader to remember that the soul was humankind's most cherished treasure, Richter rhetorically asked why someone would treat their body imprudently and unlovingly and expend their fleeting existence on malevolent actions.⁴³²

However, the sin of wasting time took on a dual nature in Richter's view: first, like Francke posed, time was squandered in the pursuit of carnal desires, and second, this sinful conduct resulted in self-infliction of diseases, leading to additional time lost through illness – a cycle of self-inflicted temporal depletion. By mitigating the development of diseases, the waste of time could be prevented. Thus, physical health and avoiding self-inflicted diseases became entwined with the temporal economy of salvation prevalent within Francke's problematisation of carnal activities.

In sum, Richter's construction of the body as a tool for the soul supplements Francke's similar perspective, but extended theological interpretations into the biological domain. While both emphasised the body's ultimate purpose in serving God, Richter turned the focus towards how this aim was inscribed directly into the physical structure and processes of the body itself. The organism was constructed as an expressive medium of divine design: each organ and function – circulation, digestion, sensory perception – contributed to fulfilling the soul's spiritual task. This constituted a biological argument that underpinned the theological framing of the body as an instrument of service. However, the focus on the relationship between personal conduct and humoral balance led to a distinct way of problematising the abuse of the body when indulging in carnal inclinations. Such a way of life showed itself as imbalances in the humours and led to self-inflicted physical disease.

⁴²⁹ August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz*. (1711) ed. Otto Podzcek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 1 52 l. 9-10; August Hermann Francke, *Werke im Auswahl* ed. Erhard Peschke (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), *Schriften zum Studium der Theologie*, 177: §15, 184: §27.

⁴³⁰ „[...] sondern daß sie sich ihres Leibes bey der kurtzen Zeit ihres Lebens ohne Zeitverlauf, zur Ehre und Lobe Gottes, und ihrem eigenen Heyl, recht gebrauchen mögen.“ Richter 17015, 31.

⁴³¹ Richter 1705, Vorrede (unpaged); Richter 1715, 1-32: Vorrede, von dem rechten Gebrauch des Leibes.

⁴³² Richter 1705, Vorrede 3-4.

This framing of bodily abuse tied preserving physical health directly to the temporal salvation economy central to Halle Pietism. Time wasted on carnal indulgence not only detracted from service to God but also led to self-inflicted illnesses that intensified the loss of time. Therefore, maintaining physical health was not a matter of either personal well-being or longevity for its own sake, but a spiritual duty, essential for maximising one's service to God during the fleeting human life span.

The problem of physical putrefaction

While Richter initially framed the relationship between soul and body through the metaphor of an artist and his tool, this relationship was ultimately constructed as far more intricate and reciprocal. Central to this dynamic was the way Richter constructed how original sin itself manifested within the body, not only as carnal desires but as something materially entangled with bodily processes.

In Francke's theological rationality, sin was expressed through carnal desires – overeating, laziness, dancing, and other pleasures of the flesh – which, while related to pleasing the body, were not understood as being rooted in the physical organism itself. Instead, these desires signified a misdirection of the will and affections, obstructing the soul's path to godliness. While carnal desires were also conceptualised as pathological in Francke's rationality, this was a spiritual pathology, and the body, in this view, was a site of temptation but not a diseased organism or bios.

Richter's rationalisation of sin built on this fundamental link between following carnal desires and spiritual failure, but he extended it into a more tangible and physiological register. He suggested that both original sin and personal sins were disruptive to the physical organism. In doing so, he problematised the body not only as a morally dangerous site but also as a vulnerable, pathological organism. To fully understand this shift, it is necessary to examine how Richter constructed the bodily organism as essentially working against divine order and how this was intrinsically linked to how original sin operated within the physical organism.

Richter's understanding of bodily life processes – and their susceptibility to disorder – drew heavily on the animist theories of George Ernst Stahl.⁴³³ As previously touched upon, Stahl's animism offered a critical departure from the Cartesian model of the body as a hydraulic machine operating according to physical laws. While the Cartesian model posited that bodily life processes were driven by mechanical processes within the body and that diseases resulted from failures or abrasions in the machinery, Stahl advocated for the

⁴³³ Eckhardt Altmann, *Christian Friedrich Richter. Arzt, Apotheker und Liederdichter des halleschen Pietismus* (Witten: Luther-Verlag 1972), 70; Jürgen Helm, "Der Umgang mit dem kranken Menschen im Hallenschen Pietismus des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts" *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, Bd. 31. H. ½ (1996), 77.

presence of a governing agent – the anima – responsible for the vital processes of the living organism.⁴³⁴

Building on the principles of humoral pathology, Stahl proposed that the body existed in a perpetual state of resistance against decay – a process that would ultimately occur upon death when decomposition would proceed unhindered. According to Stahl, this resistance was maintained by the anima, an intrinsic vital principle that prevented continuous decay by regulating the humours, digestion, and blood circulation. In doing so, the anima sustained the organism's vital processes and kept putrefaction at bay.⁴³⁵ When imbalances arose among the humours, the anima would actively intervene, directing its movement to restore equilibrium. However, this corrective effort came at a cost: it disrupted the anima's natural movement, introducing a potential danger. If the anima's natural movement were persistently obstructed by physical imbalances in the body, decomposition would accelerate, resulting in diseases. This effectively linked diseases with an increased proximity to death.⁴³⁶ In essence, Stahl constructed health and illness as consequences of the anima's ability or failure to regulate the body's internal harmony and resist the ever-present threat of decay.

Richter built directly on Stahl's model to challenge the mechanistic view, simultaneously embedding the notion of the body as a tool into his critique. Unlike the blind operation of machinery, such as the blades of a mill, every process within the body, including its capacity to grow, maintain balance, and operate harmoniously, demonstrated, according to Richter, the guiding influence of the soul and, ultimately, of God.⁴³⁷

While Richter acknowledged that some bodily processes might resemble mechanical functions, he was critical of the mechanistic model's failure to recognise the body's teleology – its orientation towards fulfilling a higher, divinely ordained purpose. As he put it: "And to this end [the fulfilment of God's order], the machinery of the body is designed to be under the direction of the soul, to be used by it according to its will and as necessity demands, [...]"⁴³⁸ In this critique, Richter problematised the mechanistic view not merely on philosophical grounds but because it undermined the moral and theological framework in which the body functioned as an instrument for the soul. For Richter, bodily life could not be reduced to the play of physical forces: it was structured by an internal order that

⁴³⁴ Johanna Geyer-Kordesch, *Pietismus, Medizin und Aufklärung in Preussen im 18. Jahrhunderts. Das Leben und Werk Georg Ernst Stahl* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000)

⁴³⁵ Johanna Geyer-Kordesch, *Pietismus, Medizin und Aufklärung in Preussen im 18. Jahrhunderts. Das Leben und Werk Georg Ernst Stahl* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000)

⁴³⁶ Johanna Geyer-Kordesch 2000: *Pietismus, Medizin und Aufklärung in Preussen im 18. Jahrhunderts. Das Leben und Werk Georg Ernst Stahl*. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000); Jürgen Helm, *Krankheit, Bekehrung und Reform. Medizin und Krankenfürsorge im Halleschen Pietismus* (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2006), 33-34.

⁴³⁷ Richter 1715, 198, 202-209.

⁴³⁸ "Und hierzu ist nun auch die Machine des Leibes verordnet, daß sie unter dem Direktorio der Seele stehen, und von ihr nach ihrem Willem und nach Erforderung der Nothwendigkeit, wie das Instrument von dem Künstler, gebrauch werden wollen." Richter 1715, 194-195.

served the spiritual tasks of human existence. The body, therefore, was not an aimless machine but a governed system animated by the soul and oriented towards divine service.

However, Richter's animist physiology introduced a striking paradox. While the soul depended on the body to fulfil its appointed functions in this world, the body's own material composition perpetually threatened this purpose. The human organism was inherently unstable and prone to internal corruption:

“[...] the soul requires the body in this world to carry out the tasks and functions for which it has been appointed and ordered. [...] Meanwhile, the body is of such a constitution and mixture that it cannot persist and cannot even last for a few days by itself uncorrupted. Its mixture is dominated by a slimy fatness [...], which very easily becomes putrid, that is, which is extremely susceptible to putrefactive fermentation: especially since those organs which excite a fermentation, namely temperate heat, air and sufficient moisture, are always present in the human body, and are also brought from the outside, just as they also always touch it in its external parts.”⁴³⁹

In this formulation, the body's very nature – its soft, moist, and warm composition – created the conditions for its continuous decomposition. Far from being the ordered and well-structured entity of service as designed by God, the body was also predisposed to disorder and decay. In essence, the body itself obstructed its aim by the unavoidable processes that went on in its physical organism.

This way of framing the body constructed a fundamental tension within the nature of the human organism that did not align with the aim of God. How could an organism – designed by God to serve the soul – be inherently unstable, constantly tending towards falling into putrefaction and disease? How could the divinely ordered organism, in which every function was presumably shaped to serve a higher spiritual purpose, also be the site of inevitable decline?

The Fall of man and the putrefaction of the body

This apparent tension in Richter's construction of the bodily organism – between its divine purpose and its inherent tendency towards decay – was embedded in human history and the narrative of the Fall. Following Christian tradition, Richter held that the Fall introduced

⁴³⁹ „Dannhero kan die Seele des Leibes in dieser Welt zu ihren Wirkungen und Geschäften , zu welchen sie bestellet und verordnet ist, nicht entübrigt seyn . [...] Inzwischen ist der Leib von einer solchen Beschaffenheit und Mixtion, nach welcher er nicht bestehen, und nicht einmahl etliche Tage für sich selbst unverweßlich dauren kan. Denn es prædominiret in dessen Mixtion eine schleimigte Fettigkeit [...] welche sehr leicht stinckig wird, das ist, welche einer Fermentationi putredinosæ überaus leicht fähig ist: zu mahl da diejenigen Organa, so dergleichen Fermentation erregen, nemlich temperirte Wärme, Luftt, und gnugsame Feuchtigkei, stets im menschlichen Leibe vorhanden sind, und auch noch dazu von aussen hinein gebracht werden, gleichwie sie ihn auch stets an dessen ausserlichen Theilen berühren.“ Richter 1715, 295.

sin into the world, with devastating consequences not only for the soul but for the physical organism itself. Diseases, disorders in the organism, and death were the direct consequences of the expulsion from Eden and were framed as an inherent condition of the fallen state.⁴⁴⁰ Therefore, as Richter argued, it would be foolish to overlook sin as the root cause of ailments.⁴⁴¹ Yet, in contrast to more purely theological explanations of illness, Richter developed a distinct rationality of the aetiology of diseases in which sin operated as a dual cause, both immediate and occasional.⁴⁴²

As an occasional cause, sin provoked divine intervention – disease as a form of punishment, or as Richter phrased it, God’s arrows striking those who transgressed against him.⁴⁴³ This view mirrored Francke’s interpretation of physical illness as a pedagogical tool used by God to prompt reflection and repentance. However, Richter moved beyond this framework by also presenting sin as an immediate cause that directly corrupted the natural and physiological order, effectively linking original sin to the body’s biology. As he put it:

“[...] which they [the errors of original sin] manifest first through disordered movement of the body and blood, which physicians refer to as *læsiones motuum* [lesions of movement] [...]”.⁴⁴⁴

In this formulation, original sin moved into the physical organism, and its effects materialised as disrupted circulation and unstable humours. Richter further mapped this bodily corruption into the theory of the four temperaments – melancholic, sanguine, phlegmatic, and choleric – framing them as evidence of how the physical constitutions of the temperaments themselves had become obstacles to divine intention. In a rhetorical manner addressing the disproportionate quality of the blood in melancholic and phlegmatic individuals, Richter described the physical consequences of this corruption: “How thick and slimy it [the blood] is, rendering it naturally incapable of fulfilling its intended purpose and sustaining its constant circulation.”⁴⁴⁵ Here, the physical characteristics of the temperaments were read as biological consequences of humanity’s spiritual fallenness. In the case of melancholics and phlegmatics, the sin inherent in their temperament obstructed the natural order of the blood’s circulation due to its thick and sluggish character, a dysfunction that ultimately led to diseases.

⁴⁴⁰ Gary B Ferngren, *Medicine and Health Care in Early Christianity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Gary B. Ferngren 2014: *Medicine and Religion: A Historical Introduction*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

⁴⁴¹ Richter 1715, 592-593.

⁴⁴² „Es ist unmöglich eine gründliche Erkenntniß von den Ursachen der Krankheiten zu haben, wenn man Den Ursprung alles Übels, nemlich die Sünde, überhüpffet. Es ist die Sünde auf eine doppelte Weyse als eine Ursach der Krankheiten zu betrachten, nemlich so wol als eine würckende, als auch als eine veranlassende Ursach.“ Richter 1705, 129.

⁴⁴³ Richter 1705, 128-129.

⁴⁴⁴ „[...] welche sie hernach erstlich durch unordentliche Bewegungen des Leibes und Geblütes, welches die Medici *Læsiones Motuum* nennen, [...]“ Richter 1715, 592-593.

⁴⁴⁵ Richter 1715, 474.

Given this fundamental corruption of the body caused by original sin, Richter posited that a flawless physical state was impossible⁴⁴⁶ and, essentially, the human organism was filled with frailty, ailments, and imperfection, all consequences of the Fall. From birth until death, the body was framed as constantly producing slimy and stinking substances. The newborn child was physically marked by sin and born into a world full of impurities, which both stemmed from the womb of the mother, and were produced by the child itself:

“Thus, they [the infant child] are inwardly and outwardly full of impurity, their entire body seemingly armoured with it, which must be removed with great effort. Subsequently, the internal filth also manifests, as they expel a black-green, acrid substance through their stool and sometimes vomit a highly offensive matter.”⁴⁴⁷

Thus, Richter here framed original sin as an ontological reality embedded in the human body from birth, manifesting itself as repulsive substances.

Consequently, this inherent state of decay persisted throughout the whole existence, maintained by life-sustaining practices, since:

“[...] impurity, mucus and other vile substances are introduced into the body through food and drink, where they decay and transform nearly a third of the human body into a foul-smelling sewer.”⁴⁴⁸

Ultimately, Richter continued, the body became nothing but impurity, although this dirt was expelled as: “[...] through stool, urine, sweat, and bile new impurities are constantly generated, such as even healthy individuals are never without defect or flaw.”⁴⁴⁹ Yet even though such gross impurities did not enter the vital organs, subtle matter still contaminated the blood and humours.⁴⁵⁰ This meant that:

⁴⁴⁶ Richter 1715: 26 – 28, 464.

⁴⁴⁷ „[...] so sind sie innerlich und äusserlich voller Unreinigkeit, und sind an ihrem ganzen Leibe gleichsam damit geharnischt, welche mit Mühe muß, herab gebracht werden: und hernach bricht auch der innerliche Qvalm hervor, in dem sie eine schwarz - grüne scharffe Materie durch den Stuhlgang von sich geben, auch manchmal eine sehr heßliche Materie von sich brechen.“ Richter 1715, 464: §6.

⁴⁴⁸ „Wie viel Unreinigkeit, Schleim und andere heßliche Materien werden nicht durch Speise und Tranck in den Leib mit eingeführet, welche darinnen verfaulen, und fast den dritten Theil des menschlichen Körpers zu einem übelriechenden Cloac machen.“ Richter 1715, 468: §15.

⁴⁴⁹ „Der Leib selbst wird endlich zu lauter Unreinigkeit, wie wir im XIV. Cap. bewiessen haben, und ob gleich solche immer mit dem Stuhlgang, Urin, Schweiß und Galle weggeheth, so ist doch auch allezeit wieder andere und neue vorhanden, also daß auch die Gesunden nie ohne Mangel, nie ohne Fehler und Gebrechen, gefunden werden.“ Richter 1715, 468-469: § 17.

⁴⁵⁰ Richter 1715, 468: §16.

“If health is defined as a state in which no blemish can be detected in the body and blood of a person, then no one can be called healthy. For whom is without impurity? Who cannot show all kinds of impurities in their body and blood?”⁴⁵¹

In this way of rationalising the human organism, Richter closely paralleled the theological doctrine of original sin: just as no soul was without sin, so too was no body without impurity. The impossibility of perfect health thus mirrored the impossibility of perfect holiness. Like Francke, who conceived original sin as a spiritual pathology, Richter extended this logic further, positing that the very materiality of the human organism was disrupted. As he put it:

“Human life is as inseparable from various afflictions as fire is from heat and consumptions. No one truly knows what it feels like to be entirely well, without any affliction, because no mortal has ever experienced it, and no one can live free from all burdens. If people were not so accustomed to the daily discomforts they see and feel in their bodies, and if they did not know that such is their natural state, many would likely believe themselves to be gravely ill.”⁴⁵²

This way of constructing original sin differed significantly from purely theological constructions. It reflected a problematisation of the body's fluids that linked humoral imbalances to inherent sin, which now manifested as slimy, stinking substances, constantly expelled and reproduced and causing disorder and decay within the ordered bodily organism installed by God. This vulnerability of the body was thus not a contradiction of divine order but rather a reflection of humankind's fallen state. By embedding sin within the physical organism – the bios – and making it flow in substances like blood, slime, and excretions, Richter's thought inaugurated a form of biopastoral rationality in which explanations of life processes were inseparable from theological conceptions of sin and divine order.

⁴⁵¹ „Wenn man nun das Gesundheit Genennet, wenn an dem Leibe und Geblüte des Menschen kein Tadel zu spüren, so ist kein Mensch gesund zu nennen: Denn wo ist einer ohne Unreinigkeit? Wo ist einer, in dessen Leibe und Geblüte man nicht allerley Mängel und Unreinigkeiten zeigen könnte?“ Richter 1715, 469: §18.

⁴⁵² „Es ist das menschliche Leben so wenig ohne mancherley Beschwerde, so wenig das Feuer ohne Hitze und Verzehrung ist, wie einem kein Mensch weiß wie einem zu Muthe sey dem ganz wohl sey, und dem gar nichts fehlet, weil es kein Sterblicher erfahren, und weil kein Mensch ohn alle Beschwerde leben kan: Und wenn man dessen, was man täglich an seinem Leibe siehet und empfindet, nicht sogar gewohnt wäre, und wüste, daß man so seyn müste, so würden vielleicht viele glauben, daß sie sehr Kranck wären.“ Richter 1715, 469: §19.

Personal conduct and increased biological disorder

However, in Richter's biopastoral rationality, the body was not only marked by the inherent disorder introduced through original sin, but it was also highly susceptible to further corruption based on individual behaviour. The effects of sin, already inscribed into the organism by the Fall, could be intensified through improper conduct. Here, Richter's rationality did not merely identify sin as a spiritual or moral fault. Like Francke, he problematised everyday actions as potential threats, now also to the bios' internal order, transforming the physical organism into a domain of moral governance.

Richter illustrated these dynamics through various examples of unhealthy behaviours, highlighting their detrimental impact on the body – conduct that closely resembled what Francke categorised as deeds of the flesh.

For instance, indulgence in excessive food and drink initiated a chain reaction of physical disorder. When an individual consumed more than necessary, the surplus overfilled the stomach, impeding the vital blood circulation. This, in turn, caused the blood to thicken, transforming it into a slimy, fatty substance that flooded the body. The digestive system, strained by excessive intake, struggled to process the surplus, leading to bloating and the formation of what Richter referred to as *chylum*, a mass of undigested food and nutritional fluids. This bulk would produce coarse food juices and poor-quality nutrition, ultimately contributing to intestinal diseases and irritations.⁴⁵³

Furthermore, when undigested food was present in the stomach, a putrefaction process accelerated in both the stomach and intestines, becoming the source of various diseases such as colic, diarrhoea, cold fevers, acidic and malodorous indigestion, headaches, dizziness, and exhaustion.⁴⁵⁴ Consequently, succumbing to the desires of the tongue resulted in the physical manifestation of sins as a thickening of the blood, accumulation of rotting surplus of undigested matter, disrupting the delicate natural balance, leading to the self-inflicted development of diseases.

Richter further emphasised how the human organism reacted negatively to inactivity or what could be considered the vice of laziness.⁴⁵⁵ An inactive body caused the blood to cool, and as it became colder, the blood thickened and coagulated, impeding its smooth flow through the narrower vessels and resulting in congestion. The absence of physical movement reduced the natural blood release, causing excess blood accumulation within the body.⁴⁵⁶ Thus, physical inactivity disrupted the quality of the blood and its ability to flow freely. According to Richter, this congestion and stagnation of blood circulation were foundational to the development of various diseases. He specifically linked inactivity to

⁴⁵³ Richter 1715, 118.

⁴⁵⁴ Richter 1705, 1715, See the index at the back of the books.

⁴⁵⁵ Richter 1715, 319: §38, 432-433: §42, 513-514: §61.

⁴⁵⁶ Richter 1715, 345: §32.

conditions such as cachexia (loss of weight), anorexia (loss of appetite), nausea, and pyrosis (burning pain in the chest).⁴⁵⁷

From a Foucauldian perspective, this way of linking sin, personal conduct, and the development of diseases directly to the organism's life processes illustrates an intersection of pastoral and biopower that targets the organism as an object of continual supervision and correction. The individual was summoned to reflect and act upon themselves, not only to cultivate spiritual discipline but also to prevent their own physiological deterioration. Bodily practices – eating, resting, moving – were technologies of the self through which one's spiritual and biological integrity must be secured. In this logic, failure to regulate the humours was not merely unwise; it was sinful, and sin circulated, quite literally, through the veins as fatty and slimy blood or manifested as improper digestion. This is perhaps the most striking element in Richter's rationality – the linking of sinful behaviour to tangible biological dysfunction. Overeating, sensual indulgence, and laziness were no longer merely vices but pathogenic acts that compromised the internal physical balance and manifested in physical form.

Nevertheless, Richter argued that while the body could not be free from impurities, it was still possible to achieve a state of physical health.⁴⁵⁸ Health depended on providing the soul with sufficient strength to ensure its movements were not impeded.⁴⁵⁹ This statement was built on the notion that the soul would always intervene in the bodily organism to relieve it from ailment. However, such movement put a strain on the soul, and since the disordered organism obstructed the soul's movement, it was essential to counteract these hindrances, as the body should never become an obstacle to the soul's well-being. The physical organism was meant to support, rather than hinder, the soul's health.⁴⁶⁰

In Richter's rationality of the body, caring for the soul's health then became closely linked to the balance of the humours:

"This, then, is what is required concerning the soul if one wishes to care for the body's health without hindrance. On the part of the body, it is particularly important to ensure that the natural order in the *motus vitals* (vital movements) is preserved and that the mixture of both the blood and the other humours is maintained in proper composition and balance over time."⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁷ Richter 1715: 947, 949, 967: §70, 970: §73, 1114, 1126.

⁴⁵⁸ Richter 1705, 488.

⁴⁵⁹ "Es kommt aber das meiste darauf an, daß die Seele selbst bey guten Kräfften, die nöthigen Wirkungen ungehindert zuverrichten, erhalten werde." Richter 1715, 489: §9.

⁴⁶⁰ Richter 1715, 23.

⁴⁶¹ „Diß wäre also dasjenige, was in Ansehung der Seele erfordert wird, wenn man die Gesundheit des Leibes ungehindert besorgen will: Auf Seiten des Körpers aber ist vornemlich dahin zu sehen, daß die natürliche Ordnung in den *Motibus vitalibus* conserviret, und die Mixtion so wohl des Geblütes als auch derer übrigen Humor, in geziemender Beschaffenheit und Dauerung erhalten werden.“ Richter 1715, 500: § 23.

Thus, while diseases could not be totally prevented due to original sin, following the rules of what Richter termed *the Natural Life* as ordained by God, one could remain healthier than those who did not: “It is absolutely certain that if nature remained in the order established by the Creator, even after the Fall, then one would not experience so many illnesses.”⁴⁶² Thus, maintaining a well-tempered body was of critical importance, as an imbalanced and diseased body directly impacted the soul’s capacity to function and thrive.⁴⁶³

What emerged from this construction was a profound disciplinary vision of embodiment. In Foucauldian terms, the body was constituted as a site where pastoral power and biopower converged with the ultimate aim of caring for the soul by keeping its instrument fit for use and relieving it from the unnecessary burden of interfering when self-inflicted humoral imbalances increased. While diseases were not always self-induced given the constant process of decay, the organism’s internal state became a personal responsibility that required refraining from committing sins.

Deviating from divine order, not just in belief but also in practices that affected the humoral balance, would induce disease. Richter’s rationality of the organism illustrates how the internal biology or the bios, under Pietist pastoral authority, became an ethical condition. It was impossible to distinguish clearly between sin and the organism, between the moral and the medical. The organism was a text upon which spiritual disorder was written in the language of humoral imbalance and decaying matter, and crucially, the individual was held responsible – not only for resisting temptation but for the very physical and organic consequences of their failure to do so.

In sum, Richter constructed a dietetical rationality of body, sin, and health that problematised the human organism within the framework of divine governance and human disobedience. His critique of the mechanical model rejected its failure to account for the purposeful and intentional movements within the organism, along with the mechanical model’s dismissal of the purpose of the body as a tool governed by the soul, whose ultimate aim was to fulfil God’s will. This construction positioned the organism of the body as deeply embedded in the human history of the Fall and the consequences of original sin. While Richter acknowledged that diseases could come directly from God, his rationality linked the physical organism directly to the spiritual domain by problematising the body’s inherent susceptibility to decay and disease. The tension between the idea of an organism reflecting God’s order and a body prone to self-destruction was a consequence of the Fall that introduced disorder and corruption into both the spiritual and physical realms, thus situating original sin as an internal, biological force that disrupted the body’s natural harmony. Impurities such as stool, urine, sweat, and slimy, fatty blood were not merely byproducts of physical functioning but were constructed as evidence of the body’s inherent flaws and a manifestation of original sin. By embedding sin within the physical organism,

⁴⁶² „Das ist ganz gewiß, wenn unsere Natur in derjenigen Ordnung bleibe, in welche sie auch nach dem Fall von dem Schöpfer gefeßet worden, so würde man nicht so viel Kranckheiten erfahren.“ Richter 1715, 490; Richter 1705, 116: §7.

⁴⁶³ Richter 1715, 571.

Richter highlighted the body's constant threat to the soul, thus positioning physical health preservation through humoral regulation as a moral obligation. While diseases thus could not be entirely prevented due to both the intervening God and the corrupted nature of the body, adherence to God's natural order through dietetical and humoral regulation could nonetheless mitigate their effects, ensuring that the soul remained strong and the body a suitable instrument for its work.

The technologies of humoral governance

This understanding of the reciprocal relationship between blood circulation, digestion, and movement of the soul underscored the importance of preventive measures to maintain health – and ultimately the soul's salvation. Consequently, Richter posited, it was a fundamental misconception to think that a physician's intervention was necessary only after one had fallen ill. Since the body's physical state directly impacted the soul's ability to function correctly, caring for the body was not only about responding to diseases but about proactively maintaining humoral balance. Just as there were rules for healing, there existed rules for living healthily, and medical knowledge about how to preserve health was considered just as essential as advice on curing illness.⁴⁶⁴

These rules were described in a section in the book titled *Of the diet to be followed to maintain health*⁴⁶⁵ – a way of life that Richter termed the Natural Life. Richter argued that God, as the creator of nature, had established an order that inherently promoted physical health. He asserted: “Without doubt, the One who created nature knew the best way of life in which it could thrive successfully.”⁴⁶⁶ This meant that the Natural Life was the life that God had intended for man, and therefore also the healthy way of life characterised by a few simple rules:

“The body's balance is maintained through moderation in eating, adequate and appropriate beverages, the regular expulsion of natural impurities, and sufficient physical exercise. Ordinary cupping and bloodletting must not be neglected.”⁴⁶⁷

These practices were elaborated upon in dedicated sections, outlining their precise practice.

⁴⁶⁴ Richter 1715, vorbericht 7-8.

⁴⁶⁵ *Von der Diet, welche man, die Gesundheit zu erhalten, wahrnehmenn soll* Richter 1715, 484; Richter 1705, 112.

⁴⁶⁶ „Den ohne Zweifel wuste der, der die Natur gemacht hat, am besten in welchen Lebens-Art dieselbe am glücklichsten seyn könnte.“ Richter 1715, 489-489: §10.

⁴⁶⁷ „9. Die Mixtion des Leibes wird erhalten durch Mäßigkeit in Essen §10/ durch gnugsames und dienstliches Getränke §11/ durch stetigen Abgang der natürlichen Unreinigkeiten §12/ und durch gnugsame Leibes Bewegung §13/ gewöhnliches Schröpfen und Aderlassen darff man nicht unterlassen §14.“ Richter 1705, 112.

Introspection

However, before diving into these methods, Richter emphasised that one principle stood above all other rules of health: a form of introspective spiritual practice grounded in faith. For Richter, faith was not only the foundation of salvation but also the cornerstone of physical health. As he stated, faith provided: “[...] a certain foundation of peace of mind, which, because so much of health depends on it, must rightfully be placed among the foremost health principles.”⁴⁶⁸

To the modern reader, this assertion – that faith directly contributed to physical organism’s health – may initially appear counterintuitive. However, it becomes more intelligible when recalling Francke’s theological-medical rationality, which similarly linked faith and spiritual health to regulating the corporeal dimension of human life. For both Francke and Richter, faith functioned as a technology of the self – a practice of continuous self-examination and moral regulation aimed at aligning the individual with divine will. In Francke’s framework, the practice of faith entailed monitoring unfaithful passions that enhanced carnal desires and intentions, a spiritual discipline that would enhance spiritual health by suppressing carnal desires. Likewise, Richter’s rationality of health was predicated on the regulation of inner life – particularly the passions – which he identified as the most perilous threat to the body’s equilibrium.

Recent scholarship offers valuable insight into the medical logic behind this integration of faith and health. Historians such as Andreas Rydberg, Christian Soboth, and Irmtraut Sahmland have emphasised that Pietist physicians understood intense passions not merely as a psychological state but as disruptions of the body’s humoral balance.⁴⁶⁹ However, to explain how faith came to be the number one rule of health, these insights can be nuanced further.

Richter cast passions as dangerous to health for two interrelated reasons. First, they were the mother of all vices, and second, they caused immediate somatic effects, generating disorder within the organism. Imagination, here constructed as a kind of passion, played a significant role, as it allowed individuals to conceive of objects or experiences that incited desire – particularly carnal and worldly desires such as wealth, reputation, or sensual pleasures.⁴⁷⁰ When placed above the love for the divine, these desires – reflecting a certain amount of self-love – conflicted with the higher, more selfless love that aligned with divine service.⁴⁷¹ Essentially, imagination and passions thus encouraged indulgent behaviour,

⁴⁶⁸ “[...] ist dieses ein gewisses Fundament der Ruhe des Gemüths, welche, weil davon sogar vieles von der Gesundheit dependieret, unter den Gesundheits-Regeln billig oben gefeßet werden muß.“ Richter 1715, 493.

⁴⁶⁹ Christian Soboth, “‘Also, wären keine Affecten, so wären kein Leben.’ Affekte und Affektkontrolle im Halleschen Pietismus” *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahr Hundert*. ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021), 104; Andreas Rydberg, “Michael Alberti and the Medical Therapy of the Internal Senses” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol. 74, No. 3, 2019, pp. 245-266, 257.

⁴⁷⁰ Richter, 17015, 261-263: §18.

⁴⁷¹ Richter, 1715, 267.

which, as previously noted, disrupted blood circulation and impaired the body's balance, leading to various ailments.

To counteract the ill influence of imagination and its incitement of disease-inducing desires, Richter – much like Francke – advocated constant self-reflection. As he instructed:

“In order that you may be all the more assured of Divine assistance in all your actions, undertakings, and necessities, it is essential that you are certain of God's approval in all your paths and endeavours, and that you know you are walking in divine order. Otherwise, if your conscience convicts you of the contrary, it would be advisable for you to immediately align yourself with the boundaries of God's will.”⁴⁷²

This vigilant self-reflection upon one's conscience, aimed at aligning it with a faithful way of life, was closely tied to the belief that an un-Christian faith had the potential to disrupt the entire system, just like sin itself did. Richter explained:

“[...] for if you allow unbelief in just one of your qualities, effects, and movements, such, as you have heard, it has an inevitable influence on the rest of them all, and therefore if one part is unfaithful, it spreads through the qualities so that the whole soul feels the nature of unbelief from it like a little leaven leavens the whole dough.”⁴⁷³

Furthermore, the dangers of passions and the health imperative of faith were linked to Richter's emphasis on passions' immediate and harmful effects on the body's physiological equilibrium, particularly the balance and circulation of fluids. Each passion, he argued, produced distinct somatic reactions.⁴⁷⁴ Anger, for example, accelerated the heart rate and induced trembling – visible signs of increased blood circulation. Such changes could separate toxic substances like gall from the blood, producing a boiling state. If not curbed, this state prompted the soul to turn to help the body, simultaneously amplifying damage to the soul itself.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷² „Damit du aber in allen deinem Thun und Vornehmen, und in allen deinen Nöthen, Göttlichen Beystandes desto ungezweifelnder versichert seyn mögest, so ist nöthig, daß du bey allen deinen Wegen und Verrichtungen des Göttlichen Wohlgefallens gewiß seyst, und wissest daß du in göttlicher Ordnung wandelst: wäre es anders, und dein Gewissen überzeuge dich des Gegentheils, so wäre dir zu rathen, daß du dich gleich in die Schranken des Göttlichen Willen verfügtest.“ Richter 1715, 496, §17.

⁴⁷³ „[...] denn wenn du dem Unglauben nur in einer Art deiner Eigenschaften, Wirkungen und Bewegungen Raum vergönnet, so hat solches, wie du gehöret hat, seinen unvermeidlichen Einfluss in die übrigen alle, und wenn also ein Theil ungläubig ist, so breitet sich solches durch alle Eigenschaften aus, so daß die ganze Seele davon die Natur des Unglaubens empfindet, wie ein wenig Sauerteig den ganzen Teig durchsäuert. Richter 1715, 495-496, §16.

⁴⁷⁴ Richter 1715, 130: §14, 494.

⁴⁷⁵ Richter 1715, 358-381, 413-434.

Other passions were likewise linked to specific bodily ailments. Stinginess was associated with insomnia, which fatigued and exhausted the organism. When combined with envy, stinginess could contribute to chronic conditions such as gall-induced stomach issues.⁴⁷⁶

In Richter's system, passions were doubly dangerous: they generated carnal desires that led to indulgence which led to self-inflicted diseases and in themselves they stirred up the humoral imbalances that degraded bodily health. Thus, the careful examination of one's passions and their origins, originally a pastoral method for regulating sin, came to operate simultaneously in the spiritual and biological domains.

However, against this dual threat, faith and trust in God were the most stabilising forces. Divine love, Richter asserted, had the power to temper all other affections.⁴⁷⁷ Furthermore, he maintained that genuine Christian love, grounded in faith, could neutralise the destructive power of anger by calming down the mind.⁴⁷⁸ Thus, surrendering to faith was not only a religious imperative but also a practical prescription for tempering the body's humoral balance – a way of caring for the soul through caring for the humours. As Richter put it:

“Therefore, let this be your constant practice: to remain steadfast in faith, and let nothing whatsoever turn you away from it. In doing so, you will be blessed in your life, and you will also remain physically calmer, stronger, and healthier [...].”⁴⁷⁹

These emotional regulations were further expressed in terms of God's demand for a specific emotional orientation towards life, which in itself had salutary effects. As Richter wrote:

“[...] you should be faithful, loving, gentle, sociable, patient, kind, mild, sober, and moderate; all of which are not only purely healthy, pain-relieving, and soothing by nature, but also pleasant, charming, and exceedingly beneficial to human nature.”⁴⁸⁰

This emotional regime, as a divinely sanctioned comportment, thus informed the regulation of passions and faith as a means to temper the humours. Within Richter's rationality, faithful living was intrinsically physical health-preserving.

In this way, introspection and the cultivation of faith were not just spiritual exercises; they also constituted prophylactic interventions aimed at maintaining the physical

⁴⁷⁶ Richter 1715, 596.

⁴⁷⁷ Richter 1715, 271-272: §35.

⁴⁷⁸ Richter 1715, §34, 271.

⁴⁷⁹ „Darum laß diß deine stete Übung seyn, daß du im Glauben bleibest, und laß dich schlechterdings nichts vom Glauben abkehren, es sey auch was es wolle: so wirst du glücklich seyn in deinem Leben, und so wirst du auch dem Leibe nach viel ruhiger, stärker und gesunder bleiben, [...]“ Richter 1715, 499, §22.

⁴⁸⁰ [...], dass du gläubig, liebeich, sanfftmütig, leutselig, geduldig, freundlich, milde, nüchtern und mäßig seyn sollest; welches alles nicht allein lauter gesunde Schmerzen-stillende, lindernde, sondern auch ihrer Natur nach angenehme, holdselige und der menschlichen Natur überaus zuträgliche Affecten sind Richter 1715, 492, §12.

organism's balance. Like Francke, Richter introduced introspection and faith as practices to control sin, but he framed these as medical technologies of the self, aimed at regulating the physical organism. Andreas Rydberg has shown that Pietist physicians conceptualised Christian spiritual practices such as prayer, meditation, and Bible reading as medical therapies aimed at curbing dangerous affections.⁴⁸¹ In Richter's case, this logic was extended further: the pastoral technique of scrutinising the self for signs of sin was transformed into a medical technology for managing the physical organism. Through daily reflection, emotional discipline, the practice of faith, and the internalisation of divine norms, Richter's dietetics merged the biological with the spiritual in the care for the soul and thus enacted a form of pastoral biopower, in which Christian techniques of governing the soul became inseparable from biological governing.

Physical exercise

While practising genuine faith was the primary technique for maintaining physical health, as it ultimately prevented one from engaging in unhealthy actions, Richter emphasised that this spiritual discipline worked in tandem with physical practices such as moderation in eating and drinking, as well as regular bodily exercise. These practices were not merely supplementary but were constructed as divinely ordained methods integral to preserving bodily equilibrium.

Richter illustrated this by interpreting biblical passages as dietetical guidance, thereby highlighting the, according to him, interplay between theological principles and the physical organism. This interpretive practice demonstrates a significant feature of Richter's argumentation, as he explicitly examined the physical organism through the lens of biblical commandments. Employing Foucauldian terms, Richter's reinterpretation of scripture constituted a strategic alignment of religious authority with medical rationality, thereby merging spiritual governance with the discipline of the physical organism.

For instance, in the section on physical exercise, Richter invoked the biblical dictum "In the sweat of your brow, you will eat your bread", reconceptualising this traditionally punitive command as practical health advice from God. Instead of viewing labour only as divine punishment following the Fall, Richter reframed it as divinely appointed therapeutic counsel:

⁴⁸¹ Andreas Rydberg, "Michael Alberti and the Medical Therapy of the Internal Senses." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol. 74, No. 3, 2019, pp. 245-266.

“In the current condition of our wretched body, this [labour or physical exercise] is a powerful medicine ordained by God when He said to man after the Fall: In the sweat of your face, you shall eat your bread.”⁴⁸²

Thus, physical labour was not just a burdensome necessity but a divinely instituted method for exercising the body. Hence, the biblical demand carried a dual significance as both a directive and a blessing guiding man towards balancing his body.⁴⁸³

Richter reinforced his claim by emphasising how physical exercise directly counteracted physical disorder. As health depended significantly on unobstructed blood circulation, preventing its thickening was crucial. Providentially, physical activity and labour uniquely countered blood coagulation. Physical exertion generated heat, which liquefied fatty substances in the blood and facilitated unobstructed flow. Therefore, moving the body not only prevented congestion but also contributed to blood purification through enhanced circulation. This process acted as a form of natural detoxification, preserving the overall health and condition of the body, ensuring its proper functions.⁴⁸⁴

Furthermore, strengthening his argument, Richter illustrated how God’s intention for labour to support physical health was evident in the world’s natural order:

“Because Divine Providence recognised that humanity could not remain healthy without labour, and knowing that people would naturally avoid work, it presented the necessities of life in a raw and unrefined state. This compelled individuals to engage in labour, which, ultimately, serves their greatest benefit.”⁴⁸⁵

Here, Richter again reframed labour from a punitive consequence of sin into a positive, divinely appointed regimen essential for regulating sin. Through this theological-medical lens, labour was reframed as physical bodily exercise: a critical practice for maintaining harmony in the body’s equilibrium, mitigating the fatal manifestations of original sin as fatty, slow-running blood, and a crucial practice for enabling the soul to serve God effectively. Like Francke, who conceptualised labour primarily as a spiritual obligation necessary for maintaining spiritual health, Richter redirected this principle, emphasising physical labour as essential for maintaining physical health. However, while Francke explicitly condemned specific time-wasting activities, such as dancing and more playful activities, Richter did not frame any physical activity as forbidden. Nevertheless, implicitly,

⁴⁸² „Diese ist bey gegenwärtiger Beschaffenheit unsers elenden Leibes eine Kräftige Medicin, die Gott selbst geordnet, da er nach dem Fall zum Menschen gesprochen: Im Schweiß deines Angesichts sollst du dein Brod essen.“ Richter 1715, 514; Richter 1705, 119, §13.

⁴⁸³ Richter 1715, 317-318: §35.

⁴⁸⁴ Richter 1715, 317-318: §35, 319: §38, 320: §39 §40, 321-322: §41, §42.

⁴⁸⁵ [...], weil die göttliche Vorsehung gefunden, daß der Mensch ohne Arbeit nicht gesund seyn könnte; er aber die Arbeit scheuen würde: So hat sie ihm die Dinge, so er nothwendig gebraucht, ganz rohe und ohne brauchbar hingestellt, damit er solchergestalt genöthiget werden möchte zu dem, was sein Bestes ist.“ Richter 1715, 433, §42.

he advocated labour as the optimal form of exercise by exclusively focusing on this in his discussions on bodily movement.

Resting the body

In line with Francke, Richter maintained that excessive labour was detrimental. According to Richter, rest was necessary; it was God's intention, and the natural world itself demonstrated such. The need for rest was reflected through natural phenomena such as the transition between day and night, the cycle of the seasons, the agricultural practice of leaving fields fallow, and even God's own act of resting on the seventh day of creation.⁴⁸⁶ Of course, the human body also reflected this divinely ordained need for relaxation and the necessity to rest was an explicit commandment embedded in the natural order established by God: inadequate sleep would induce ailments such as delirium, fever and, ultimately, death.⁴⁸⁷

However, like Francke, Richter warned that carnal tendencies lurked everywhere, posing risks to the restorative function of rest and sleep. He cautioned that rest could quickly devolve into slothfulness and mental wandering if not correctly managed. While not explicitly stating how breaks should be spent – unlike Francke, who recommended prayer and reading of edifying literature – Richter emphasised that rest should be taken in useful ways. Nevertheless, when it came to sleep, Richter provided detailed guidance on how to ensure that the quality of time spent in bed was both restful and beneficial:

“One should not take worries to bed, which also refers to other troubling thoughts that prevent sleep or, at the very least, rob the sweetness and true refreshment of rest.”⁴⁸⁸

He further clarified the necessity of monitoring sleep, stating:

“In sleep, a person must also maintain the right balance, ensuring that they neither sleep too much nor too little. Healthy individuals who engage in full work typically require 6 – 7 hours of sleep. However, weaker individuals may need more sleep, though one should not rigidly determine this for everyone.”⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁶ Richter 1715, 435 – 436: §4.

⁴⁸⁷ Richter 1715, 437.

⁴⁸⁸ Richter 1715, 503: §31.

⁴⁸⁹ „Im Schlaf muß der Mensch gleichfalls rechte Maaße halten, daß er darinnen Schlags nicht zu viel noch zu wenig thue; Gesunde Menschen die volle Arbeit haben, haben an 6 biß 7 Stunden Schlafes genug; schwache Personen aber bedürffen deren wohl achte, so sich aber bey allen doch nicht dergestalt determiniren lasset.“, Richter 1715, 504: §33.

Thus, Richter underscored the importance of monitoring both the quality and quantity of sleep as essential to preserving physical health.

In summary, while Richter closely paralleled Francke's advocacy for regulated labour and rest, he distinctly shifted the emphasis of the object of governing through these techniques to the biological reality of the body. This illustrates how Richter employed scriptural authority to construct labour and rest as critically, divinely sanctioned dietetical practices integrated into preserving the bios. Both Richter and Francke demonstrated a shared commitment to instilling rest and labour as techniques of health-promoting self-discipline. Their rationalities operated in tandem, targeting and harmonising the health of both the soul and the physical organism.

The physical dangers of student life

Notably, Richter's recommendations explicitly targeted individuals engaged in intellectual work and mental activities, such as students. The primary issue for individuals engaged in intellectual occupation was that their work often involved a stationary body. Central to the argument was the identification of prolonged physical inactivity and excessive mental strain as key risks to health.⁴⁹⁰ While sedentary intellectual activity was not sinful, it inevitably resulted in a strain on the soul and physiological imbalances by reinforcing immaterial sources of diseases such as overuse of reason, imagination, or memory, resulting in fevers, nausea, fatigue, and depletion of one's vital forces.⁴⁹¹

Therefore, Richter noted that students, in particular, were vulnerable to ailments associated with prolonged inactivity, including diseases such as a weakened stomach, constipation, and infrequent visits to the privy.⁴⁹² This emphasised the complexity of students' lives: the (in itself not sinful) practice of studying led to self-inflicted illnesses resulting from the inherently sedentary conditions of this activity. This pointed to the urgent need for students specifically to monitor their exercise practices, incorporating regular exercise into their routines⁴⁹³ and refreshing their minds by varying their activities often.⁴⁹⁴ This approach not only helped alleviate the physical strain of sedentary work but also promoted overall health by maintaining both spiritual and physical balance.

Remarkably, this concern with the physical consequences of intellectual labour was expressed in Francke's pedagogical treatises, suggesting that Richter's dietetics also influenced Francke's pedagogy. While Francke did not address the health risks associated with prolonged studying in the same explicitly medical language as Richter, he incorporated a similar awareness of the physical dangers of studying into his descriptions of the

⁴⁹⁰ Richter 1705, 112.

⁴⁹¹ Richter 1715, 398: §13, §14, §15; 596: §16.

⁴⁹² Richter 1715, 390: §16.

⁴⁹³ Richter 1715, 441: § 14.

⁴⁹⁴ Richter 1715, 441: §14, 503: § 32.

educational structure of the day. In his pedagogical treatise *Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht* (written in 1702 and published in 1705) he explicitly emphasised a balanced approach to work, exercise, and rest as crucial to preserving the pupil's health:

“[...] that the children should not idle too much, and yet also not be made tired, sluggish, and sullen, or even sick and unhealthy, through a lack of all rest and recreation.”⁴⁹⁵

Furthermore, Francke explicitly critiqued and sought to correct a common misconception held by parents that sustained uninterrupted intellectual labour was beneficial. He clearly identified prolonged intellectual effort, particularly without adequate rest or physical activity, as detrimental to the health and well-being of pupils:

“[...] parents should not demand from the instructor that the children sit still and learn for too long with them, as some believe that it is particularly beneficial for their children if they compel the instructor to teach them for 6, 7, or 8 hours a day, and during such hours distribute the lessons in such a way that the children must constantly sit and learn with him, which cannot happen without displeasure and great reluctance of the delicate children, and commonly not without harming their health.”⁴⁹⁶

To mitigate the physical consequences of prolonged sitting, Francke prescribed incorporating specific exercise classes into the daily routine, like wood chopping, sawing, woodworking, gardening, and taking intellectual lessons during walks.⁴⁹⁷ Thus, the

⁴⁹⁵ „[...] daß die Kinder nicht zuviel müßig gehen / und doch auch nicht durch Mangel aller Müsse und Erholung ermüdet / träg und verdrossen / ja wohl gar krank und ungesund gemacht werden“ August Hermann Francke. *WERKE IN AUSWAHL*. Ed. von Erhard Peschke. (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1969). III. Pädagogische Schriften: *Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorium entworfen / und nun auff Begehren zum Druck gegeben: Von Erziehung der Jugend / Zur Gottseligkeit und Klugheit*, 139.

⁴⁹⁶ „[...] daß die Eltern nicht von dem praeceptore fordern / daß die Kinder gar zu lange bey ihnen stille sitzen und lernen sollen / wie etwa einige meynen / daß sie ihren Kindern sonderlich wohl gerathen haben /, wenn sie den praeceptorem adstringiren / daß er sie 6. 7. oder 8. Stunden des Tages informiren solle / und in solchen Stunden die lectiones also vertheilen / daß die Kinder beständig bey ihm sitzen und lernen müssen / welches ohne Verdruß und grossen Widerwillen der zarten Kinder / auch gemeinlich ohne Verletzung ihrer Gesundheit nicht geschehen mag.“ August Hermann Francke. *WERKE IN AUSWAHL*. Ed. Erhard Peschke. (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 1969), III. Pädagogische Schriften: *Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorium entworfen / und nun auff Begehren zum Druck gegeben: Von Erziehung der Jugend / Zur Gottseligkeit und Klugheit*, 139.

⁴⁹⁷ August Hermann Francke. *WERKE IN AUSWAHL*. ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 1969),. III. Pädagogische Schriften: *Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorium entworfen / und nun auff Begehren zum Druck gegeben: Von Erziehung der Jugend / Zur Gottseligkeit und Klugheit*, 140.

educational structure – alternating between periods of studying and periods of, e.g., chopping wood as prescribed – became a mechanism for preventing the ill effects of inactivity. Advocating for systematically embedding these specific physical activities ensured no breaks were used on idling time away but contributed to useful activities like wood preparation. While Richter's construction of the human organism drew heavily on Pietist theology, the influence was not unidirectional. Medical knowledge equally informed Francke's pedagogical rationalities, demonstrating the mutual entanglement of these rationalities. Francke's incorporation of the argument that, for health reasons, the children needed to be physically active illustrates that theological and medical logics merged to inform educational strategies, transforming the schoolroom into a site of moral and physiological formation.

This integration of spiritual-medical labour techniques into educational frameworks illustrates the development of biopower in normative sources: the vision of regulating the population through the management of life processes. In targeting children, the Pietist project extended its spiritual-medical technologies into the realm of pedagogy, legitimising a regime in which health, morality, and educational achievement were interdependent. The rationality of the school thus reflected a visualisation of a biopolitical apparatus, aimed at shaping Christian subjects through instruction and disciplined care of the body.

Moderation, meat-eating, and the Fall of man

While Francke promoted moderation as a practice extending into nearly every aspect of Christian life, Richter applied the concept primarily to eating practices. For Richter, healthy eating was less about what one consumed and more about how one approached food. Like Francke, Richter emphasised that the purpose of eating was fundamentally utilitarian: to nourish the body so it could serve God. As he stated:

“That the appetite for eating and drinking has precisely this ultimate purpose: that through food and drink, a person can be sustained to properly use the members of their body as instruments of righteousness in service of God. As the Holy Scripture expressly states: Whether one eats, drinks, or does anything else, it should all be done for the glory of God.”⁴⁹⁸

Central to Richter's concern was the danger posed by the allure of luxurious or overly stimulating foods – so-called choice dishes – foods and drinks that heightened the sensuousness of taste and awakened an unnatural appetite.⁴⁹⁹ The principal problem, he

⁴⁹⁸ „Der Appetit zum Essen und Trincken hat eben diesen Endzweck, dass der Mensch durch Speise und Tranck vermögend erhalten werde, die Glieder seines Leibes als Waffen der Gerechtigkeit zum Dienstes Gottes recht zu gebrauchen. Wie denn auch die Heilige Schrift ausdrücklich bezeuget: Man esse oder trincke oder was man thue, so solle man alles zu Gottes ehre thun.“ Richter 1715, 10.

⁴⁹⁹ „[...] niedlicher Speise und Geträncke [...]“ Richter, 1705, 140: §14.

argued, was that most people failed to recognise when they had eaten enough, which led to indulgence, making moderation a fundamental principle of healthy eating.⁵⁰⁰

However, in contrast to more radical Pietist physicians like Johann Samuel Carl – who condemned taste enhancers altogether as indulgences of the flesh⁵⁰¹ – Richter did not oppose the pleasures of taste in principle. He acknowledged that, according to divine ordination, humans were permitted to consume everything that moved, grew, and lived on earth.⁵⁰² The issue, therefore, was not the food's intrinsic quality but the eater's disposition.

This position sets Richter apart from several of his Pietist contemporaries or other devout physicians of the early 18th century who advocated for a return to what they perceived as paradisiacal vegetarianism.⁵⁰³ As Christa Habrich has shown, Johann Samuel Carl explicitly grounded his rejection of meat in the dietary model of Adam and Eve before the Fall, interpreting the Edenic diet as both spiritually and physically superior.⁵⁰⁴ This view resonated with a broader theological-medical discourse that had circulated since late antiquity and continued into the 19th century, in which the consumption of meat and cooked foods was seen as symptomatic of humanity's fall from purity. American historian of science Steven Shapin has demonstrated that these debates often centred on whether postlapsarian diets compromised the body and the intellect and whether the imitation of Edenic dietary practices could restore lost spiritual and physical clarity.⁵⁰⁵ Though purely vegetarian diets were hardly ever recommended, such a diet was often conceptualised as paradisiac.

Richter departed from this meat-free vision in significant ways. While he acknowledged that Adam and Eve had lived only on fruits and vegetables in Paradise, he argued that the Fall had fundamentally altered the quality of available food. With the land cursed to produce thorns and thistles, the nutrient-rich produce of Eden had been replaced by inferior vegetation, making meat consumption a divinely sanctioned necessity in a corrupted world.⁵⁰⁶ Although Richter recognised that improperly digested meat could lead to disturbances in bodily fluids, he located the problem not in the meat itself but in excess and imbalance – a problem that the practice of moderation would address. Thus, when practised with moderation, meat-eating was not only permissible but also health-sustaining.

⁵⁰⁰ Richter, 1715, 120-121, 139-140: §14, 426-427: §26, §27, §28, §29, 511: §56.

⁵⁰¹ Johann Samuel Carl, *Von der Diet vor Gesunde und Krancke: In gründlicher Anweisung/ Wie solche auf jedes besondern Zustand und Kranckheit wohl einzurichten. Aller göttlichen und natürlichen Ordnung gemäss/ als ein sicherer/ richtiger und einfältiger Weg zu Erhaltung des Lebens und Gesundheit vergestellt* (Büdingen: Druckts und verlegt Joh. Friedr. Regelein, 1719), 213.

⁵⁰² Richter 1715, 423: §20.

⁵⁰³ See for instance Anita Guerrini, *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment. The Life and Times of George Cheyne* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000).

⁵⁰⁴ Christa Habrich, *Untersuchungen zur pietistischen Medizin und ihrer Ausprägung bei Johann Samuel Carl (1677-1757) und seinem Kreis*. (Habilitationsschrift: Deutsches Museum, 1981), 220, 222.

⁵⁰⁵ Steven Shapin, "The Philosopher and the Chicken: On the Dietetics of Disembodied Knowledge" in *Science Incarnate: Historical Embodiment of Natural Knowledge* ed. Christopher Lawrence and Stephen Shapin, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 28.

⁵⁰⁶ Richter 1715, 423: §21.

More strikingly, Richter invested the act of eating meat with theological significance that starkly contrasted with a vegetarian diet. Richter posited that the act of slaughtering and consuming animals was, in truth, advantageous for the animals themselves, given that it adhered to the divine order after the Fall. When eaten, the flesh and blood of the animals were transformed into human flesh and blood.⁵⁰⁷ By eating animals, the body even assumed the role of an altar, like the sanctity of the temple in Jerusalem:

“So when man walks in fear of God, and consecrates his Creator with all the might of soul and body, his body is to be regarded as the old age in the sanctuary of the temple where the animals were offered to God: for if they serve to support and strengthen the human body; and the powers of the body are used for the honour and praise of God; how could they have used their lives better?”⁵⁰⁸

This theology of consumption reinforced Richter’s broader dietetics, positioning food’s transformation into the body’s biology as a physiological process and a spiritually infused practice. Food was to be understood as a divine gift, its proper use orientated towards sustaining the body, transforming it into a temple: the divine instrument for the service of God. Richter’s construction of meat consumption and its transformation within the human body, particularly the role of meat in human history, reinforced the construction of dietary practices as not merely about sustenance but imbued with religious and medical significance. The theological narrative of meat eating being tied to the Fall of Man was, according to Richter, not simply a historical development but a crucial adaptation to maintain human health in a postlapsarian world. Meat eating, in this context, was framed as a divine provision that even transformed the body into an altar, simultaneously sustaining it with the necessary energy to serve, illustrating how human sustenance was aligned with God’s plan for post-fall survival and health. Richter’s dietetics thus presented meat eating as a profound intersection of divine intentions and physical reactions. By consuming meat as part of a divinely ordained post-fall diet, humans not only addressed their physical needs but also participated in a theological narrative that sanctified the act of eating.

In scholarly discussion of Christian eating habits, there is a tendency to downplay the religious significance of daily eating within Christianity. While ritualised and symbolic practices like the Eucharist or the liturgical feast-fast cycle have been acknowledged as imbued with religious significance, everyday eating habits are often portrayed as largely secular or pragmatic. Klaus Bergdolt and David Gentilcore, for instance, have argued that Christian dietetics lacked meaningful food restriction, pointing to the absence of

⁵⁰⁷ Richter 1715, 424-425: §23.

⁵⁰⁸ „Wenn also der Mensch in der Furcht Gottes wandelt, und sich mit allen Kräften der Seele und Leibes seinen Schöpffer consecrirt, so ist sein Leib wie der Alter in dem Heiligthum des Tempels anzusehen, auf welchen die Thiere Gott geopffert wurden: Denn, wenn sie also zum Unterhalt des menschlichen Leibes und zu dessen Stärckung dienen; die Kräfte des Leibes aber zur Ehre und zum Lobe Gottes angewendet werden; wie hätten sie ihr Leben besser anwenden können?“ Richter 1715, 425: §24.

prohibitions and food taboos akin to those in Jewish or Islamic traditions.⁵⁰⁹ From this perspective, Richter's allowance for consuming everything that moves and grows seems to conform to the idea that Christian eating was not sanctified in its daily forms.

Yet, this view overlooks the depth of theological reflection and moral discipline embedded in concepts like moderation and the inscribing of eating habits in the theological narrative of human history. Although Richter did not impose rigid dietary taboos, his insistence on moderation and the theological framing of nourishment as a form of preparing the body for the service of God reveals that Christian dietetics and eating habits were neither neutral nor secular.

Instead, Richter emphasised the sufficient nourishment of the body as a Christian duty: a way of eating where moderation preserved the internal flow of bodily fluids and prevented the onset of self-inflicted illnesses – conditions which, in the Pietist view, would not only harm the body but waste valuable time in bed that could otherwise be devoted to service and labour. This orientation towards functional health reveals a clear resonance with Max Weber's concept of the Protestant ethic of disciplined labour. By advocating a mode of eating grounded in sustenance, efficiency, and moderation – along with the rule of resting and exercising through labour – Richter conceptualised the healthy Christian body as one optimally prepared for productive activity. In this framework, the right approach to eating was thus not merely about maintaining health for the sake of well-being but about provisioning a body capable of fulfilling worldly and spiritual responsibilities.

At the same time, Richter's dietary framework embedded eating within a much larger theological narrative, where meat-eating was not a moral failure but a postlapsarian adaptation that could even reenact the sacrificial economy of the temple, transforming nourishment into spiritual offering.

Furthermore, while the Christian ethics of moderation as a spiritual value has been identified by scholars as underpinning early modern dietetics,⁵¹⁰ it can be argued that moderation in Richter's dietetics functioned as more than a mere underpinning; it represented a critical intersection between theology and medicine, embodying both religious and scientific imperatives. The religious imperative of moderation, as also advocated by Francke, who framed moderation as a discipline aimed at securing the health of the soul, was extended to both a divine imperative and medical necessity for preventing physical diseases caused by carnal indulgence by Richter. Richter's dietetical rationality thus exemplifies how Christian pastoral technologies were interwoven with the medical problematisation of the body's organism. The technology of moderation, rooted in Christian theology, became a technique for managing the humours aligning physical and

⁵⁰⁹ Klavs Bergdolt, *Wellbeing. A Cultural History of Healthy Living*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 94 – 158; David Gentilcore, *Food and Health in Early Modern Europe. Diet, medicine and society 1450-1800*. (London Bloomsbury, 2019), 94-111.

⁵¹⁰ Anita Guerrini, "The impossible ideal of moderation. Food, drink, and longevity." in *Lifestyle and Medicine in the Enlightenment. The Six Non-Naturals in the Long Eighteenth Century*. ed. James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, (London: Routledge, 2020), 86-87.

spiritual health. By linking bodily discipline to the theological imperative of caring for the soul, Richter reframed moderation in eating as a practice that simultaneously addressed corporeal balance and eternal salvation.

Thus, while Christian dietary practice may have lacked the formal restrictions of other religious traditions, it was far from devoid of spiritual meaning. In Richter's dietetics, eating was a biological need, a theological object of governing, and a thus a spiritual discipline. In this sense, Richter's dietetics positioned the act of eating at the intersection of physical and spiritual health, deeply embedded in both the rhythms of daily life and the larger drama of creation, Fall, and redemption. Eating with moderation was a mode of embodying faith.

Christian perfection through dietetical practices

Christian perfection was not only a spiritual aspiration to the Pietists – in Richter's dietetics, it also became a goal for the physical body. This theological medical synthesis of perfection became particularly clear in Richter's framing of the body as a vessel for the soul's activity in service to God.

“Just as the perfection of the soul consists in being the image of God, so too should the perfection of the body be considered when it serves as a suitable vessel and instrument for the soul to perform works pleasing to God. Furthermore, it is even more significant if the body is worthy to be a dwelling place for the soul united with God, and thus a temple of God, and limb of the body of Christ. For this is its nobility, for which God had created and continues to sustain it; outside of this, the body is, in and of itself, a very submissive and wretched vessel.”⁵¹¹

Thus, bodily perfection was not an autonomous ideal but one rooted in the body's capacity to support the soul's spiritual mission. The body's value lay in its functionality as a temple of God and the limb of Christ – a vocabulary that closely resembles Francke's construction of the Christian body.

In this respect, Richter's dietetics closely parallels Francke's vision of Christian perfection, particularly his construction of the crucifixion of the flesh as the main technique to obtain perfection and build up godliness. Working within medical theories, Richter effectively extended this logic to the physical body, making dietetical regulation a spiritual exercise aimed at purifying the corporeal form from the ill effects of original sin. By linking the regulation of blood, bile, and digestion to disciplining sinful desires, Richter constructed

⁵¹¹ „Gleichwie nun die Vollkommenheit der Seele darinnen bestehet, daß sie Gottes Bild sey; also ist auch dieser auch für Vollkommenheit des Leibes zu achten, wenn er ein beqvemes Behältniß und Instrument der Seele zu Gott gefälligen Wercken seyn kann, oder was noch mehr ist, wenn er gewürdiget werden kann, eine Wohnung der mit Gott vereinigten Seele, und also ein Tempel Gottes, und ein Glied der Leibes Christo zu seyn. Denn diß ist sein Adel zu welchem Gott ihn gebildet hat und noch erhält, ausser welchem er an und vor sich selbst ein sehr geringe und elendes Gefässe ist.“ Richter 1705, Vorrede xx; Richter 1715, Vorrede 29 (xlv).

a system in which Christian perfection was enhanced through the discipline of the humoral balance. Thus, dietetical practices became avenues of sanctification, and bodily improvement was understood as a necessary complement to spiritual growth.

This theological dimension of Richter's medical writing was underscored by his eschatological perspective on bodily discipline. Alongside the threat of damnation for those who neglected dietetical order, he urged the believer to strive for physical perfection in this life so that they might be glorified in the next: "[...] so that when you lay aside this wretched body, you may receive your body again in such a way that it is clothed with glory."⁵¹² Here, the disciplined body became the foundation for the resurrected body – a link that anchored daily dietetical routines within a cosmic and salvific framework. In this construction, the body's perfection was not an end in itself but a foretaste of eschatological transformation.

In sum, Richter's dietetics aligned closely with Francke's construction of Christian perfection. His integration of humoral governance into a theology of Christian perfection illustrated how dietetical practices became a site for spiritual formation. They were practices of faith, shaped by the dual imperative of maintaining the health of the body and soul. The analysis of Richter's dietetics has shown how dietetical practices, and the knowledge of the body and the Natural Life, were a way to build up godliness and Christian perfection.

Purging and washing the body

Although Richter did not explicitly frame purging techniques as divinely ordained, his positioning of such practices within the framework of the Natural Life – itself understood as divinely instituted – imbued them with theological significance. In this context, the regular expulsion of bodily impurities, alongside the use of cupping, bloodletting, and laxation, were identified by Richter as fundamental rules for a godly, natural way of treating the body.⁵¹³ While superficially medical, these techniques – due to their place within the Natural Life – formed part of a theological regimen of bodily governing.

Cupping, bloodletting, and laxatives belonged to the practice of purging, which was a standard prophylactic and therapeutic method within the general framework of humoral pathology. Recalling that health and the onset of diseases within this understanding of the body were determined by the balance of the humours, practices such as bloodletting, sweat-inducing cures, laxatives, emetics, and enemas were logical treatments aimed at relieving the body of excess fluids. Laxatives and emetics could be administered orally, but enemas were particularly popular during the 18th century. These involved the introduction of various liquids or smoke into the body using blowpipes, funnels, syringes, or gravity-fed

⁵¹² „Bemühe dich aber auch, daß du eine bessere und vollkommene Hütte erlangest, die nicht also formiret oder gebauet ist, die da ewig bleibet; damit, wenn du diesen elenden Körper abgelegt, du deinen Leib dergestalt wieder empfangest, daß mit Herrlichkeit bekleidet sey“ Richter 1705, Vorrede xix; Richter 1715, Vorrede 28 (xliv).

⁵¹³ Richter 1705, 112.

systems. Next to relieving the body from fluids, medical enemas of the 18th century served diverse purposes, including pain relief, assisting childbirth, or nourishing patients who could not consume food orally. Tobacco smoke enemas were believed to revive individuals who had lost consciousness, and some enemas could even bring the dead back to life. This method of reviving individuals presumed dead became particularly widespread in the 1740s, originating in the Netherlands or England before spreading to Germany and remaining in use well into the 19th century. Purging and enemas were also used as prophylactic means of bodily cleansing and enhancement. Especially in France, enemas were beloved, and their use reached a peak of popularity at the court of Louis XIV, where such practices became fashionable.⁵¹⁴ Rejuvenating enemas were thought to promote a clear complexion and maintain a youthful appearance, and similarly, it became customary at European courts to undergo bloodletting before lavish banquets as a precaution against the presumed harmful effects of overindulgence in food and drink.⁵¹⁵

These culturally extravagant uses of purgation provoked sharp criticism from many Pietist physicians. Engaging in these vain practices of rejuvenating oneself or in activities that corrupted the humoral balance and then mitigating the physical consequences of sin by purging was a sin itself. The radical Pietist and physician Johann Samuel Carl strongly condemned the custom of prophylactic use of bloodletting by the French aristocracy, particularly when intended to counteract the effects of feasting or venereal diseases.⁵¹⁶ This moral objection has contributed to a scholarly perception that Pietist physicians opposed purgative treatments.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁴ Voltaire also criticised this *Medizin à la Mode*, see Christa Habrich, *Untersuchungen zur pietistischen Medizin und ihrer Ausprägung bei Johann Samuel Carl (1677 – 1757) und seinem Kreis*. (Habilitationsschrift: Deutsches Museum, 1981), 196.

⁵¹⁵ Konstanze Grutsching-Kieser, “ ”Tingire du uns noch mit göttlicher Tinctur/Und heile durch und durch Natur und Creatur!” Zum Wirken des inspirierten Mediziners Johann Philipp Kämpf (1688 - 1753) in *Medizin- und Kulturgeschichte Konnex des Pietismus. Heilkunde und Ethik, arkane Traditionen, Musik, Literatur und Sprache* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus, Band 61, ed. Irmtraut Sahmland & Hans-Jürgen Schröder, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2016), 119-123; Christa Habrich *Untersuchungen zur pietistischen Medizin und ihrer Ausprägung bei Johann Samuel Carl (1677 – 1757) und seinem Kreis*. (Habilitationsschrift: Deutsches Museum, 1981), 136, 191.

⁵¹⁶ Christa Habrich *Untersuchungen zur pietistischen Medizin und ihrer Ausprägung bei Johann Samuel Carl (1677 – 1757) und seinem Kreis*. (Habilitationsschrift: Deutsches Museum, 1981).

⁵¹⁷ Christa Habrich *Untersuchungen zur pietistischen Medizin und ihrer Ausprägung bei Johann Samuel Carl (1677 – 1757) und seinem Kreis*. (Habilitationsschrift: Deutsches Museum, 1981), 244; Richard Toellner, „Die Geburt einer sanften Medizin. Die Begegnung von Pietismus und Medizin in den Franckeschen Stiftungen.“ in *Die Geburt einer sanften Medizin: Die Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle als Begegnungsorte von Medizin und Pietismus im frühen 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Richard Toellner, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2004); However, Konstanze Grutsching-Kieser have shown that some Pietist physicians promoted the use of enemas, see Konstanze Grutsching-Kieser, “ ”Tingire du uns noch mit göttlicher Tinctur/Und heile durch und durch Natur und Creatur!” Zum Wirken des inspirierten Mediziners Johann Philipp Kämpf (1688 - 1753) in *Medizin- und Kulturgeschichte Konnex des Pietismus. Heilkunde und Ethik, arkane Traditionen, Musik, Literatur und Sprache* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus, Band 61, ed. Irmtraut Sahmland & Hans-Jürgen Schröder, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2016), 113-114.

However, Richter's dietetical writings complicate this view. In his books, purging was not radically condemned but affirmed as part of a well-ordered, natural regimen. While he criticised indulging, which made purging necessary, Richter repeatedly stressed the importance of maintaining regular elimination as a part of a properly functioning bodily system. Given that the body was continually filled with impure substances, and digestion served as the essential function of expelling the daily accumulation of corrupt matter, techniques such as laxatives, along with bloodletting and sweat-inducing treatments, were to be used when the body's natural processes of expelling surplus of fluid became irregular.⁵¹⁸

While purging could serve therapeutic purposes, Richter particularly endorsed its use as a preventive measure, urging early intervention before blockages could lead to more serious illness. In this light, practices that promoted regular bodily expulsion of fluid surplus were not merely medical prescriptions but integral components of a Christian approach to physical care. Thus, while Richter did not overtly sacralise purgation, his inclusion of such techniques as essential to the Natural Life positioned them as key self-technologies in a theological-medical logic in which purging the body was a part of the Christian vocation.

Richter's emphasis on bodily purification formed part of the theological-medical rationality grounded in the conception of the decaying postlapsarian body – a body that, corrupted by original sin, required constant cleansing. Daily washing alongside other practices, such as cutting hair and nails, were not merely matters of civility or health but framed as a spiritual necessity, integral to Christian life. In his discussion of bodily washing, Richter subtly critiqued the elite, grounded in a theology of bodily equality before God. He reminded the reader that even wealthy and mighty men began their lives in filth: "[...] just like the lowly and poor, they too must spend 40 weeks between faeces and urine (for the uterus lies between the rectum and the bladder) [...]"⁵¹⁹ This notion reinforced the universality of bodily processes and the necessity of maintaining them in ways that transcended distinctions of wealth and power. This construction of a medical universality of a body full of stinking filth led to the imperative of washing oneself instead of hiding its decay under beautiful clothes and diamonds:

"Thus, do not seek your nobility in your body and blood. Reflect on how full of stench and filth it is, which, no matter how great and noble you are, you cannot conceal even from yourself. For it is found within you in abundance and breaks forth

⁵¹⁸ Richter 1715, 487: §7, §35; §38-39, §47-49; Richter, 1705: 119, 120. See also the Indexes of the books.

⁵¹⁹ "[...] und müssen sie sich ebenso wohl als die Geringsten und Armen, bey die 40. Wochen zwischen Koth und Urin (denn der Uterus lieget zwischen dem Mastdarm und der Blase) aufhalten, [...]" Richter 1715, 27: §13.

everywhere; hence, you must cleanse and purify yourself daily. For if it did not disappear, your life would suffocate, as it were, in filth.”⁵²⁰

This vivid construction illustrated the need to prevent the body from drowning in its own decay by daily cleaning and purification. The daily need to wash, trim the nails and hair, and purge waste was portrayed as a discipline necessitated by the consequences of original sin:

“What do you think would happen if the nature of your body were left to run its cause, without cutting your hair and nails or cleansing you of your filth for a while? Would you not surpass animals in ugliness and become a horror among humans? Have you noticed that your immortal spirit is ashamed of this body? Then consider why you cover your body with clothes, and this was not the case in the beginning.”⁵²¹

Here, an unregulated body was equated not only with physical decay but with spiritual disgrace. Even the soul, Richter observed, was ashamed of the body, a sentiment linked to the postlapsarian condition of shame and the need for clothing, itself a consequence of the Fall. Here, Richter now posed the wild and unruly nature of the body that expressed itself in wild hair, long nails, and filth as part of this fallen state that needed to be regulated.

The theological underpinning of bodily cleansing was further dramatised in Richter’s reflection on the nose, which he called the sewer of the head. Positioned prominently on the face and constantly emitting impurities, the nose functioned as a concrete emblem of humankind’s inescapable corruption and need for purification: “[...] yet, the nose, as a sewer of the head, remains exposed and uncovered in the middle of your face, and brings forth one impurity after another.”⁵²²

In this construction, bodily orifices, secretions, and even involuntary functions such as sneezing or nasal discharge were interpreted as manifestations of original sin and the degraded condition of human nature revealing itself. According to Richter, the nose ensured that no matter how much the body was adorned in fine clothing or jewellery, its essential corruption would always reveal itself. Therefore, Richter continued, let the description of

⁵²⁰ „Darum suche nicht deine Adel in deinem Leibe und Geblüte; bedencke/ wie voller Stanck und Unflat er sey/ welchen du vor dir selber/ wie groß und edel du auch bist/ nicht verbergen kannst; denn er ist Hauftenweise in dir zu finden/ und bricht allenthalben hervor; deßwegen du dich reinigen und täglich säubern must: dieweil/, wenn er nicht hervor käme/ dein Leben gleichsam im Roth ersticken würde“ Richter 1705, Vorrede, xvii - xviii; Richter 1715, Vorrede 26 (xlii).

⁵²¹ „Was meynest du wohl, wenn man der Beschaffenheit des Leibes den Lauf lassen, deine Haare und Nägel nicht beschneiden, noch dich eine Zeitlang von deinem Unflat reinigen sollte, würdest du nicht an Häßlichkeit die Thiere übertreffen, und als ein Scheufal unter den Menschen seyn? Hast du noch nie gemercket, daß dein unsterblicher Geist sich dieses Leibes schäme, so bedencke nur, warum du deinen Leib mit Kleidern bedeckest, und warum solches im Anfang nicht geschehen sey“. Richter 1715, Vorrede 27 (xliii); Richter 1705, Vorrede, xviii.

⁵²² „[...] so bleibet doch die Nase, als eine Cloac des Hauptes mitten in deinem Gesichte bloß und unbekleidet, und bringet eine Unreinigkeit nach der andern hervor.“ Richter 1715, Vorrede 27 (xliii).

the human body and the Natural Life serve as a reminder of your fall.⁵²³ Just as washing the sins away from one's consciousness was an essential element in spiritual health, washing the sins away from the body became a necessary practice when caring for body and soul.

Richter's health prescriptions, therefore, extended far beyond therapeutic interventions – they were techniques of bodily regulation intended to govern the effects of sin on the physical organism.

Furthermore, regular bathing was advised as both an external cleansing technique but also for its direct influence on the consistency of the humours. Warm baths, enhanced with medical herbs, smoothened the blood circulation and drew out impurities through sweat, though excessive heat was discouraged for fear of overexciting the heart or inducing headaches. Foot baths were also recommended for their salutary effects.⁵²⁴ These recommendations illustrate the broader regime of self-discipline in which the body had to be constantly cleansed and stabilised, both by washing and moistening the humours through warm baths to avoid being overcome by the consequences of its fallen state.

This regime of purification mirrors a biological variation of the Pietist rejection of *adiaphora* – the idea that there existed spiritually neutral actions. In Richter's dietetics, even digestion, bowel movements, hair and nail growth, and nasal discharge were interpreted as signs of internal disorder that required correction. By correcting these, one honoured God in such minor details as blowing the nose or securing a well-functioning digestion. Implicitly, as it was a sin to let the body drown in its own filth, securing digestion, blood circulation, and purification of the body were framed as pastoral-medical technologies of the self that helped the Christian wash away sin.

Some scholars have argued that the development of a meta-vision of the human body – a presumed conceptual shift in which the body is no longer simply lived but becomes observable, knowable, and improvable – depended on the emergence of secular scientific rationality. As Gudrun Piller notes, modern medicine fostered a perspective in which individuals were no longer simply bodies but had bodies that could be examined, cultivated, and optimised through empirical knowledge.⁵²⁵ Similarly, Jakob Tanner has described how the modern era turned the body into a "sensation" – a visible, analysable object subjected to scientific scrutiny and reform.⁵²⁶

Within this historiographical framework – as outlined in the introduction to the thesis – modern medicine and its utopian projects of bodily and social improvement have often been interpreted as products of secular modernity. Christian traditions, in contrast, are commonly excluded from these narratives.⁵²⁷ In the introduction to the volume *Der Neue*

⁵²³ Richter, 1705, 9.

⁵²⁴ Richter, 1715, 871, §8; 872, §9; 873, §10.

⁵²⁵ Gudrun Piller, *Private Körper: Spuren des Leibes in Selbstzeugnissen des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 29.

⁵²⁶ Jakob Tanner, "Der Körper als Sensation. Populäres Wissen über den menschlichen Leib von 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert" in *Populäre Enzyklopädien. Von der Auswahl, Ordnung und Vermittlung des Wissens*, ed. Ingrid Tomkowiak, (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2002), 253-270.

⁵²⁷ See the introduction to this thesis.

Mensch (The new Human) from 2018, Gottfried Künzlen contends that while the idea of human transformation predates the secular era, the Christian imagination largely deferred the creation of the New Human to the afterlife: “While the hope for transformation into a new human in Christian worldviews was primarily directed towards the afterlife, this goal shifted in modern social utopias to a more or less distant future in this world.”⁵²⁸ In this view, Christian anthropologies are essentially interpreted as anti-utopian and the transformation of the human being is eschatological, withdrawn from earthly history and out of reach of human intervention: the New Man will arise beyond the grave, not through worldly reforms or medical intervention. However, this narrative deserves reconsideration – especially considering the theological-medical rationalities of health articulated by August Hermann Francke and Christian Friedrich Richter. Both thinkers expressed distinct Christian meta-visions of the body – rationalities in which the body was not a vessel to be endured until redemption, detached from knowledge production about its nature. It was an object of conscious cultivation, self-regulation, and theological and medical knowledge production. Udo Schnelle has shown how New Testament anthropology conceptualised the New Human not purely as a transcendental ideal but as a present transformation, visible in good deeds and fruits of faith.⁵²⁹ In Pietism, this transformed into concrete utopian ideas of the New Man and society as possible in this world, and Die Franckeschen Anstalten was an attempt to realise such ideas.⁵³⁰ Richter’s medical rationalities of Christian bodily perfection were central to this vision of individual and societal improvement.

When discussing medical and spiritual policing as part of societal reform ideas, it is worth briefly engaging with the work of Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff. Before proceeding, it is important to stress that both von Seckendorff’s construction of medical policing and the precise link between Francke’s and Richter’s rationalities of health governance and von Seckendorff’s works remains an area that has not been researched. Furthermore, von Seckendorff’s works are not treated as primary sources in this dissertation, but an opening engagement with *Der Christen Stat* (1686) reveals striking parallels with the rationalities of Francke and Richter.

In line with other early cameralist thinkers, such as Johann Joachim Becker and Wilhelm Freiherr von Schröder, von Seckendorff viewed disorder, ignorance, and idleness as critical

⁵²⁸ “War die Hoffnung auf eine Wandlung zu einem Neuen Menschen in christlichen Vorstellungswelten vornehmlich auf das Jenseits gerichtet, verlagerte sich dieses Ziel in den neuzeitlichen Sozialutopien in eine mehr oder weniger ferne Zukunft im Diesseits“ Gottfried Künzlen, „Der alte Traum vom neuen Menschen. Ideengeschichtliche Perspektiven“ in *Der neue Mensch, APuz Schriftenreihe Band 10247*, ed. Abu Ayyash Lorentz, et al., (Frankfurt/Main: Druck und Verlagshaus Zarbock GmbH & Co., 2018), 16-17.

⁵²⁹ Udo Schnelle, „Die Konstruktion des Neuen Menschen. Grundzüge neutestamentlicher Anthropologie.“ in *Alter Adam und Neue Kreatur. Pietismus und Anthropologie. Beiträge zum II. Internationale Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2005*, eds. Udo Sträter, Hartmut Lehmann, Thomas Müller-Bahlke, Christian Soboth and Johannes Wallmann, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag Tübingen, 2009).

⁵³⁰ Claus Bernet, “Expectations of Philadelphia and the Heavenly Jerusalem in German Pietism” in *A Companion to German Pietism* ed. Douglas Schantz, (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

threats to state authority. His solutions to these concerns were systematic education, moral discipline, and the recruitment of capable and loyal officials.⁵³¹ In *Der Christen Stat* he presented a vision of the early modern police state in which the prince enforced divine order within his realm through different policing measures. In this context, physical health was presented as a moral and spiritual imperative grounded in Christian duty. Health was framed not merely as the absence of disease, but as a condition of bodily order and discipline necessary for fulfilling one's divine purpose. Von Seckendorff warned extensively against indulgence in food, drink, sexual pleasure, and idleness, presenting such behaviours as threats not only to physical well-being but also to the soul's salvation. The body was described as both a tool and a temple, and moderation in diet, rest, work, and emotional life portrayed as a form of self-governance aligned with God's will. Importantly, von Seckendorff emphasised the limits of external legal enforcement, arguing that true health governance must be internalised through conscience, fear of God, and moral education—principles to be cultivated through preaching, parental guidance, and Christian schooling.⁵³² Furthermore, it should be mentioned that Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Christian Wolff advanced ideas about systematic health regulation, such as annual health “confessions” to a physician, thus prescribing a medical father-confessor relationship and the paying of a kind of health penance.⁵³³ Though these aspects of Leibniz's and Wolff's thinking are underexplored in research, the parallels between von Seckendorff's, Leibniz' and Wolff's interest in policing health and Francke's and Richter' rationalities indicate that medical policing and the governance of health were not innovations exclusive neither to the Halle Pietists nor the cameralist of the second half of the 18th century but a subject of concern within the broader intellectual milieu surrounding Francke and Richter.

Dietetical knowledge and the call for education

Finally, Richter's dietetics was not only a spiritual and medical regimen – it also constituted a call for health education. Above all, Richter identified a central problem, not merely of physical or spiritual character, but fundamentally educational. He observed that people often engaged in harmful habits simply out of ignorance, laying the groundwork for early death or chronic illness. He lamented that:

⁵³¹ André Wakefield, *The disordered Police State: German Cameralism as Science and Practice*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 6-8.

⁵³² Ludvig von Seckendorff, *Christen=Stat in Drey Bücker abgetheilet*, (Leipzig: Verlegts Joh. Friedrich Gleidiesch, 1693), Book 1, 2: §2-3, 7:§5, 22:§14, 28:§1, 30, 36; Ludvig von Seckendorff, *Christen=Stat. Worin von dem Christenthum an sich selbst und dessen Behaupt und wider die Atheisten und dagleichen Leute: Wie auch von der Verbesserung so wohl des Welt= ald Geistlichen Standes, nach dem Zweck des Christenthums gehandelt wird.*(Leipzig: bey Thomas Fritschen, 1716), Book 1, 32: §4, 111, 157, 163 §1, 164-170, Book 3, 462 – 464, 467-470, 698, 958.

⁵³³ Klavs Bergdolt, *Wellbeing. A Cultural History of Healthy Living*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 221.

“[...] and for this very reason [ignorance], many people themselves often lay the foundation for their premature death or at least for serious illnesses; for through ignorance, they bring these upon themselves – or, if the illnesses arose without their fault, they nevertheless fail to pay attention to them out of ignorance, while they could still easily have been corrected – until finally the affliction becomes so severe and stubborn that it can no longer be cured at all, or only partially, or only with great difficulty. All of this is a most unfortunate fruit of ignorance.”⁵³⁴

As this study has demonstrated, Richter linked physical disorder – understood within the humoral framework – to spiritual disorder, framing health maintenance as a matter of caring for the soul. In this context, ignorance of the body’s functions and needs was not a minor oversight but a pathway to spiritual destruction. He therefore warned in unequivocal terms:

“[...] how dangerous it is, then, not to know oneself? how dangerous it is not to understand what is hidden beneath the external things? [...] how dangerous it is not to have any insight into how will and intellect should be directed towards the salvation of life?”⁵³⁵

As shown earlier, Richter extended this argument to its theological conclusion: failure to live according to the principles of the Natural Life could result in damnation. Ignorance was no excuse. Disease inducing behaviour, even if committed without awareness, still bore consequences, as divine justice did not spare the uninformed.

This uncompromising stance may appear severe, yet it was not unique to Richter. Martin Brecht has elucidated how Philipp Jakob Spener propagated an unforgiving view on sinning, which aligns with Richter’s stance. Spener categorised sin into three types: 1. sins of weakness (*Schwachheitssünde*), 2. sins of malice (*Bosheitssünde*), and 3. deadly sins (*Todessünde*). Sins of weakness encompassed sins committed inadvertently or thoughtlessly. Nevertheless, Spener contended that these were transgressions against God, and individuals committing such sins were deserving of hell.⁵³⁶

⁵³⁴ „[...] und aus eben dieser Ursache legen vielmals die meisten Menschen selbst den Grund ihrem frühzeitigen Tode, oder doch wenigstens zu schweren Krankheiten; indem sie durch Unwissenheit solche selbst einführen, oder, wenn sie ohne ihre Schuld entstanden, selbige, so lange sie noch leichtlich hätten können corrigieren werden, eben auch aus Unwissenheit nicht achten, bis endlich das Übel dergestalt überhand nimmt und halsstarrig wird, dass es hernach entweder gar nicht oder nicht völlig oder sehr schwerlich zu heben. Dieses alles sind sehr unglückliche Früchte der Unwissenheit.“ Richter 1715, 4: § 4.

⁵³⁵ „Wie gefährlich ist es nun sich selber nicht zu kennen? wie gefährlich, nicht zu wissen, was unter den äusserlichen Dingen [...], verborgen stecke? wie gefährlich keine Kundschaft zu haben, wie Wille und Verstand sich dabey zur Errettung des Lebens verweisen solle?“ Richter 1715, 3: § 4.

⁵³⁶ Martin Brecht, „Zwischen Schwachheit und Perfektionismus. Strukturelemente theologischer Anthropologie des Pietismus“ in *Alter Adam und Neue Kreatur. Pietismus und Anthropologie. Beiträge zum II. Internationale Kongress für Pietismusforschung 2005*. ed. Udo Sträter, Hartmut Lehmann, Thomas Müller-Bahlke, Christian Soboth und Johannes Wallmann, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag Tübingen, 2009), 68-69.

Francke echoed this same conception of sin. As touched upon in Chapter 3, his diagnosis of widespread spiritual decay outlined two root causes: the deliberate rejection of godly living but, more frequently, the lack of knowledge on how to achieve it. For Francke, the mass death of souls was largely attributable to people's unawareness of how to live piously, and sin committed without knowledge still led to perdition.⁵³⁷

Such views reflect a distinctive pastoral rationality, wherein knowledge of the self – and in Richter's case, particularly of one's bodily organism – was a condition for salvation. Ignorance, in turn, became a governable problem that could be addressed through education and pedagogical discipline in educational settings like Die Franckeschen Anstalten, where Richter himself functioned as an institutional physician.

One might ask why traditional Lutheran preaching and sacramental instruction methods were insufficient for this educational purpose. Francke himself addressed this question with forceful critique. He accused the established clergy of hypocrisy and worldliness, charging that their preaching inadvertently legitimised a carnal way of life.⁵³⁸ He also condemned the state of contemporary schools and universities, portraying them as morally bankrupt and unfit to guide Christian formation.⁵³⁹ In response, Francke advocated the creation of true Christian schools – educational institutions specifically designed to cultivate godliness.⁵⁴⁰ Graduates from these institutions, holding diverse roles in society, would contribute to spreading knowledge about the pious life.⁵⁴¹

In a similar way, Richter formulated a harsh attack on the learned elite's way of approaching their physical organism. In an ironic comment, he pointed out their indifference to bodily

⁵³⁷ August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz*. (1711) ed. Otto Podzcek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 76.

⁵³⁸ August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz*. (1711) ed. Otto Podzcek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 73, 74-75; August Hermann Francke „August Hermann Franckens, S. Theol. Prof. und Past. Sonn-Fest- und Apostel-Tags-Predigten: Die Verführung unter dem Namen Gotte“ in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus/ im Auftr. Der Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus* ed. Kurt von Aland, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) -: Abt. 2, Bd. 9 = 1 / August Hermann Francke, ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 117, 126-128; August Hermann Francke: *Project. Zu einem Seminario Universali oder Anlegung eines Pflanzt-Garten, von welchem man eine reale Verbesserung in allen Ständen in und auserhalb Teuschlandes, ja in Europa und allen übrigen Theilen der Welt zugewarten* (1701) in *August Hermann Francke. Werke im Auswahl*. ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 1969), 108.

⁵³⁹ August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz*. (1711) ed. Otto Podzcek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 77.

⁵⁴⁰ August Hermann Francke, *Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworfen* (Halle: In Verlegung des Waysen-Hauses, 1702, 1705), 93.

⁵⁴¹ August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz*. (1711) ed. Otto Podzcek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 88.

knowledge, underscoring a key tenet of his rationality: that formal education, in its existing form, failed to teach people how to govern themselves. As he put it:

“Learned people often feel embarrassed, blushing deeply, if, for instance, they pronounce the genitive instead of the dative in the Latin language or if they elongate a syllable that should be short. However, they often do not hesitate to express completely nonsensical things about their body, bodily fluids, digestion, etc. So little do people concern themselves about their own being.”⁵⁴²

This way of problematising existing ways of teaching the masses about Christian truths constructed the need for an education that taught the true knowledge of the body. This was precisely the gap that Richter’s dietetical writing sought to bridge. Within his rationality, knowledge of bodily functions, dietetics, and medical care was not optional or peripheral but essential to Christian life. Dietetics was a medical form of *praxis pietatis*. Because people did not inherently possess this knowledge, it had to be taught. Thus, health education was not merely a practical concern; it became a moral and theological imperative.

In this sense, Richter’s dietetics aligned with Francke’s broader educational objective of *cultura animi* – cultivating the soul through disciplined formation. Richter’s dietetics can be seen as an extension of this into *medicina cultura animi*, yet with a distinct emphasis on the bodily dimension. While his work included instructions in emotional regulation, he encompasses the regulation of the physical organism as a kind of medical cultivation of the soul, embedding this somatic care as a necessary component of educational structures.

Foucauldian-inspired scholars like Frederik W. Thue and Jouni Tilly have shown how Lutheran pastoral power evolved to encompass new modalities of governance, chief among them collective education and the transmission of truth through teaching.⁵⁴³ In this context, the minister was no longer simply a listener of confessions but an agent of knowledge transmission.⁵⁴⁴ What emerged was a pedagogical form of power that required institutions, curricula, and disciplined routines to shape conduct. In Francke’s and Richter’s system, this way of exercising power extended to instruction on bodily care, the aim of health, and the rules of the Natural Life. As Richter’s books were teaching resources used within Die Franckeschen Anstalten, it signals a significant shift in the physician’s role. Richter’s position within the education system, as institutional physician and a member of the

⁵⁴² „Gelehrte Leute schämen sich vielmahl, daß sie ganz roth davon werden, wenn sie etwan in der latinischen Sprache den Genitivum an statt des Dativi ausgesprochen, oder wenn sie eine Sylbe, die kurz ist, lang pronunciret haben: sie scheuen sich aber öftters nicht, ganz ungereimte Dinge von ihrem Leibe, Geblüte, Verdauung u.s.w. vorzubringen. So wenig sind die Menschen um sich selbst besorget.“ Richter 1715, 8-9: §11.

⁵⁴³ Jouni Tilly, “Preaching as master’s discourse. A Foucauldian interpretation of Lutheran pastoral power” *Critical Research on Religion* Vol. 7 (2) 113-129., 2019.; Fredrik W. Thue, “Preaching and teaching. The religious origins of Nordic teacher cultures”, in *Schoolteachers and the Nordic model*. 2021.

⁵⁴⁴ Jouni Tilly, “Preaching as master’s discourse. A Foucauldian interpretation of Lutheran pastoral power” *Critical Research on Religion* Vol. 7 (2) 113-129., 2019, 114

leading conference, reflected a new configuration of medical authority: one in which health was not produced simply through the healing of diseases but through education and the attempt to internalise the normative rules for living. While Part II of this study will explore how these rationalities were concretely implemented at Die Franckeschen Anstalten, at this point it is crucial to recognise that Richter's dietetics was not a collection of health tips but part of a broader apparatus of Christian self-governance. Dietetical education – as Francke articulated in *Der grosse Aufsatz* – was not merely about preventing diseases but about cultivating subjects capable of governing themselves according to the divine law and the Natural Life.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that Christian Friedrich Richter's dietetics represented a significant convergence of theological and medical reasoning, articulating a rationality of health that targeted the governing of both the physical organism – the bios – and the soul. Informed by Pietist theology and humoral pathology, his rationality of care exemplifies the emergence of biopower within a distinctively pastoral framework. In that sense, Richter did not medicalise Christian life – as I have shown in Chapter 3, theology has already conceptualised faith, the soul, and salvation through medical terms. Rather, it is a key finding that Richter opened up the internal organism – the blood, bile, and bowels – as a new terrain of Christian knowledge production. This new landscape for analysis led to a reinterpretation of original sin as literally floating within the human organism. By extending sin into the biological realm, Richter redefined the Christian subject as one who monitored the humoral balance for the sake of salvation. This new construction of the relationship between sin and disease diverged markedly from earlier Christian perspectives, where illness was often framed positively as an opportunity for spiritual growth through identification with Christ's suffering, as a means of honouring God, and as the path towards moral reformation.⁵⁴⁵

Furthermore, Richter's medical-theological construction of the physical organism transformed Christian techniques of identifying and controlling sin – introspection, moderation, and labour – together with dietetical purging methods into medical technologies of governing the sinful aspect of the humoral balance. These practices did not simply aim to prevent diseases; they formed a system of governance in which humoral harmony reinforced spiritual discipline. In this context, physical health was not the absence of illness but the successful regulation of sin within the body, achieved through the regulation of the humoral balance, as was expressed in the rules of the Natural Life. This exemplifies the broader Pietist concern with inner transformation through practical

⁵⁴⁵ Matthias Vollmer, "Sünde – Krankheit "Väterliche Züchtigung" Sünden als Ursache vor Krankheit vom Mittelalter bis in die Frühe Neuzeit" in *Religion und Gesundheit – Der heilkundliche Diskurs im 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Albrecht Classen, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 262.

embodied discipline. In other word, dieting was a form of *praxis pietatis* and a way to build up godliness. In this way, Richter's rationality illustrates a moment where spiritual formation was pursued through scientific understanding and regulation of the bios itself.

Richter's dietetical rationality reinforced Francke's ethic of labour, aligning physical health and humoral balance with the moral and spiritual obligation to work diligently in the service of God. Self-inflicted diseases through carnal indulgence or negligence were framed as a personal failure and a moral lapse into sin that disrupted one's ability to serve. Health, conversely, was the state in which the body could function optimally as an instrument of righteousness. A healthy body was one that was governed so it could rise early, study, teach, labour, not waste its time, and contribute meaningfully to the Christian community. In this sense, the management of the bios became a prerequisite for a productive Christian life.

Crucially, Richter's concern was not limited to individual health. By integrating medical care into the spiritual imperative of work, Richter's dietetics reinforced a vision in which dietetics supported the institutional goals of Pietist pedagogy and societal reform. Knowledge of the body – its fluids, its functions, and its vulnerabilities to sin – was indispensable for the formation of pious society. His repeated emphasis on the general ignorance among people of dietetical advice as a primary cause of bodily and spiritual decline framed health education as a key method for intervention.

In this way, Richter's dietetics anticipated the logic of biopolitical governance yet remained firmly rooted in the pastoral tradition. His project exemplifies how knowledge, discipline, and regulation could be directed towards the bios in the name of spiritual salvation. Ultimately, Richter's dietetical rationality illustrated how Pietist health regimes were not simply concerned with curing diseases but with forming Christian subjects. By framing the care of the body as a theological imperative and aligning humoral regulation with spiritual perfection, Richter helped articulate a vision of health that could serve both pastoral and political aims. His work thus provided a powerful example of how religious thought contributed to the emergence of biopower in the early 18th century – where the physical organism was governed not in the name of life but in the name of God.

Taken together, the analysis in Part I has shown that August Hermann Francke and Christian Friedrich Richter developed two distinct yet interrelated health rationalities that fused theology, medicine, and pedagogy into a coherent project of Christian formation. Their health rationalities must be seen as part of a longer theological tradition – traceable to patristic and monastic sources and extended through the *Christus Medicus* tradition – in which the relationship between God and the believer was conceptualised through medical language. The enduring notion that sin was a kind of disease and salvation a process of healing reflects a deep continuity in Christian thought where a vocabulary of disease, health, and cure had long served as tools for describing spiritual transformation. However, within this longue durée of theological medicine, Richter's reinterpretation of original sin marked a significant shift by placing it within the blood, bile, and other fluids.

While it is often argued that biopower aims at optimising life in this world, whereas pastoral power concerns the afterlife, Part I has demonstrated that in the Pietist context, these horizons were inseparably fused.

Part II:
Disordered Practices of Health

Chapter 5: Introducing the pedagogical rationality at the institution

Before delving into the analysis in Part II, it is essential to provide a brief overview of Francke's pedagogical rationality and the normative objective intended to guide education within Die Franckeschen Anstalten, and consider how this aligned with the imperative of spiritual health.

Central to establishing the vision of educating true Christians was Francke's pedagogical treatise *Kurtzer und einfältiger Unterricht*, in which Francke clearly articulated the institution's educational objectives and methodologies. The ultimate goal Francke envisioned was to instruct children to glorify God through their every action. The aim: "[...] must be the glory of God, both among the children and especially with the preceptor [...] the glory of God must always be kept in mind in all things."⁵⁴⁶ The primary means to achieve this was identified as the cultivation of the soul: "*Cultura animi* or soul care (*Gemüthphlege*) is the only means by which this primary purpose in the education of youth can be achieved."⁵⁴⁷

Andreas Rydberg has shown how Francke's *cultura animi*, as outlined in *Kurtzer und einfältiger Unterricht*, focused on shaping the soul through the specific cultivation of Christian passions, such as fear and love of God.⁵⁴⁸ According to Francke, this approach

⁵⁴⁶ "[...] muss die Ehre Gottes sein, sowohl bei den Kinders als auch vernehmlich bei dem Praeceptore [...] Die Ehre Gottes muss in allen Dingen [...] immer vor Augen sein." August Hermann Francke, "Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworffen" (1702, 1705) in *August Hermann Francke Pädagogische Schriften*. ed. Hermann Lorenzen, (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1957), 13.

⁵⁴⁷ "Cultura Anima oder die Gemüthsphege ist das einzige Mittel, wodurch dieser Hauptzweck in Anweisung der Jugend erhalten wird" August Hermann Francke, "Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworffen" (1702, 1705) in *August Hermann Francke Pädagogische Schriften*. ed. Hermann Lorenzen, (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1957), 14.

⁵⁴⁸ Andreas Rydberg, *Inner Experience. An Analysis of Scientific Experience in Early Modern Germany*. Uppsala Studies in History of Ideas 48. 245 pp. (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017), 109.

required “[...] that the natural self-will [of the children] be broken”⁵⁴⁹ – and according to Francke’s instructions, the preceptors were supposed to work actively towards replacing earthly desires and passions with a desire to honour God.⁵⁵⁰ Consequently, Francke cautioned preceptors against fostering ambitions in the children linked to earthly pleasures or pride, such as aspirations for social mobility or material success, which an education at Die Franckeschen Anstalten certainly would enable them to achieve. The preceptors should further preach that passions like “[...] ambition, pride, greed and envy [...]”⁵⁵¹ would distract one from heavenly pursuits and should be avoided. Instead, children were to be raised to become gentle, mild friendly, kind and show compliance, humility, and modesty.⁵⁵² A key method to induce such qualities was through the preceptor’s embodiment of such virtues and their function as models for the children. Further, while corporeal punishment was not strictly prohibited, Francke advised caution in its use, warning that it might instil fear, leading the children to deceitfulness to avoid punishment. Instead, admonitions and the exemplification of virtuous behaviour by preceptors were considered more effective methods for cultivating the soul.⁵⁵³ Thus, Francke constructed a pedagogical system that relied heavily on the preceptors’ personal piety and exemplary conduct.

The explicit objective of breaking the self-will of the pupils, the aim of eradicating ungodly desires and passions, and the strictly scheduled daily life at the institution have led existing scholarship to often characterise its pedagogy and daily routines as a smooth, well-

⁵⁴⁹ “[...]dass der natürliche Eigenwille gebrochen werde”: August Hermann Francke, “Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworffen” (1702, 1705) in *August Hermann Francke Pädagogische Schriften*. ed. Hermann Lorenzen, (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schönigh, 1957), 15.

⁵⁵⁰ Andreas Rydberg, *Inner Experience. An Analysis of Scientific Experience in Early Modern Germany*. Uppsala Studies in History of Ideas 48. 245 pp. (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017), 109.

⁵⁵¹ “[...] Ambition, Ehrfurcht, Geiz und Neid [...]” August Hermann Francke, “Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworffen” (1702, 1705) in *August Hermann Francke Pädagogische Schriften*. ed. Hermann Lorenzen, (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schönigh, 1957), 14.

⁵⁵² August Hermann Francke, “Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworffen” (1702, 1705) in *August Hermann Francke Pädagogische Schriften*. ed. Hermann Lorenzen, (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schönigh, 1957), 23, 31.

⁵⁵³ Andreas Rydberg, *Inner Experience. An Analysis of Scientific Experience in Early Modern Germany*. Uppsala Studies in History of Ideas 48. 245 pp. (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017), 109.

ordered machine promoting a rigid discipline that left no room for disorder.⁵⁵⁴ These studies hinge primarily on analysis of normative sources like the large number of regulations and policies that the administration and leaders produced in a steady stream throughout the years.⁵⁵⁵ Therefore, the disciplinary practices at Die Franckeschen Anstalten have been characterised as a rigid, top-down process aimed at suppressing the natural needs and emotions of the children which impeded them from developing a positive relationship with their own bodies.⁵⁵⁶ Though Francke admonished against physical violence, studies have posited that the disciplinary process was accompanied by instances of excessive physical violence as a means of punishment.⁵⁵⁷

However, Thomas Grunewald has questioned the interpretation that disciplinary practices at the institution were mainly characterised by violent corporeal punishment. Grunewald argues that although punishment, including corporeal discipline, was an integral part of the Pietist educational framework, the established picture of its punishment practices needs to be nuanced. Based on a systematic analysis of the teacher conference minutes in the period 1717-1721, Grunewald shows that the disciplinary practices at Die Franckeschen Anstalten were guided by a regulated, multi-tiered system where physical punishment served as a last resort. Grunewald illustrates that the inspectors and preceptors sought to cultivate pious behaviour in pupils by employing corporeal punishment only after warnings, admonitions, and deliberation in the teachers' conference, and that physical violence often was often avoided unless all else had failed.⁵⁵⁸

Seen in the light of Francke's rationality of spiritual health, this dual approach to discipline, where punishment was seen as an unfortunate but necessary tool for achieving spiritual transformation, can be understood as deeply tied to Francke's understanding of

⁵⁵⁴ Shirley Brückner, „Die Ordnung der Disziplinierung.“ in *Gebaute Utopien. Franckes Schulstadt in der Geschichte europäischer Stadtentwürfe*. ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Halle: Verlag der Franckesche Stiftungen, 2010), 139-145; Juliane Ditrick-Jacobi, *Pietismus und Pädagogik im Konstitutionsprozeß der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Historisch-systematische Untersuchung der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes (1663-1727)*. (Diss. Phil., Bielfeld, 1976.); Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 109-110; August Nitschke, „Gymnastik, Fechten und Tanzen im 18. Jahrhundert. Die Ausbilden des Körper auf den Schulen von August Hermann Francke“ in *Das Kind in Pietismus und Aufklärung* ed. Josef N. Neumann and Udo Sträter, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000), 343.

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⁵⁵⁶ Juliane Ditrick-Jacobi, *Pietismus und Pädagogik im Konstitutionsprozeß der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Historisch-systematische Untersuchung der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes (1663-1727)*. (Diss. Phil., Bielfeld, 1976), 92, 130; August Nitschke, „Gymnastik, Fechten und Tanzen im 18. Jahrhundert. Die Ausbilden des Körper auf den Schulen von August Hermann Francke“ *Das Kind in Pietismus und Aufklärung* ed. Josef N. Neumann and Udo Sträter, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000), 343.

⁵⁵⁷ Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 110.

⁵⁵⁸ Thomas Grunewald, “Ein Praeceptor soll kein Kind aus fleischlichem Affect [...] schlagen.” – Erziehung am Pädagogium Regium zwischen Disziplin, Strafe und Emotionen” in *Friedrich 300 - Studien und Vorträge #15*, 30/07/2020, <https://doi.org/10.25360/01-2020-00006> , 35-37.

cultura animi or soul care. For Francke, the ultimate goal of education was not simply the acquisition of knowledge or social success but the cultivation of spiritual health. Punishment, then, was not merely about enforcing order or controlling behaviour but was understood as a tool for suppression of earthly desires through strict regulations and control.

Andreas Rydberg has argued that *Gemüthsphlege*, which was the ultimate aim of Francke's pedagogic, represented a broader religious concept that, in Francke's time, was not limited to the mind (*Gemüth*) but was used in theological discourse to denote the soul.⁵⁵⁹ Thus, the concept of breaking the self-will in Francke's pedagogy can also be understood in light of the analysis presented in Part I, which explored how the problematisation of the flesh was constructed as the primary obstacle to living as an instrument of God. Following the desires of the flesh was closely linked to following one's own will, which both Richter and Francke constructed as detrimental to health.

In this context, the breaking of the pupils' self-will and the punishment practices used in Francke's pedagogy can be interpreted as directly addressing bodily desires and self-centred impulses seen as detrimental to physical and spiritual health, and also be understood as part of a broader framework aimed at educating healthy Christians.

Cultura animi and science

While much of the existing research has concentrated on the cultivation of passions as a part of the care of the soul, Kelly Whitmer has shown how the overarching pedagogical aim of Die Franckeschen Anstalten centred on spiritual development was also integrated into methods employed in teaching various subjects. Whitmer has elucidated how the pedagogical practice was influenced by contemporary pedagogical theories, which emphasised student engagement and experimental and practical instruction. The mathematician Ehrenfried Walter von Thirnhau cooperated with Francke to develop an experimental learning approach. Thirnhau's treatise *Medica Mentis* (Medicine for the Mind) advocated for a method where the student should experiment with instruments, models, and theoretical knowledge and thus make use of the intellect, imagination, and sensory experiences. He argued that this methodology could sharpen a spiritual instinct in the student, enabling them to achieve divine insight into the world's characteristics.⁵⁶⁰ These pedagogical ideals were reflected in the pedagogical approach to teaching at the institution, where an experimental approach to learning was promoted, for instance, when teaching mathematics by letting the children experiment with different methods of calculating. Several classes included practical activities such as woodworking, glass cutting

⁵⁵⁹ Andreas Rydberg, *Inner Experience. An Analysis of Scientific Experience in Early Modern Germany*. Uppsala Studies in History of Ideas 48. 245 pp. (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017), 109.

⁵⁶⁰ Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclecticism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 22-28.

for astronomical instruments, animal dissections, and hands-on botanical studies.⁵⁶¹ Students were trained to use various scientific instruments, including odometers, compasses, quadrants, pendulums, microscopes, barometers, and magnets.⁵⁶² This was supported by the establishment and active use of the *Kunst- und Naturalienkammer* (Art and Natural History Cabinet), which provided students with access to objects for study.⁵⁶³ Kelly Whitmer's studies of the scientific culture at the institution demonstrate that in Halle Pietism, *cultura animi* and *Gemüthphlege* extended beyond the cultivation of pious emotions to encompass the teaching of scientific subjects, seamlessly integrating religious and scientific-educational objectives. Using this blend of scientific knowledge and experimental and practical skills, the teaching was further embedded within the larger religious framework. Students were encouraged to view their scientific skills as a means to serve God and humanity, underscoring the importance of understanding the natural world as part of their mission to effect change in the world.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶¹ Gustav Knuth, *A. H. Franckes Mitarbeiter an seinen Stiftungen. Ein Beitrag zur Jubelfeier des zweihundertjährigen Bestehens der Anstalten A. H. Franckes*. (Halle (Saale): Waisenhaus, 1898), 172.

⁵⁶² Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclectism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 86.

⁵⁶³ Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclectism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 29. Today, the cabinet still exist in its 18th century form. It can be seen at the Francke Foundations in Halle an der Saale.

⁵⁶⁴ Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclectism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 33-34, 46-49.

Chapter 6: Implementing the Practice of Health-promoting Bodily Movement

Introduction

On the 30 March 1706, an entry in the conference protocol outlined the following physical exercise schedule:

“The Orphanage children have three daily hours of motion: from 10-11, 1-2 and 6-7. During the first hour, from 10-11, they saw wood. In the remaining two hours, they walk around the courtyard.”⁵⁶⁵

This entry directly contradicts the prevailing scholarly narrative, presented in the introduction, that systematic bodily exercise was not a pedagogical objective within the institution. The entry not only encouraged physical activity but also structured it into the children’s daily routine in three time slots each day, sawing wood and walking in the courtyard. While these activities did not equal gymnastics or sports, they illustrate an explicit attempt to install structured exercise practice as a daily routine and suggest a more nuanced relationship between physical movement and religious belief at the institution than current scholarship on physical education at Die Franckeschen Anstalten has acknowledged. To situate this observation within a context, it is necessary to consider how physical exercise has been treated in the broader historiography of early modern health, medicine, and education. Existing studies have largely focused on elite, secular, or the Enlightenment, often overlooking confessional and institutional contexts such as Halle.

Broader research on exercise and sports in the early modern period has explored the emergence of elite sporting cultures in the 16th century⁵⁶⁶ and the integration of sport and

⁵⁶⁵ „2) die Waysenkinder haben tägl. zu ihrer Motion 3 Freystunden als von 10-11, 1-2, 6-7. Der ersten von 10-11 sägen sie Holtz. In den 2 übrigen Stunden gehen sie im Hofe herum.“ AFSI/W VI/-/13, Band 1: 30 March 1706.

⁵⁶⁶ James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, ““For it is the debilitating fibres that exercise restores” Movement, morality and moderation in eighteenth-century medical advice literature”, in *Lifestyle and Medicine in the Enlightenment. The Six Non-Naturals in the Long Eighteenth Century*. eds. James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, (London: Routledge, 2020), 111.

gymnastics into pedagogical and medical discourse in the late 18th century.⁵⁶⁷ Historians James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff have noted that research has given limited attention to the relationship between exercise, health, and medicine in the 18th century.⁵⁶⁸ Their study provides an overview of how dietetical advice books of the period conceptualised healthy exercise. It highlights how exercise was far away from what today equals such, first and foremost as no organised team sport was included in the concept of health-promoting exercise; rather, exercise was conceptualised as individual activities tailored to personal constitution. Kennaway and Knoeff identify a significant shift in dietetic attitudes towards physical exercise over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries. In the 17th century, the bodies of elite individuals were often regarded as too delicate for an active way of life, with excessive exertion considered potentially harmful. During the 17th century, exercise was largely synonymous with moderate activities such as walking, combined with a warning against vigorous exercise. However, by the latter half of the 18th century, an idealised view of physical labour as the optimal form of exercise, reflecting broader cultural shifts, emerged. This transition can be characterised as a movement from the 17th-century emphasis on moderation in physical activity to the valorisation of strenuous physical labour as a means of exercising the body by the end of the century.⁵⁶⁹ During this period, philosophers like John Locke and prominent physicians such as Francis Fuller and George Cheyne advocated the health benefits of physical exercise. However, their focus remained primarily on adults, and they paid relatively little attention to children as subjects of these health-promoting strategies.⁵⁷⁰ Notably, Danièle Tosato-Rigo has argued that the period from 1686-1762 in England and France witnessed the development of discourses on physical bodily education from a distinctly medical perspective, marking a moment when

⁵⁶⁷Verena Gangl, *Metamorphosen der Diätetik und Psychohygiene zur Gesundheitserziehung. Eine historisch-systematische Untersuchung* (Würzburg: Ergon- Verlag, 2013); Lydia Kunze, „Die physische Erziehung der Kinder“ *Populäre Schriften zur Gesundheitserziehung in der Medizin der Aufklärung*. (Marburg: Universität Marburg, 1971); Gudrun Piller, *Private Körper: Spuren des Leibes in Selbstzeugnissen des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 24; Teresa Sanislo, “The healthy body, civic virtue, gender and the new physical education in Germany, 1770 – 1800.” in *Lifestyle and Medicine in the Enlightenment. The Six Non-Naturals in the Long Eighteenth Century*. eds. James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, (London: Routledge, 2020); Anette M. Stroß, *Pädagogik und Medizin: ihre Beziehungen in "Gesundheitserziehung" und wissenschaftlicher Pädagogik 1779-1933* (Weinheim: Dt. Studien-Verl. 2000).

⁵⁶⁸ James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, ““For it is the debilitating fibres that exercise restores” Movement, morality and moderation in eighteenth-century medical advice literature”, in *Lifestyle and Medicine in the Enlightenment. The Six Non-Naturals in the Long Eighteenth Century* eds. James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, (London: Routledge, 2020), 112.

⁵⁶⁹ James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, ““For it is the debilitating fibres that exercise restores” Movement, morality and moderation in eighteenth-century medical advice literature”, in *Lifestyle and Medicine in the Enlightenment. The Six Non-Naturals in the Long Eighteenth Century* eds. James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, (London: Routledge, 2020), 117-118, 122; Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey, *Healthy Living in Late renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 148-149.

⁵⁷⁰ Danièle Tosato-Rigo, “In the Shadow of *Emile*: Pedagogues, Pediatricians, Physical Education, 1686-1762” *Stud Philos Educ* (2012) 31:449-463, 457.

medical and pedagogical discourses intertwined.⁵⁷¹ Significantly, Kennaway and Knoeff's and Tosato-Rigo's research remains focused on what can be defined as normative discourses, and they do not include the Pietist contributions to these developments. In general, research interprets the 18th-century medical based social critique of luxury, the idle rich, and the shift towards more intense exercise, as constituting the emergence of bourgeoisie discourse and state ideas of a disciplined, productive national body.⁵⁷² This leaves a critical gap in the scholarship: no studies have yet explored the relationship between pietism, pedagogics, medicine, and exercise.

This chapter explores the implementation of health-promoting physical movement within the institution. The first section of this chapter examines the internalisation of the medical construction of physical exercise as health-promoting among the leaders of the institution. After this, an extensive analysis of the leaders' attempt to implement physical motion into the pedagogical practice will follow, focusing on the problematisation of sin, play, and productivity.

In the following analysis, it is essential to remember that in dietetics exercise was understood in a very literal and mechanical sense: it meant simply moving the body to maintain or restore balance within the humoral system. The German terms used in the sources, such as *Motion* or *Bewegung*, referred simply to the act of moving the body. In the following text, I use the words motion and movement as these capture the idea of bodily activity better than the concept of exercise.

Bodily motion at Die Franckeschen Anstalten

Moving the body among the leadership at Die Franckeschen Anstalten

Christian Friedrich Richter's dietetics, which constructed physical motion as a God-given and potent medicine, positioned bodily movement as essential for balancing the humours – both as a prophylactic measure to maintain physical health, a necessity if leading a sedentary life, and as a therapeutic intervention to treat diseases. An examination of the diaries and correspondence of the institution's leaders reveals that physical motion and its

⁵⁷¹ Danièle Tosato-Rigo, "In the Shadow of *Emile*: Pedagogues, Pediatricians, Physical Education, 1686-1762" *Stud Philos Educ* (2012) 31:449-463.

⁵⁷² Pirkko Markula-Dension and Richard Pringle, *Foucault, Sport and Exercise: Power, Knowledge and Transforming the Self* (London: Routledge, 2006); Teresa Sanislo, "The healthy body, civic virtue, gender and the new physical education in Germany, 1770 – 1800." in, *Lifestyle and Medicine in the Enlightenment. The Six Non-Naturals in the Long Eighteenth Century* ed. James Kennaway and Rina Knoeff, (London: Routledge, 2020); Patricia Vertinsky and Jennifer Hargreaves (ed.), *Physical Culture, Power and the Body* (London: Routledge, 2007).

relationship to health was a recurring topic of concern. It was frequently noted in journals and often discussed in letters, either as advice or as updates on one's physical health condition.

August Hermann Francke frequently recorded observations and reflections on his physical activity in his diary. For instance, he wrote:

“1. Today, being a very beautiful and indeed the first clear spring day, I designated it for some motion, and in the afternoon, I went with Dr. Anton, Mrs. Dr. Antonin, Mr Inspector Kalckberner, Mr Pastor Meyer, my son and his wife, Mr Kalckberner's son, and my wife to the vineyard.”⁵⁷³

On another occasion, Francke recorded his need for physical activity while travelling:

“Afterwards, as I needed more motion, we were guided by the Count to some pleasant path and meadow near Pöltzig, together with the aforementioned Countess and her companions, as well as my wife. At the end of the walk, we sat together by the mountain spring and prayed there before returning home around 8 o'clock”.⁵⁷⁴

While these walks also seemed to be a social activity, they were explicitly constructed as motion rather than merely an incidental or leisure activity. This linguistic and conceptual construction is significant because it resonates with the vocabulary used in Richter's dietetical health rationality which used the concept of motion to enhance the importance of physical activity when balancing the humours' circulation and thickness.

While the previous example illustrates how motion functioned as a deliberate practice of moving the body, Francke also viewed physical activity as a deliberate intervention in times of physical discomfort or emerging illness, as illustrated in this entry:

“Because I felt unwell in the morning, I took advantage of the beautiful weather to get some movement, and I went with my wife to the field of the Orphanage located near Mötzlich.”⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷³ „Diesen Tag habe ich, als einen sehr schönen u. zwar den ersten klaren Frühlings-Tag zu einer motion ausgesetzt, u. bin nachmittag mit Herrn D.r Anton, d. Frau D.r Antonin, Herrn Insp. Kalckbernern, Herrn Past. Meyern, meinem Sohn u. seiner Frauen, Herr Kalckberners Sohn u. meiner Frauen im Weinberge gewesen.“: AFSt/H A 178: 24 April 1724.

⁵⁷⁴ „Hierauf sind wir noch sonderlich weil mir mehrere motion nöthig gewesen, auf einige angenehme Gänge und Wiesen bey Pöltzig von dem Herrn Grafen geführt, nemlich die mehr gedachte Frau Gräfin u. die bey ihr sind, nebst meiner Frauen. bey Endigung deßelben setzten wir uns erst noch mit einander bey dem Bergbrunnen nieder u. beteten daselbst, da wir dann erst gegen 8 Uhr wieder zu Hause gekommen sind.“: AFSt/H A 179: 1: 18 July 1725.

⁵⁷⁵ „Weil ich mich früh malade befunden, habe ich mir bey dem schönen Wetter eine Bewegung gemacht, u. bin nebst meiner Frauen zu dem bey Mötzlich gelegenen Acker des Waysenh. Gefahren“: AFSt/H A 170: 1: 28 July 1717.

This comment shows the understanding of movement as a therapeutic response to physical discomfort, reinforcing its role as an intentional and physical health promoting practice. Again, walking is explicitly constructed as movement rather than purely framed as a refreshing, social, or recreational activity.

The deliberate inclusion of these reflections in Francke's diary points to the significance of walking as physical motion which can be interpreted as an internalisation of Richter's dietetical logic of movement as a necessary and beneficial practice. Francke's explicit acknowledgement of his "need for more motion" suggests an awareness of physical health as a state that could be improved and governed through specific actions, and it elucidates the way Francke embedded walking, specifically constructed as motion, within his broader lifestyle and routines. In this sense, Francke was not merely walking; he was embodying a dietetical norm that aligned with Richter's vision of motion as both preventive and curative.

This construction of exercise as health-promoting is further reflected in the description of a longer recreational trip Francke undertook in 1717, explicitly aimed at restoring his health, which had deteriorated due to excessive work – a practice that Richter's health rationality also had framed as threatening to the humoral balance. In a reflection that recalls the dietetical principle of the non-naturals – clean air, physical activity, and moderation in work – Francke wrote:

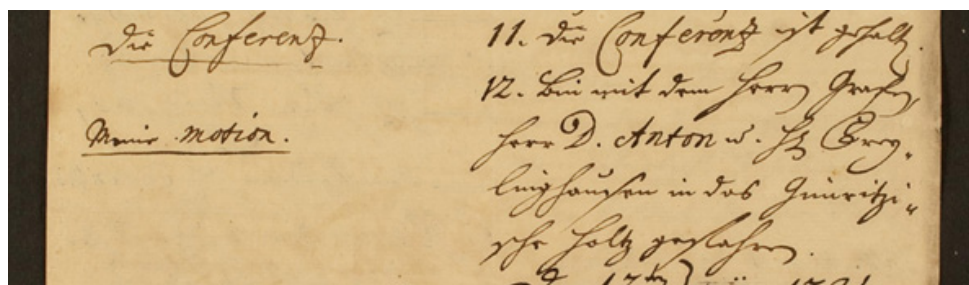
"My purpose was none other than to recuperate my health, which I felt had significantly declined during my time as pro-rector, through a change of air, good movement, and the reduction of excessive work, under God's blessing."⁵⁷⁶

This entry underscores that Francke related his physical health to contemporary dietetical principles, positioning physical movement, clean air, and refraining from work as central to restoring his health. During this trip, Francke also described the positive impact of physical activity in a letter to his wife: "I walked over mountains and valleys today and felt very well through this motion [...]"⁵⁷⁷

Notably, Francke often designated a separate heading in his diary to document his physical activity. On multiple occasions, he structured his entries in the format illustrated here, giving prominence to physical activity under the heading "My motion".

⁵⁷⁶ „Mein Zweck war kein anderer als mich an der Gesundheit, woran ich bey geführten Prorektorat einen starcken Abgang verspühret, durch Veränderung der Luft, gute Bewegung und Entschlagung der übermäßigen Arbeit unter göttlichen Segen, wieder zu erholen, [...]“: AFSt/H A 170a: 63: 30 August 1717.

⁵⁷⁷ „Ich bin heute über Berge u. Thal gegangen, u. habe durch diese Motion mich gar wohl befunden.“: AFSt/H A 130c: 1: 5 September 1717.



AFSt/H A 175: 1, Meine motion. 12. Bin mit dem Herr Grafen, Herr D. Anton u. Herrn Freylinghausen in das Gimritzische Holtz gefahren.”⁵⁷⁸

This structural choice in his diary can be interpreted as reflecting the notion that physical movement was not simply an unreflective routine activity but a critical component in his daily discipline, health maintenance, and moral framework. Drawing on Foucault’s concepts of technologies of the self, this structuring can be said to reflect an intentional effort to monitor, evaluate, and cultivate the self through specific practices. By isolating the activity under its own heading, its importance is elevated, transforming what might otherwise be considered a mundane act, such as walking, into a purposeful and reflective self-care practice. This organisation suggests a recognition of exercise as an essential component of maintaining health, aligning it with Richter’s dietetics. The specific act of recording these activities and framing them as motion allowed for observing and reflecting upon physical routines, linking these to the deliberate attempt to improve physical health.

It is important to recall that both Richter and Francke, in their rationalities, albeit differently, linked diseases explicitly to sin. For Francke, illnesses functioned as a pedagogical tool employed by God, intended to prompt sinners to reflect upon their transgressions. Richter conceptualised sin as an inherent presence circulating within the body, disrupting the balance of the humoral system. Therefore, it is notable that Francke, in his diaries and letters, never explicitly constructed his poor health as being linked to acts of sin, suggesting that in practice, the specific categorisation of sinful was not fixed. Rather, it depended significantly on how different actions were framed: as shown, Francke often associated his poor health with excessive work – a way of life he had himself identified as sinful in *Lebensregeln*. Here, excessive work was problematised due to its detrimental effects on the body, displaying a disregard for the body’s essential need for rest. It could even be interpreted as an act of pride or self-glorification, undermining the humility expected when serving God. However, Francke understood his excessive work as a necessary part of his

⁵⁷⁸ „My motion. 12. went to the the Gimritz woods with the Count, Mr Dr. Anton and Mr Freylinghausen.”: AFSt/H A 175: 1: 17 June 1721, for the same way of noting see: AFSt/H A 171: 1: 5 May 1718, 27 May 1718, 31 May 1718.

service to God and not as an act of sin.⁵⁷⁹ Consequently, his use of physical motion and change of climate can be understood as intentional efforts to counteract the negative health consequences arising from his duties. This echoes Richter's approach to studying, which he viewed as detrimental to health primarily due to its inherent inactivity. Yet, Richter had not labelled studying itself as sinful; rather, inactivity only became sinful when explicitly framed as laziness or idleness. Still, the disease-inducing sedentary life had to be counteracted by movement, but as long this was done, studying was unproblematic – just as Francke's excessive workload could be counteracted by recreational trips filled with walking and fresh air.

A similar pattern is traceable in Francke's approach to his own walks and demonstration of flexibility in defining sinful actions. Although Francke's normative writings characterised leisure activities such as walking as a frivolous waste of time, his diary illustrates that the perceived sinfulness of such activities depended entirely on their framing. While leisure walking was condemned in *Lebensregeln* as trivial and unproductive, Francke's diary reveals a significant influence from dietetical rationality, reframing walking as purposeful bodily motion. The detailed documentation of his walks – including mentions of companions, the integration of prayers, and the carefully chosen natural setting – indicates a clear intention behind these activities. Thus, although Francke's walks involved elements of pleasure, friendship, religious worship, and the appreciation of nature, they remained primarily understood and justified as motion. Understood through this lens of motion, walking was transformed from an idle pastime into a meaningful strategy for counteracting poor health, exemplifying the dynamic nature of the interpretation of sinfulness.

From a Foucauldian perspective, these walks represent an example of self-governance through the internalisation of dietetical health norms. The diary entries construct walking as a deliberate technology of the self, through which physical health was actively cultivated. Although Francke did not consistently document his physical activities, the examples provided demonstrate his recurring tendency to link physical well-being with intentional movement, such as walking. The inclusion of such reflections in his diaries suggests that motion, as a health-promoting practice, had become an internalised and significant component of his worldview.

The leading group and the governance of motion

The internalisation of physical exercise as a means of promoting physical health was also reflected in the letters and diaries of Francke's son, Gotthilf August Francke.

⁵⁷⁹ See e.g. August Hermann Francke, *Segenvolle Fußstapfen. Geschichte der Entstehung der Halleschen Anstalten von August Hermann Francke selbst erzählt.* ed von Michael Welte, (Giessen: Brunnen Verlag, 1994); August Hermann Francke, *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der grosse Aufsatz.* (1711) ed. Otto Podzcek (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962).

After the death of August Hermann Francke in June 1727, Gotthilf Francke succeeded him as director of the institution, sharing the position with August Hermann Francke's son-in-law, Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen. Later that year, in October, Gotthilf Francke and Freylinghausen visited King Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia in Berlin for two days – a visit that Gotthilf recounted in his diary. Among Pietists, diaries were often circulated and served to disseminate Pietist ideals and practices. Diaries provided concrete examples of how to live a pious life, adhere to Pietist norms, and engage in practical Christianity.⁵⁸⁰ At least Gotthilf Francke's wife read this diary,⁵⁸¹ but the survival and preservation of the leaders' diaries within the archive suggest that they were considered valuable resources to the community. Furthermore, Gotthilf Francke's own self-portrait in the entry strongly suggests that this was meant for other eyes.⁵⁸²

While the above discussion demonstrated that August Hermann Francke did not frame his own illness or physical exercise in terms of sin, Gotthilf Francke's account of his meeting with the King illustrates how the language of sin could be strategically employed in relation to health and bodily motion – particularly when framing the way others moved their body and when aiming to present oneself as pious and authoritative.

Gotthilf Francke recounted his meeting with the King as follows: in the morning, the King joined a par force hunt, and at the dinner table that night, he asked Gotthilf Francke whether he had participated in the hunt. Gotthilf replied that he had not, emphasising that par force hunting was not an activity to be enjoyed as the good seed of the heart would suffocate through such activities. The King protested: "It is a motion that serves health."⁵⁸³ Gotthilf agreed that motion was valuable but cautioned that some ways of exercising harmed the soul: "The motion is excellent, but it should be performed so that it does not damage the soul."⁵⁸⁴ The King remained unconvinced and questioned how par force hunting could damage the soul: he regarded comedies as sinful but not hunting. Their discussion evolved into exploring what actions could be defined as sinful. At one point, the King presented Gotthilf with a partridge he had personally shot, asking whether it was a sin as well to shoot an animal. Gotthilf explained that hunting was not sinful per se, but it depended on the individual's conscience and whether his heart was drawn away from God by such pursuits. Then he introduced the concept of the "middle things" (*adiaphora*), actions that were neither inherently good nor evil but took their moral character from the intent and spiritual disposition of the person performing them. Gotthilf stressed that he would not label specific actions as sinful but would instead point towards the necessity of

⁵⁸⁰ Jonathan Strom, "Counting the Saints: Piety, Puritanism, and the Formation of a Religious Identity, 1700-1750" (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁵⁸¹ AFS_t/W II/-/19: 19b.

⁵⁸² Francke's own diary is difficult to assess in terms of whether it was intended for others to read. It often consists of lists of things he has done during the day, such as which letters he has written, and is not written with a clear narrative, as for example Gotthilf Francke's diary is.

⁵⁸³ „Rex: Es sei eine Motion, diene zur Gesundheit.“ AFS_t/W II/-/19: 19b.

⁵⁸⁴ „Ego: Die Motion sei gar gut, aber sie könne und solle doch billig so sein, daß die Seele davon keine schade leide.“ AFS_t/W II/-/19: 19b.

true conversion to God. During their conversation, the King admitted to suffering from a type of disease – not a physical ailment, but what he described as a spiritual struggle: “I am a bad person, one day I do good things, but after that, I am bad again. I know it very well, but I cannot be different.”⁵⁸⁵

Gotthilf Francke’s detailed narrative highlights the strategic construction of himself as a theological and moral authority capable of guiding even the sovereign ruler on issues of motion, sin, and the proper way of life. This framing suggests that his diary was not solely a personal document but also an instrument intended for other readers. Through this lens, the diary became a vehicle for disseminating Pietist values, offering a staged account of piety and moral leadership concerned with physical and spiritual health and disease. In the context of motion and health, what is particularly notable is how Gotthilf Francke used the topic as a departure point for a broader discussion on the interplay between sin, spiritual morality, and the dangers associated with specific actions, thus embedding physical motion and health within this pious framework. His reconstruction of the dialogue with King Friedrich Wilhelm I demonstrates how Gotthilf integrated dietetical and theological health rationalities when arguing with the King. While he acknowledged the physical benefits of motion, he emphasised that it must be conducted in a manner that preserved the soul, illustrating this perspective with the King’s alleged confession of suffering from a spiritual malady – conceptualised as a tendency to sin.

Gotthilf Francke’s anecdote in his diary can thus be interpreted as an exercise of power-knowledge, where he positions himself as a moral authority capable of guiding even the King. By framing the King’s admission of a spiritual malady within his theological framework, Gotthilf subtly asserts his expertise in interpreting and addressing both physical and spiritual health. This reflects a combination of pastoral and biopower, as Gotthilf’s reconstruction of the conversation links individual practices, such as physical motion, to broader norms of morality and piety, thereby seeking to shape the behaviour of those reading the text. Moreover, the dialogue exemplifies how knowledge – mainly theological but also dietetical – was employed as a tool to define acceptable practices and construct a moral subject. By invoking concepts such as spiritual harm and *adiaphora*, Gotthilf positioned himself as the arbiter of what constituted proper conduct, subtly asserting a hierarchy in which his understanding of health, motion, and morality surpassed even the King’s. This power dynamic highlights the role of knowledge in establishing authority, as Gotthilf used his theological insight to correct the King’s understanding of motion and influence his understanding of sin, health, and the correct way of life. By constructing motion as valuable but potentially dangerous, Gotthilf reinforced the Pietist emphasis on self-regulation and aligning personal behaviour with divine principles. This interplay of power and knowledge exemplifies how leaders like Gotthilf used their positions to disseminate specific values and norms in diaries intended to shape the reader.

⁵⁸⁵ „Ich bin ein bößer Mensch. e. wenn ich einen Tag gut bin, so bin ich doch her noch gleich wieder böse. Das weiß ich wohl, aber ich kann nicht anders werden“: AFSt/W II/-19: 19 b.

The focus on physical exercise and its health benefits extended into the networks of communication among the leading individuals within the institution, which further solidified the norm, creating a network of shared understanding and practice. Personal letters from Gotthilf August Francke to friends and parents at the school elucidate an internalisation of motion as a health promoting strategy within his worldview. For instance, in a 1733 letter to his friend Georg Friedrich Rogall – a theologian and former teacher at the Orphanage school – Gotthilf Francke expressed concern about Rogall's extensive workload, recommending regular physical motion, citing his own practice of chopping and sawing wood several times a week as a method to strengthen his health.⁵⁸⁶ Similarly, in 1744, Gotthilf Francke responded to a concerned parent who requested the dismissal of his son from scheduled walks, arguing that these activities were detrimental to the boy's weak constitution. Gotthilf firmly rejected this request, emphasising the health benefits of physical motion for students. To reinforce his argument, he remarked: "No matter how weak I am, I would consider it a benefit to do such a daily motion if I had the time."⁵⁸⁷

These dialogues on motion extended into the leadership. In 1718, the inspector of buildings, Georg Heinrich Neubauer, wrote a letter to Daniel Herrnschmidt, sub-director of Die Franckeschen Anstalten. In the letter he expressed concerns about the health of Andreas Achilles, a mutual friend and former preceptor, now pastor. Achilles, suffering from a severe ulcer, had been resistant to adopting motion as a remedy. Neubauer remarked:

"In treating Mr Achilles, the first thing to recommend would be movement, secondly, movement, thirdly movement: if he would only follow any of the three recommendations just once, he would be helped. But it is like telling tales to the deaf; he always forgets."⁵⁸⁸

Neubauer continued the letter by describing his own love for moving the body with the saw and how the sedentary life when travelling was hard on him:

"How I miss my saw, as I now lead a mostly sedentary life on this journey with constant writing. It cannot be expressed in words how much that sawing motion benefits me."⁵⁸⁹

Even in his last days alive, Neubauer was depicted as preferring to motion despite physical difficulties. Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen, Francke's son-in-law and successor as

⁵⁸⁶ Nachlass A. H. Francke 18,1/7: 77.

⁵⁸⁷ „[...] würde ich selbst, wie schwach ich auch bin, es vor eine Wohlthat ansehen, wenn ich Zeit habe, tägl. eine solche Motion zu machen.“: AFS^t/H C 578: 12.

⁵⁸⁸ „In curatione Dr. Achilles möchte primoloco zu recommendiren seyn motus, secondoloco, motus, tertio, motus: wenn er dann nur auf alle 3 recommendationes ein einzig mal folgete so wäre ihm gerathen. Sed surdo narratur fabula, semper ille obliviscitur.“: AFS^t/H A 170 a: 13; 6 January 1718.

⁵⁸⁹ „Wie vermiße ich meine Säge, da ich iehzo vitam qaum maxime sedentariam auf der Reise bey beständigem Schreiben habe. Exprimi nequit verbis, quantum motus ille serrarius conducatur.“: AFS^t/H A 170a: 13, 6 January 1718.

director of the institution, described how Neubauer, a few days before his death, struggled with walking but still sought motion with a friend: “They both still take a little motion in the evening by walking to the Kettner Garden.”⁵⁹⁰ Once again, walking is explicitly constructed as motion rather than simply a brief outing or moment of refreshment. That a walk, taken during the last days of Neubauer’s life, was framed in this way points to a shared norm in which bodily movement was recognised and valued as an intentional, health-promoting practice.

From a Foucauldian perspective, this advocacy for physical motion in letters, or the critique of specific ways of moving like *par force* hunting, are not simply casual suggestions. They reflect the internalisation of a developing norm that was expressed in Christian Friedrich Richter’s and August Hermann Francke’s rationalities of health: the construction of physical activity as counteracting the negative influence of a sedentary life and excessive work while simultaneously constructing specific ways of moving the body as detrimental to the soul’s salvation. In all cases, the norm can be seen to become part of the author’s “self-constitution”. Both the diaries and letters reflect the deliberate act of recording physical activity, telling others about one’s activities, and recommending physical activities, indicating a conscious effort to observe and evaluate one’s own physical state, and align these practices with self-discipline and regulation. The internalisation of specific values is exemplified in this practice, as diaries and letters not only reflected the writer’s adherence to the Pietist ideals of motion but also reinforced them for the intended reader. For example, Neubauer’s dedication to motion, the way he missed his saw and walked even when he was dying, reflects how these health principles were internalised and used in a way that equals Foucault’s concept of technologies of the self.

Furthermore, the institution’s leaders did not just prescribe movement; they framed specific forms of motion, like chopping or sawing wood and walking, as desirable practices. In this context, chopping or sawing was not just work; it was a deliberate practice aiming at self-improvement. By recommending and even prescribing motion, they exercised a form of power – the power to define what constituted good health and the appropriate means to achieve it.

This analysis has demonstrated that the institution’s leading figures, many of whom were also represented in the inspectors’ conference, which will be analysed next, recognised physical motion as a vital practice for maintaining and improving health. By examining the practices of these leaders and their internalisation of movement-based health advice, it can now be considered how these norms shaped the institution’s educational framework and contributed to broader trends in health education at Die Franckeschen Anstalten.

⁵⁹⁰ „Sie machen sich aber doch beyde noch gegen Abend eine kleine Motion mit Spatziren gehen nach dem Kettnerischen Garten.“: AFSt/H C 241: 68: 19 June 1725.

Implementing motion in the educational setting

The question of how to regulate and implement physical motion in students' daily lives emerged as a significant concern frequently discussed in the inspectors' conferences. The minutes reveal how this discussion unfolded over the first six decades of the institution, reflecting both practical challenges and deeper ideological tensions regarding the role of bodily movement in education. The earliest recorded acknowledgement of the necessity for physical activity appeared in February 1702, when the leading collegium stated: "Because it is necessary to promote the children's movement, throwing balls will be allowed for them. However, any disorder during this activity must be prevented."⁵⁹¹ The entry demonstrates the leaders' early recognition of the importance of physical activity for the children. Although it did not explicitly articulate the rationale behind this emphasis, its linguistic framing is significant. By characterising physical activity like ball games as primarily meeting a "need for movement" rather than, e.g., a need for play, recreation, or social interaction, the entry reflects a vocabulary and perspective that aligned with dietetical principles. This framing of a need for movement resonated with Richter's dietetical rationality, which had problematised an inactive and sedentary way of life and advocated physical movement as an essential countermeasure. While this argument is not overtly stated in this entry, I will show that, throughout the years, the sedentary life of the students was the main argument brought forward when considering how and why physical exercise should be implemented into pedagogical practices.

Over time, the discussions detailed in the conference protocol evolved along three distinct lines of problematisation. First, specific physical movements, such as ball games, were identified by some inspectors as problematic and sinful. This identification rested on the theological rationality that such movements posed moral threats, potentially amplifying carnal impulses and thus compromising the spiritual health of the pupils. Second, a distinct trajectory emerged that linked physical motion to productivity, aligning bodily movement with the regime of physical labour simultaneously suppressing idleness. A third trajectory framed bodily movement primarily through the lens of curing ailments, emphasising the prevention and treatment of physical diseases among the students. While the third trajectory often functioned as a standalone discourse, concerns about the moral risks associated with physical exercise were frequently, though not always, intertwined with the framing of exercise as productive work.

The subsequent analysis examines each of the first two trajectories to illuminate the institution's evolving implementation and governance of bodily movement, exploring how different stakeholders problematised the children's physical movement, and how such problems were managed and integrated into the broader educational and spiritual objectives of Die Franckeschen Anstalten. The initial section explores how certain activities were simultaneously framed as hazardous and beneficial, highlighting tension and resistance

⁵⁹¹ „Weil man die Bewegung der Kinder befördern muß: will ihnen das Ball werfen zugelaßen werden, jedoch sollen die Unordnung dabey verhütet werden“: AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 23 February 1702.

within the institutional leadership's attempt to govern pupils' bodies. The subsequent section further explores the deliberate alignment of bodily exercise with productivity, underscoring the institution's strategic use of motion to regulate and discipline pupils' conduct. The third trajectory will be analysed separately in the following chapter, as it was connected more explicitly to environmental disorder and therapeutic practices, explored in Chapter 7.

Disordered ways of moving the body – sin, games, and health

The resolution from 1702 to permit ball games as a form of physical activity, albeit with strict precautions against disorder, signalled the emergence of a recurring challenge that would persist in subsequent discussions: the possible allowance of games juxtaposed with the institutional imperative to safeguard the children's spiritual integrity that would be damaged by unruly behaviours and disorderly conduct. Disorder was not a neutral concept in this context, simply meaning something being out of place; rather, it was theologically charged and carried significant religious connotations. Within Francke's theological framework, disorder was deeply associated with sin, the antithesis to God's order, mirrored in his view that a disordered society was one marred by sinfulness.⁵⁹² Similarly, Richter's framing of bodily disorder as the inherent and unavoidable imbalances in bodily fluids evoked the theological idea of original sin as the source of physical and spiritual disorder. Disorder thus signalled a deviation from God's intended order – in the body, behaviour, thought, or communal life. When disorder was used in the conference protocol, it functioned as a diagnostic category that pointed out a spiritual problem, potentially reflecting sin, moral failing, or lack of inner discipline. Disorder thus called for interventions as necessary acts of restoring divine order. As shown in Chapter 3, Francke's theological rationality had problematised several playful activities – dancing, sledging, leisure walks, and physical play in general – as inherently sinful. This ideal shaped the overall distinctive pedagogical approach to education at Die Franckeschen Anstalten, where activities such as dancing, fencing, or riding – common in contemporary elite schools – were absent from the curriculum.⁵⁹³ This exclusion reflected the Pietist conviction that such practices in themselves endangered the soul and were incompatible with a spiritually

⁵⁹² See for instance: August Hermann Francke, "Glauchische Gedenkbüchlein, 1693", in *August Hermann Francke, Werke im Auswahl*. ed. Erhard Peschke, (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1969), 89 §113.

⁵⁹³ August Nitschke, „Gymnastik, Fechten und Tanzen im 18. Jahrhundert. Die Ausbilden des Körper auf den Schulen von August Hermann Francke“ in *Das Kind in Pietismus und Aufklärung* ed. Josef N. Neumann and Udo Sträter, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000), 337.

disciplined life. Yet the conditional acceptance of ball games reveals the underlying difficulty in drawing clear boundaries between play, disorder, and sin.

Francke's pedagogical writings illuminate that he did not entirely prohibit playing, particularly for young children:

“For very young children, with whom significant tasks cannot yet be undertaken, it may suffice to provide activities that serve as a diversion while maintaining their calm disposition. For example, giving them feathers, ink and paper to play with [...].”⁵⁹⁴

Thus, playing – particularly for smaller children – could be a pleasant break from studying, but Francke also constructed play as a somewhat dangerous path connected to sin by stating:

“For the instructor observes that when children are overworked, they do not perform their tasks with a free and upright spirit but rather with much sluggishness and displeasure however, if they are allowed to play and idle as they please, [...] only mischief and folly prevails, bad tendencies are awakened in them, their senses are distracted, and the instructor must often start anew to guide them back to proper and good manner and behaviour.”⁵⁹⁵

This exemplifies that Francke, in his treatise on how to educate children, allowed smaller children to play, but this had to be approached with caution, as play often invoked negative tendencies.

Managing this balance between promoting physical movement – for instance, through ball games – and preserving the moral and spiritual order in practice was not easy. Two of the inspectors in particular, Hieronimus Freyer and Justinus Töllner, came to represent two different ways of problematising play as physical motion, leading to tension within the leading conference. Justinus Töllner was the inspector of the Latin School and before becoming an inspector, had established a reputation as a pious but controversial figure. As a pastor, he had engaged in several conflicts with church authorities, including refusing to absolve villagers who would not renounce participation in the Pentecostal beer festival,

⁵⁹⁴ „Bey denen gar kleinen Kindern / mit denen man etwas wichtiges nicht vornehmen kann / mag es gnug seyn / wann man nur solche Dinge zu ihrer Abwechselung gebrauchet / dadurch sie in der Stille des Gemüthes erhalten werden / e . g . wann man ihnen Feder / Dinte und Papier giebet / daß sie darmit spielen mögen.“ August Hermann Francke, 1702, „Unterricht zur Gottseligkeit und Klugheit“ in *August Hermann Francke: Werke im Auswahl*. ed. Erherd Peschke. (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1969) Pädagogische Schriften: 140.

⁵⁹⁵ „Denn er siehe , wenn er sie allzu hart anstrenget, daß das Gute von ihnen nicht mit freyen und aufgerichteten Gemuth, sondern mit vieler Trägheit und Verdruß geschehe ; wenn er sie aber nach ihrem Gefallen spielen und müßig gehen lässet, daß alle gute Ermahnungen bald wieder verschwinden, nichts als Bosheit und Muthwillen getrieben werde, aller hand böse Affecten bey ihnen erwecket, und die Sinnen zerstreuet werden, daß er fast allemal von vornen anfangen muß, sie zu einer rechtschaffenen und guten Art zu bringen.“ August Hermann Francke, *Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworfen* (Halle: In Verlegung des Waysen-Hauses, 1702, 1705), 42-43.

leading to his own suspension and dismissal from his parish.⁵⁹⁶ Töllner frequently opposed the concept of middle things, advocating for a stringent approach to sin. On the contrary, Hieronimus Freyer, also a theologian and the inspector of the Paedagogii Regii – the school for the sons of nobility – often challenged the strict Pietist view on sin.

At the outset of 1707, an entry in the protocol indicates that the existing physical activity regulations were deemed inadequate, necessitating further scrutiny and deliberation.⁵⁹⁷ Earlier, in 1706, the leaders had agreed on an exercise schedule for orphan children that included wood sawing from 10-11 a.m., followed by walks in the yard from 1-2 p.m. and 6-7 p.m.,⁵⁹⁸ associating physical movement with the more ordered activities of walking and sawing wood rather than ball games. However, the minutes from February 1707 indicated that the exercise programme had caused problems, without explicating how. The first entry in the minutes that day was a reminder to the inspector of the Latin School, Mr Töllner, to prepare an overview of the daily schedule for the school children, since: “In the upcoming conference, the issue regarding the children’s motion shall be addressed and examined.”⁵⁹⁹

On 22 March, a discussion was convened to assess the children’s physical activity routines to settle the matter, as it was phrased.⁶⁰⁰ The meeting touched upon the importance of establishing an exercise room, as this would increase health among the students: “[...] a room for exercise specifically for students should be established, as it would be highly healthy since most illnesses among students arise from lack of physical activity.”⁶⁰¹ This argument explicitly reflected the dietetical notion of the importance of exercise in counteracting the unhealthy influences of a sedentary lifestyle. Further, the courtyard was problematised as unsuitable for ball games due to its limited size and the potential for damaging windows. Additionally, the responsibility to ensure that orphans and students engaged in regular physical activity was assigned to the preceptors.

Before proceeding to a problem of greater weight brought up at the conference that day, it can be argued that these initial entries actively addressed the body as an organism subject to institutional regulation, illustrating an emerging biopower operating within the educational setting. By framing physical inactivity as a source of illness, the discussion of specific spaces intended for exercise and the scheduling of this into time slots each week functioned as a mechanism for organising and managing bodies aimed at engaging the pupils in physical activity that would prevent diseases and optimise health. The assignment

⁵⁹⁶ Terence McIntosh, „Pietism, Ministry, and Church Discipline: The Tribulations of Christoph Matthäus Seidel.” in *Politics and Reformations: Histories and Reformations*. ed. Christopher Ocker et. all. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 408.

⁵⁹⁷ AFSSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 15 February 1707.

⁵⁹⁸ AFSSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 30 March 1706.

⁵⁹⁹ “In der künftigen Conferenz der Punct wegen der Motion der Kinder soll tractiret u. untersucht werden.”: AFSSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 15 February 1707.

⁶⁰⁰ AFSSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 22 March 1707.

⁶⁰¹ „Hr. Fabricius erinnert, daß eine Stube da auch exercitia pro Studiosis angelegt würden, sehr heilsam seyn werde weil bey studiosis die meisten krankheiten entstehen ex defectu motionis.“: AFSSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 22 March 1707.

of responsibility to preceptors positioned them as agents of surveillance and enforcement, ensuring compliance with prescribed routines.

The precise timeline for the establishment of designated exercise facilities is difficult to track. The protocol reveals that the question of where students should engage in physical motion was a recurring and unresolved issue over several decades.⁶⁰² However, in 1714, an exercise field was mentioned in a letter,⁶⁰³ and by 1718, the so-called *Ballonplatz* – a field designated for playing *volanten* (a kind of early badminton) – had been founded for the students of the Paedagogii Regii.⁶⁰⁴ During the 1720s, repeated discussions emphasised the need to allocate specific spaces where children could engage in physical motion, such as sawing and chopping wood. These discussions resurfaced again in the 1740s, with concerns over whether the woodsheds could be used for this purpose despite the cold conditions in winter.⁶⁰⁵

The persistent attention in the protocol to the spatial implementation of physical motion points to more than logistical planning; it illustrates a developing form of bodily governance within the pedagogical setting. While the children's chopping and sawing wood certainly can be understood as a very practical and necessary activity that served to provide fuel for the institution, the constant framing of these activities and their locations as "motion rooms", "motion places", and "motion classes" indicates that the gradual implementation of exercise facilities at Die Franckeschen Anstalten must be understood not only as a response to practical concerns about supplying the institution with wood, but also as a broader pedagogical project in which physical movement became a means of governing the bios – the physical organism. From this perspective, the conference protocol demonstrates how the institution slowly but deliberately constructed an environment where moving the body for health reasons was framed as essential by designing special spaces for motion. Interpreted as a biopastoral pedagogical strategy, this suggests a shift in educational practices aimed at children, in which educational spaces and routines were not organised simply to transmit knowledge but to cultivate physically healthy and upright bodies.

However, this pursuit of a healthy body was inextricably linked to the moral and religious project. Returning to the meeting that day in March 1707, it was noted that numerous games – such as playing with the ball and a game called ring running where younger boys would chase one another from one post to the next – were allowed, whereas bowling (*Kegeln*) was explicitly prohibited, apparently because, as it was explained in a later entry, bowling led the children to gamble.⁶⁰⁶ A severe problem regarding ring running was brought forward by Hieronymus Freyer, the inspector of the Paedagogii Regii: "H. Freyer reports

⁶⁰² See for instance AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 12 June 1722; 5 November 1723; 1 January 1726; AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 3: 20 January 1729; 6 February 1741; 10 August 1741.

⁶⁰³ AFSt/H C 11: 22.

⁶⁰⁴ <https://schulervereine.francke-halle.de/kapitel/sportvereine>

⁶⁰⁵ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 3: 6 February 1741; 10 August 1741.

⁶⁰⁶ For the argument of gambling, see: AFSt/H C 11: 22.

that the children were very keen on the game and became quite wild over it.”⁶⁰⁷ Freyer’s identification of specific behaviour as wild points towards how specific behaviours that apparently exceeded the acceptable boundaries of appropriateness and self-control were identified as problematic. This wildness was not simply exuberant play. In Freyer’s proposition for how to solve the identified problem, he implicitly constructed wildness as a precursor to sin when putting forward that: “The inspector must have various games at hand so that he can immediately propose an alternative if one of them leads to sin.”⁶⁰⁸ Recalling how Francke and Richter had warned against the loss of rational control and susceptibility to base impulses and constructed such behaviour as sinful, Freyer’s concern over wildness reflects this stance that wild and passionate behaviour – including while playing – should be mitigated.

Significantly, Freyer’s proposed solution did not involve the outright prohibition of games, despite their potential to incite such wild and sinful behaviour. Rather than banning play altogether, the strategy represented a subtle form of governance which equalled more disciplinary technologies that sought to install specific norms through guidance. By offering alternative games, the inspector could channel the pupils’ energy and enthusiasm into more acceptable outlets, effectively lowering the risk of sinful behaviour without entirely eliminating the opportunity to play. The protocol entry does not explicitly state whether Freyer’s suggestion was accepted, but it is hinted that the conference members did not find the discussion satisfying. It was agreed that everyone should contemplate the children’s motion practices and that whatever came to mind should be put down on paper and submitted: “So that this matter can be thoroughly resolved once and for all.”⁶⁰⁹

However, settling the matter of controlling sin did not happen overnight.⁶¹⁰ On a day in June of the same year, the debate at the conference reached an intense level. On this particular day, Justinus Töllner, the inspector of the Latin School, had had enough. With reference to the boys’ wild behaviour when playing, he expressed a deep concern for their souls: “[...] it is supposed to be motion, but they move themselves into hell.”⁶¹¹ Christian Friedrich Richter, who attended the conference in his role as institution physician, replied that he “[...] indeed had advised motion, but to regulate it so that no sinful things occur is not the responsibility of the physician but the preceptors.”⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁷ „H. Freyer sagt auf daß spiel seyen die Kinder sehr erpicht gewesen u. seynd wild drüber worden.“: AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 1: 22 March 1707.

⁶⁰⁸ „Mancherley Spiele muß ein Inspector an der Hand haben, daß er sofort ein anders angeben kann, wenn sie des einen Sünde sind.“: AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 1: 22. March 1707.

⁶⁰⁹ „[...] Sache einmal für allemal recht möge abgethan werden.“: AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 1: 22. March 1707.

⁶¹⁰ See e.g. AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 1: 15 February 1707, 31 May 1707, 20 July 1707.

⁶¹¹ „[...] das solle Motion heißen, aber sie movierten sich in die Hölle hinein.“: AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 1: 28 June 1707.

⁶¹² „H.(err) Richter und H(err) Eckebrecht antworteten, daß sie freilich zur motion geraten hätten, diese aber zu regulieren, so daß nicht sündliche Dinge dabei vorgehen, komme nicht Medico sondern Praeceptoru zu.“ AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 1: 28 June 1707.

As a standalone quote, the exchange between Töllner and Richter has been interpreted by researchers as indicative of a conflict between a theologically driven anti-exercise wing and a medical-orientated pro-exercise wing.⁶¹³ However, when considered within the broader context of the conference protocol – both from that specific day and across a discussion on exercise over time – it becomes evident that the disagreement was less about the exercise itself and more about the governance of sin. As mentioned, Töllner advocated for a stringent approach to sin and frequently addressed pupils' behaviour or indecency and the need to correct this: "Hr. Töllner wants to remind the preceptors that they should repeatedly lead the children to gratitude and appreciation."⁶¹⁴ His perspective on games and their sinful nature was further illuminated in a comment from 1713:

"Playing, regardless of what it involves, is to be prohibited in an evangelical manner, by demonstrating to them (the pupils) its vanity and foolishness, and how it diverts their minds from God, the eternal good, and scatters them to the detriment of their souls."⁶¹⁵

While Töllner thus took an unbending stance against games as an acceptable form of movement due to their perceived potential to induce sin, he was not opposed to physical exercise as an educational objective. The conference protocol documents several instances where Töllner advocated for regulated physical activities. For example, he suggested horse riding for preceptors who needed movement⁶¹⁶ and emphasised the importance of physical activity for the girls, proposing wood sawing as a suitable solution.⁶¹⁷ Töllner's condemnation of games as a form of movement was not a rejection of physical activity per se but rather a critique of how it was conducted within appropriate moral and spiritual boundaries.

Furthermore, the dialogue between Töllner and Richter in June 1707 was embedded in a broader discussion taking place that specific day on the need for enhanced surveillance, placing unruly and sinful behaviour within a discussion on balancing control and the pupils' autonomy within the educational environment. There had been several complaints over pupils' bad behaviour due to preceptors' lack of supervision, and August Hermann Francke

⁶¹³ Juliane Dittrick-Jacobi, *Pietismus und Pädagogik im Konstitutionsprozeß der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Historisch-systematische Untersuchung der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes (1663-1727)*. (Diss. Phil., Bielfeld, 1976.), 92.

⁶¹⁴ "7) Herrn. Töllner will die Preceptoren erinnern daß ihren Kinder die danckbarkeit und Erkenntlichkeit mehrmals zu genmüht führen soll.": AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 3 December 1705.

⁶¹⁵ „Das Speilen, es sei womit es will, ist den Kindern in allen Schulen zu verbieten auf evangelische Weise, als daß man ihnen dessen Eitelkeit und Thorheit vorstelle, und wie dadurch ihre Gemüter von Gott, dem ewigen Gut abgezogen und zu ihrem Seelenschaden zerstreuet würden.“ Citet in Karl Adolf Schmid, *Geschichte der Erziehung vom Anfang an bis auf unsere Zeit*. Bd. 4. Abt. 1. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1896), 283.

⁶¹⁶ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 15 April 1707.

⁶¹⁷ „11. Herrn Töllner schlägt vor, daß die Waysen Mägden Bewegung haben müssen, und könnten etwas sägen in ihrem Hofe.": AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 22 July 1708.

had suggested that the conference should discuss increasing supervision and control of the pupils' activities. However, instead of strict control, Hieronimus Freyer suggested: "[...] that the children in each room should be given the freedom to decide whether they wish to remain in the room during their free periods or go to the courtyard."⁶¹⁸ Again, Freyer proposed a strategy focusing on supervision and guidance to solve the problems of disordered behaviour that involved establishing a rotation routine where tutors positioned themselves strategically with good views over the courtyard, allowing other tutors to remain in the rooms with the children.⁶¹⁹

While Freyer did not dismiss the problem of sin, he took a more moderate stance compared to Töllner, who essentially advocated for a complete prohibition of games. Freyer contended that the risks associated with sin could be mitigated through changes in activity and careful supervision, emphasising the importance of allowing the children some freedom to choose their activities, provided this autonomy was exercised under proper oversight. These entries reflect a broader tension within the leadership regarding how to balance physical motion with spiritual discipline. The debate highlights competing visions of institutional governance: one rooted in strict control and restriction, the other in regulated liberty supported by pedagogical trust and surveillance.

In the years that followed, Freyer and Töllner emerged as representatives of these different approaches to supervising and regulating the children's exercise activities. Their disagreement on how to govern the conduct of the children was expressed in several ways, exemplified by a letter from Freyer to Francke in 1713 in which he complained about the, according to Freyer, extremely harsh way Töllner exercised discipline and control in the dining hall.⁶²⁰ The conflict intensified between 1714 and 1719 when the two inspectors brought the issue of physical exercise and its spiritual implications directly to Francke's attention. At stake was not merely the permissibility of certain games but the broader question of the governance of sin.

In July 1714, exercise was on the conference agenda, but it was noted that the problem was not solved: "The children's movement was discussed, but no one could think of anything."⁶²¹ Again, the protocol is not explicit on the character of the problem, but in November of the same year, Hieronimus Freyer addressed Francke directly in an extensive letter detailing some issues regarding some of the forbidden games.⁶²² An issue had arisen with some pupils who had secretly been amusing themselves with the prohibited bowling game. This activity created a complex dilemma about preventing the sin associated with such games. Freyer reported that upon discovery, the preceptors had allowed the game but

⁶¹⁸ „[...] daß den Kindern in jeder Stube die Freyheit müßte gelassen werden, ob sie in den Freystunden auf der Stube etwas vornehmen wollen oder aber auf dem Hofe seyn [...]“ : AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 28 June 1707.

⁶¹⁹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 20 Juli 1707.

⁶²⁰ AFSt/H C 11: 9, 12 December 1713.

⁶²¹ „Man hat sich wegen der Motion der Kinder beredet, man kann, aber nichts erdencken.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 25. July 1714.

⁶²² AFSt/H C 11: 22.

relocated it to the exercise field instead of prohibiting it. They observed that bowling had significantly lightened the children's mood over the past two weeks. Notably, the more sullen children showed improved respectfulness, and more moderately behaved children showed no interest in the game, preferring to stay happily in their rooms. Furthermore, the game served as a deterrent, keeping some of the older boys away from the gate where they had been secretly interacting with passing women.

However, Freyer noted the inherent dilemma: while games, in general, corrupted the mind, driven by sinful vanity, this particular game appeared to lift the spirits of the children. Nevertheless, Freyer continued, such games could easily be misused, for instance, by leading to gambling. Thus, the games posed the risk of incurring God's wrath and damaging the children's souls; this was a high price for the children to pay for bowling. Yet, the physical activity of bowling helped the pupils to expend their excess energy constructively, thus preventing evil desires and lusts and consequently reducing the likelihood of them engaging in inappropriate, sinful activities. If properly supervised, Freyer argued, a paradoxical situation could emerge where bowling actually prevented the children from incurring God's wrath rather than causing it. As long as the game was conducted in an orderly way, he believed it should be permitted, invoking an institutional, educational principle: "We have the well-founded principle that the youth should not be slaves but rather be educated liberally."⁶²³ Freyer continued by arguing that if the children were taught that games should only be played in an approved manner, they would learn to use their liberty responsibly during recreational periods and avoid the influence of malevolent intentions from others. Freyer acknowledged the controversial nature of his suggestion to allow the games but noted that those unfamiliar with the challenges of balancing the children's sedentary lifestyle with physical activities might not understand the necessity of the games.

Freyer's letter represents a more pragmatic approach to identifying what constituted sin, suggesting that engaging in seemingly sinful activities, like playing games, could prevent students from committing greater sins. Freyer's perspective was further pragmatic in acknowledging the practical challenges faced by preceptors dealing with children who secretly engaged in prohibited games, which, according to the preceptors, improved the children's mental state. The deliberate reference to the preceptors' reports – which described noticeable improvements in the children's mental state – to support his argument that such activities had tangible psychological and behavioural benefits illustrates how he attempted to shift the discursive boundaries of acceptable behaviour. Freyer's intervention can be interpreted as a form of internal resistance within the leadership to the normative apparatus that governed pupil conduct. Rather than rejecting the institution's concern with sin, he problematised its criteria, seeking to recalibrate the regulatory framework in a way that allowed for a more flexible and responsive form of governance. In doing so, he implicitly questioned the theological basis for identifying certain activities as inherently sinful and

⁶²³ "Wir haben selbst das wohl gegründete Principium, daß die Jugend nicht servi sein, sondern liberaliter erzogen werden soll.": AFSt/H C 11: 22.

instead promoted a model of governance rooted in supervision, moderation, and the cultivation of responsible liberty.

Although Francke's response to Freyer's initial argument about allowing bowling is not documented, subsequent developments suggest that Freyer's proposal was not accepted, as bowling remained prohibited. This is illustrated in Freyer's continued frustration over this prohibition, as seen in later correspondence, which reflects that the debate over recreational physical activities within the educational framework surfaced again.⁶²⁴

However, before continuing with this specific conflict between the opposing positions of Töllner and Freyer, it is necessary to first examine how motion was framed as an activity that could also be oriented towards a productive outcome, as this played a crucial role in shaping the inspectors' evolving interpretations of physical activity and influenced the strategies developed to regulate such practices in accordance with the institution's spiritual and pedagogical aims.

Motion and utility: the productive reframing of bodily motion

From the founding of Die Franckeschen Anstalten, the association between motion and productivity had coexisted with – and at times informed – the parallel discourse on games and their potential for sin.

The subject of physical motion and productivity already appeared in correspondence on finances in 1699 between August Hermann Francke and his patron, Carl Hildebrand von Canstein. Apart from enrolling paying pupils in the schools, Die Franckeschen Anstalten provided financial support to two key groups: impoverished university students and poor pupils enrolled at the institution. University students could participate in the *Freitisch* programme, a work-study arrangement that allowed them to enrol at the University of Halle in exchange for contributing to the institution through various forms of labour or as preceptors within its schools. Financial support for poor pupils at Die Franckeschen Anstalten was made possible through a combination of donations, sponsorship from benefactors such as von Canstein, and later, revenue generated by the institution's own enterprises, such as its printing press and export of pharmaceutical products.⁶²⁵

As a major stakeholder who invested substantial funds into the project, von Canstein had clear economic interests in the institution's efficient functioning and long-term sustainability. These interests were reflected in his way of framing physical labour within the context of motion and health.

⁶²⁴ AFSt/HC 11: 41.

⁶²⁵ Douglas H. Schantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism. Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 117-145.

In a letter to Francke dated 2 October, 1699, von Canstein elaborated on an ongoing discussion among the leadership regarding the financing of impoverished students attending the schools. He advocated for poor students to self-finance through manual labour, suggesting a schedule of four hours of daily labour, leaving 12 hours for studying.⁶²⁶ Though the primary aim of the proposal was to enable self-finance and thereby relieve the institution of this economic responsibility, von Canstein bolstered his argument in a 17-point argumentation that highlighted several additional benefits of physical labour. For instance, the worries that the students were harmed by a sedentary life would be assuaged:

“Physical health would be preserved, as a sedentary lifestyle often leads to significant health issues. At the very least, it cannot be pursued with the necessary intellectual vigour when the body is frail. Such interruptions would no longer need to be feared.”⁶²⁷

Further, manual labour would not only improve physical health but also prevent students from harbouring lewd thoughts. Consequently, this activity would not only sharpen mental acuity but also serve as a meditative practice that revitalised and strengthened the students. Additionally, they would optimise how they used their time:

“Through such labour, students would no longer need to spend time walking or engaging in other activities of limited utility to address these inconveniences [the health problems caused by sedentary life]. Instead, they could achieve the desired physical motion more effectively through productive work”.⁶²⁸

Moreover, manual work would make sure that the widespread prejudices among intellectuals against manual labour would not take hold in the students. It would also prepare them for future hardship, encourage humility, and prepare them for being “[...] sent to foreign nations, where their skills could serve as a means of entry, reducing the financial burden of their travel costs.”⁶²⁹ All in all, engaging the students in manual labour

⁶²⁶ Der Briefwechsel Carl Hildebrandt von Canstein mit August Hermann Francke in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus Abt. III: August Hermann Franckes Handschriftlicher Nachlass. Band I* ed. Kurt Aland, (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1972), 2 October 1699, 66-68.

⁶²⁷ „4/ die Gesundheit wirdt dadurch conserviret, welche sonst bey der vita sedentaria sehr noth leidet, um also des öfters das studiren gänzlich oder doch auf lange Zeit, zum wenigsten kann es nicht mit dem vigore animi bey schwächlicher Leibes Gesundheit getrieben werden, wie wohl sollte, angegeben (Fehler: aufgegeben) werden muß, welches man aber alsdann nicht zu fürchten.“

⁶²⁸ 5/ auf diese Weise hätte die Studiosi nicht mehr nötig, um diesen inconvenientien vorzu- kommen, mit spazieren gehen oder auf andere arth die Zeit ohne großen nutzen hinzubringen; weilen sie viel beßer durch solche Manufacturen den gesuchten zwecks die Motion des Leibes erhalten können.

⁶²⁹ 7/ und tüchtiger ad exteris nationes gesandt werden, bey denen sie dadurch sich einen Eingang machen können; man hatte auch alsdann vor ihre Reise kosten nicht mehr so viel zu sorgen.

could pave the way for God's Kingdom, and was considered: "[...] the most effective way to restore individuals to their original simplicity and modesty."⁶³⁰

While the main reason for bringing physical labour onto the agenda was financial, von Canstein's proposal constructed physical labour within a frame that aligned with both the theological and dietetical rationalities of the healthy Christian, as it addressed how labouring both promoted moral rectitude and counteracted the negative influence of sedentary life. Significantly, labouring was further constructed as a multifaceted solution that aligned with the broader vision of societal and spiritual transformation, emphasising its capacity to effect world change through individual discipline. The argument thus extended beyond the practical goal of enabling poor students to self-finance their education, framing manual labour as an essential component of personal development and moral refinement and shaping the students towards hard work, qualities that were needed in the larger project of world change, thus situating manual labour as a tool for societal and individual change.

Regrettably, Francke's response to von Canstein is not preserved,⁶³¹ but the same view on work and sedentary lifestyle is reflected in Francke's pedagogical writing *Kurtzer und einfältiger Unterricht*:

"Diligence and love for work must be instilled in tender youth as early as possible. For whoever becomes accustomed to idleness in their youth will not willingly work in old age. [...] [The preceptors are responsible for] ensuring that children are not overtly idle, while also not exhausting them through a lack of leisure and recovery, which could leave them fatigued, irritable, and even diseased or unhealthy."⁶³²

Here, Francke constructs labour, which might also refer to diligent studying, as a moral imperative for shaping disciplined and virtuous adults while simultaneously warning against idleness, a precursor to lifelong laziness. This theological framing is complemented throughout the book by the concern for the physical and mental ailments induced by the pupils' sedentary way of life. Francke highlighted the health risks of prolonged physical inactivity, such as fatigue, irritability, and illness, advocating for structuring the school day

⁶³⁰ 15/ ist Es der richtigste Weg die Leute zur ersten Simplicita und Modestia zu bringen.

⁶³¹ Der Briefwechsel Carl Hildebrandt von Canstein mit August Hermann Francke in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus Abt. III: August Hermann Franckes Handschriftlicher Nachlass. Band I* ed. Kurt Alan, (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1972), Einleitung XIII.

⁶³² „Fleiß und Liebe zur Arbeit ist auch höchst nöthig, in der zarten Jugend eingeflosset zu werden. Denn wer sich jung zum Müßiggang gewöhnet hat, wird im Alter nicht gerne arbeiten, und lieget Dieses gewiß einem treuen und gewissenhaften Informatori hart an, daß er wisse, wie er Die Mittel - Strasse zu treffen habe, daß die Kinder nicht zu viel müßig gehen, und doch auch nicht durch Mangel aller Musse und Erholung ermüdet, träge und verdrossen, ja wol gar Kranck und ungesund gemacht werden.“ August Hermann Francke, *Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworfen* (1702, 1705) in Hermann Lorenzen, *August Hermann Francke Pädagogische Schriften*. (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1957), 36-37.

with beneficial breaks to restore energy and counterbalance intellectual labour.⁶³³ Although Francke did not explicitly present productivity as a necessary outcome of motion in his pedagogical guidebooks, his writings still reflect the godly directive for humans to work diligently – highlighting the importance of beneficial breaks to offset the harmful effects of prolonged study.

At this point, it can be argued that von Canstein's advocacy for poor students to engage in manual labour both as a means of self-financing and for health-promoting reasons, along with Francke's explicit focus in his pedagogical guides on preventing the physical dangers of a sedentary lifestyle, capture a nascent form of biopower-reasoning in several ways.

By integrating manual labour into the students' routine, von Canstein advocated for bodily regimentation that aligned with exercising the body for individual health and the collective good. This approach highlights a biopedagogical concern for managing the students' physical health and activities to maximise their well-being and productivity, thereby contributing to the institutional economy by being self-financed. The emphasis on self-financing through manual labour as a part of a health-promoting regime points to an integration of economic productivity into the concept of health. This suggests that an individual's health was not merely a personal concern but is intimately linked to their capacity to contribute economically to the institution and, by extension, to society. The conflation of economic utility with physical and moral health illustrates an emerging project of maximising the efficiency and utility of human life within institutional frameworks.

The argument that manual labour could prevent minds from turning towards frivolous or morally questionable activities underscores the notion that specific ways of moving the body increased certain moral standards. The promotion of physical labour as a means to maintain health and prevent lewd thoughts illustrates attempts to regulate the desires and behaviour of individuals through exercise, essentially framing the pedagogical practices as biopastoral as it aimed at both bios and soul, reflecting a comprehensive approach to governing the totality of human existence – in this case, by intersecting physical health, moral integrity, and economic productivity.

In sum, von Canstein constructed physical labour as a transformative “kit” that addressed immediate institutional needs for finance while simultaneously promoting a broader vision of world change through the shaping of hard-working, healthy individuals. This linking of labour and health positions labour not merely as a necessity but as a cornerstone of moral, health, societal, and spiritual reform.

This conceptualisation was not limited to personal correspondence or abstract ideals; it was operationalised in institutional discourse and practice. The conference protocol reflects how arguments similar to those of von Canstein came to encapsulate three essential aspects of the emerging institutional view of physical motion during the formative phase of the institution: 1) physical labour contributed to the institution's financial aspects and thus

⁶³³August Hermann Francke, *Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworffen* (1702, 1705) in Hermann Lorenzen, *August Hermann Francke Pädagogische Schriften*. (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1957) 42–43, 89.

served the greater good of the institution; 2) physical labour served as a form of health-preserving motion; and 3) labour served as a moral safeguard by preventing idleness and indulgence in aimless or morally dubious activities, thereby enhancing mental purity or spiritual health.

From the conference protocol, it is evident that the children's labouring was to be facilitated. In May 1708, an entry states:

"The children's work was discussed. They are to work two hours daily. [...] in the household, in the bookstore, or in the pharmacy. If no such tasks are available, they will chop wood or knit stockings."⁶³⁴

Although the ball game was the first kind of activity framed as physical motion in the minutes in 1702, the subsequent years saw the introduction of several alternative activities that were more productive into the category of movement. These activities were explicitly framed as motion and simultaneously as a safeguard against idleness and ill behaviour:

"Herr Doctor Richter proposed that the girls must work more than just spinning (which is not an idle task); If they were left without sufficient work, they would become useless and, out of idleness, turn to bad habits and misconduct."⁶³⁵

Two years later, it was again suggested that the girls, due to a need for motion, would engage in productive labour:

"It is proposed for consideration whether the girls, to ensure they get some movement, could wash their own laundry, sweep the classrooms of the girls' school, carry wood, work in the garden etc."⁶³⁶

These entries explicitly reflect that productive labour was framed as motion and as a mean to counteract idleness and sinful behaviour, thus functioning as a disciplinary technology serving to install both health and work ethic in the pupils.

However, since the children could also fulfil their required physical movement in other ways – such as playing ball games or walking – disagreements and misunderstandings emerged among different stakeholders regarding the appropriate forms of motion. As previously demonstrated, the inspectors themselves tended to favour walking as a suitable

⁶³⁴ „Von der Kinder Arbeit würde geredet. 2 Stunden sollen die tägl. Arbeiten [...], in der Oeconomie, im Buchladen, in der Apotheke soll gesucht werden. Wenn gar keine ist, schneiden sie Holz oder stricken Strümpfe.“: AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 11 May 1708.

⁶³⁵ „7. H. D. Richter proponirt die Mägden müße, mehr arbeiten als das einige Spinnen (:welches keine faule Arbeit sey:) wenn sie wegkämen, wären sie zu nichts nütz, legten sich auf böse Dinge aus Faulheit.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 20 April 1708.

⁶³⁶ „Es wird zu überlegen proponiret, ob die Mägden ümb eine Motion zu haben, nicht ihre eigene Wäsche waschen könnten? it. ob sie der Mägden Schulstuben auskehren könnten. et. Holtz sägen, Garten bauen etc.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 5 March 1710.

form for their own motion – and walking was, in fact, introduced early on as an acceptable means of physical motion in the institution;⁶³⁷ one need only recall the quotation that opened this chapter, which instructed that the children should walk around the yard for two hours each day! Significantly, Francke also addressed the value of walking in his pedagogical treatise – thus differing from von Canstein’s view on walks as a waste of time which, incidentally, aligned with how Francke himself had framed walking in *Lebensregeln*. However, like in Francke’s diary and the internal correspondence between the leaders, walking, in the pedagogical treatise, was framed within the context of dietetical rationality, which stated that student life was detrimental to health due to its sedentary character. Francke explicitly recommended walks in the fields or gardens as a sufficient way to invigorate bodies fatigued by prolonged sitting – provided that such activities were conducted without disorder:

“Indeed, even if one should let the children go for a walk in the fields/in the garden or elsewhere, the instructor will, through his presence, also establish such knowledge that godliness is thereby not hindered but rather promoted. For because we are dealing here with the implementation of godliness, it is primarily necessary to remember that all preservation of the natural forces must be constituted, or be directed by the instructor, so that it is not detrimental to the former [godliness].”⁶³⁸

As reflected in the quote, Francke’s perspective illustrates how walking was constructed as a permissible pedagogical, recreational activity, as long it did not lead to disorder. Over the years, the practice of taking walks during recreational hours appears repeatedly in the material as a way to move the body, and both boys and girls were exercised by walking.⁶³⁹

Yet, while walking gained a certain normative status throughout the years, the broader implementation of motion within institutional life remained a contested domain. The question of how children should fulfil the aim of motion became a site of negotiation among various stakeholders, each advancing different priorities and logic. For instance, in August 1706, the headmistress of the girls’ division requested complete control over organising the girls’ spinning, with the aim to maintain accurate records of the cost and

⁶³⁷ “Die Waysen Mutter kann ihre Kinder wol bey guten Wetter aufs Feld führen.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 17 February 1702.

⁶³⁸ “Ja wenn man auch die Kinder solte aufs Feld/ in den Garten oder sonsten spatzieren gehen lassen/ wird der Informator durch seine Gegenwart auch solches Wissen einzurichten/ dass die Gottseligkeit dadurch nicht gehindert/ sondern vielmehr befördert werde. Denn weil wir hier von Einpflanzung der Gottseligkeit handeln/ ist dieses vornehmlich nothwendig zu erinnern / dass alle Erhaltung der natürliche Kräfte also müsse beschaffen seyn/ oder vom dem Informatoren in die Wege gerichtet werden/ dass sie jener nicht nachtheilig seye.“ Erhard Peschke ed., *August Hermann Francke. Werke im Auswahl*. (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 1969), 139 – 140.

⁶³⁹ See entries such as: AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 20 July 1707; 11 May 1708; 10 August 1708; AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 20 June 1714; 7 August 1714; 16 August 1720; 30 August 1723; 18 March 1724; 27 October 1724; 16 May 1726.

benefits of their labour.⁶⁴⁰ The headmistress herself did not participate in the conference, but her request was not ignored. Later that month, a proposal emerged suggesting that the spinning should fully replace walking as the girls' form of motion: "Whether it is not enough that the girls, instead of going for walks, work diligently at the wheel, as this activity provides them with sufficient motion."⁶⁴¹ What is notable is how the argument for leaving the girls to spinning – obviously for economic reasons – was framed in terms of motion and the idea that spinning sufficed as physical activity for them.

This arrangement appeared to function for some time, yet in 1708, a preceptor reintroduced walking exercises for the girls, claiming the headmistress had commanded him to do so.⁶⁴² The conference interpreted this to mean that the girls should now participate in other physical tasks as well, such as sawing wood, and consequently approved the purchase of additional saws for the girls.⁶⁴³ However, it remains unclear who initially instructed the preceptor to implement walking exercises. Earlier that year, Christian Friedrich Richter had argued that spinning alone was insufficient, noting that the girls tended towards idleness and misconduct once their duties were completed,⁶⁴⁴ but the headmistress soon objected to the new arrangement, asserting that girls were under her jurisdiction: "The Frau Rectorin replied that they should leave the girls to her [...] She said spinning was motion enough."⁶⁴⁵

This episode illustrates how the headmistress strategically employed the category of motion to negotiate control over the girls' activities. While her underlying motivation clearly aligned with the economic value of spinning, she chose not to frame her argument in terms of labour, productivity, or institutional economy. Instead, she insisted that spinning constituted enough motion. This suggests that motion had become a dominant category within the institution's vocabulary that could be used to reinforce the headmistress' own interest and argument. This response reveals how she continued to assert control by invoking motion, even as Richter had framed the same issue in terms of concerns about idleness and morality. By adopting this rhetorical strategy, she effectively aligned her economically motivated priorities with the vocabulary of motion and health.

Although the emphasis on spinning might be interpreted as gender-specific, the institutional records suggest that gender distinction in exercise practices was limited to a

⁶⁴⁰ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 12 August 1706.

⁶⁴¹ „Ob es nichts sey, daß die Mägden anstatt des spazierengehens am Rade fleißig arbeiten, derweil diese motion ihnen hinlänglich ist: die Kinder, welche studieren, haben wohl nötig um das Gemüth zu ermuntern, sich mit herbarium gehen zu exercieren, die übrigen, so nicht studieren, können im Hofe ihre motion haben“ AFSt/W V/-/13, band 1: 26 August 1706.

⁶⁴² AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 20 Juli 1708.

⁶⁴³ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 22 Juli 1708.

⁶⁴⁴ „7. H. D. Richter proponirt, die Mägden müßten, mehr arbeiten als das einige Spinnen (:welches keine faule Arbeit sey:) wenn sie wegkämen, wären sie zu nichts nütz, legten sich auf böse Dinge aus Faulheit.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 20 April 1708.

⁶⁴⁵ „Die Frau Rectorin hat geantwortet, man solle sie mit den Mägden gewähren lassen, [...] Sie spricht Spinnen sey Motion genug.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 10 August 1708.

few specific tasks – boys turning wood and girls spinning. Otherwise, boys and girls alike engaged in sawing wood, gardening, knitting, and walking, albeit strictly segregated by gender.⁶⁴⁶ Arguments over which activities were most suitable for exercising the body were rarely framed in explicitly gendered terms. Rather, the debates focused on structuring physical activity to serve overlapping goals: maintaining physical health, cultivating morality, and contributing to institutional productivity. Throughout the period under consideration, there was a constant framing of productive activities such as gardening, millet pounding, sawing and chopping wood, sweeping, cleaning, washing, and spinning as health promoting motion⁶⁴⁷ that reinforced the broader ethos of the institution, in which diligence, moral formation, and bodily regulation became deeply interwoven. This meant that productive work that was not physically hard, like knitting, was sometimes problematised, as it did not fulfil the goal of counteracting the detrimental effects of sedentary life.⁶⁴⁸

From a Foucauldian perspective, the merging of physical health and productivity is a clear expression of biopower, as it reflects the strategic regulation of bodies not merely to preserve health but also to enhance their utility as productive individuals within the institutional framework. By aligning physical health with economic output, the institution merged the healthy body with material objectives. This way of framing motion and health developed alongside the parallel debate over sin, leisure, and games and came to shape this discussion and the practices that were implemented to exercise the children's bodies. I will now return to the problematisation of certain kinds of motion as inducing sin and ideas about how this problem should be governed.

Sin, discipline, and productivity: from playing to producing

In 1715, Töllner addressed Francke directly in a letter detailing concerns regarding the exercise practices at the Latin School. Woodturning had been introduced as an exercise activity, a practice Francke also mentioned in his pedagogical writings, emphasising the potential to move the body through lathe work.⁶⁴⁹ However, Töllner found this practice impractical for several reasons. The large number of students – 140 in the Latin School –

⁶⁴⁶ AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 2: 26 March 1721.

⁶⁴⁷ See for instance the following dates in the protocol, all framing sawing, gardening, pounding millet or the like as motion: AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 1: 30 March 1707; 7 February 1708; 22 July 1708; 12 April 1709; AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 2: 23 June 1717; 30 June 1717; 26 March 1721; 9 April 1721; 23 April 1723; 28 January 1722; 28 January 1724; 13 December 1725; 26 June 1726; AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 3: 6 February 1741; 10 August 1741; 15 July 1743; 31 July 1747; 4 September 1747.

⁶⁴⁸ AFSt/W VII/I/11:4.

⁶⁴⁹ August Hermann Francke, *Kurtzer und Einfältiger Unterricht / Wie Die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit / und Christlichen Klugheit anzuführen sind / ehemals Zu Behuf Christlicher Informatorum entworffen* (1702, 1705) in Hermann Lorenzen, *August Hermann Francke Pädagogische Schriften*. (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1957), 90.

rendered woodturning unmanageable due to the lack of resources such as lathes, resulting in students waiting idly for their turn. This scarcity not only led to disorder during the classes but also disrupted the students' academic schedule, as the lathe activity required a significant investment of three hours daily. According to Töllner, the pupils themselves complained that it detracted from their intellectual pursuits. Töllner's critique extended to the broader structure of motion classes, remarking:

"It has caused much disorder that [...] the hour from 11 to 12 was taken away from lessons and given over to motion. It has almost become a veritable hour of sin because, under the pretext of motion, most engage in much mischief. Especially since most of the preceptors are attending classes and are not in the rooms!"⁶⁵⁰

Alternatively, Töllner proposed establishing a feasible place for woodworking, such as chopping and sawing wood:

"It would be very good and very necessary that at every school dwelling, there be a large woodshed, in which one-fourth of the wood would be locked up for safekeeping, the other three-fourths would be free, in which every room could saw and chop its own wood. For this would be the best, most useful, and healthiest motion for our students."⁶⁵¹

Töllner's letter is significant within the broader tensions that existed regarding how to navigate and implement physical exercise in the institution. First, his critique of the unstructured woodturning classes highlights how he viewed unmonitored activities as fostering moral failure rather than anything else. Thus, Töllner's concern was not about the value of motion but its potential to lapse into disorder – understood in theological terms as sinful conduct – especially in the absence of sufficient supervision. This was a consistent theme in Töllner's approach to governing sin, which expressed his aversion to activities that fostered disorder. His stance was reflected in an entry from 1716 in the conference protocol where he critiqued the walking practices at the Latin School, in which he stated: "Walking at the Latin School has caused a great deal of disorder and must either be properly restructured or entirely abolished."⁶⁵² This exemplifies Töllner's broader strategy of

⁶⁵⁰ „Es hat viel Unordnung gemacht, daß [...] die Stunde von 11 bis 12 den Lectionibus abgebrochen, und zur motion frey gegeben worden. Es ist fast eine rechte Sünden=Stunde worden, weil unter dem vorwand der Motion die meisten viel Mutwillen ausüben. Zumahl da die meisten Præceptores ob collegia zu der Zeit nicht auf den Stuben sind!“. Nachlass A. H. Francke 21, ½: 48: 5 December 1715.

⁶⁵¹ „[...] es wäre sehr gut und sehr nöthig, daß zu jeder Schulwohnung ein großer Holzstall wäre, darinnen der 4th theil zur Verwahrung das Holzes verschloßen, die andere 3 theil frey wären, darinnen jede stube ihr holz sägen und hacken konnte. Denn dieses würde unseren Schülern die beste, nützlichste und gesundeste motion sein: Nachlass A. H. Francke 21, ½: 48: 5 December 1715.

⁶⁵² „2. Das Spazier-gehen bey der Lateinischen Schule hat viel Unordnung gemacht, und muß billig anders eingerichtet oder ganz abgeschaffet werden.“: AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 12 August 1716.

prohibiting any activity that risked undermining the moral and institutional order. His advocating for physical activity that aligned with the Pietist ideal of diligent, morally edifying labour thus positioned woodworking, such as sawing and chopping wood, as serving both physical and spiritual purposes, hence offering what he considered the healthiest form of motion.

By suggesting wood chopping as the healthiest way to achieve motion, he thus implicitly argued that some forms of motion were not healthy, implicitly aligning his argument with the theological rationality of dangerous ways of using the body. Thus, Töllner drew on the Pietist theological imperative not to misuse the body by doing things that were against God's order. While he acknowledged the necessity of bodily motion for physical health, labour intense activities safeguarded against disordered conduct – a risk he associated with unregulated practices such as what he observed in the woodturning classes or when the children played. This coupling of physical motion with moral order reveals how Töllner viewed productive motion as a preventive mechanism against sin.

Second, Töllner's letter also sheds light on the role and responses of two other key groups within the institution: the preceptors and the pupils. His critique of the preceptors' failure to maintain order underscored the structural limitations of a pedagogical system that relied heavily on the vigilance and moral integrity of the preceptors. Repeated complaints in the conference protocol regarding their failure to enforce discipline and embody Pietist ideals reveal an ongoing institutional vulnerability. The issue of preceptorial oversight will be addressed in greater detail in the following section, but it is worth noting here that Töllner's strict focus on disciplined, moral supervision reflected a broader concern shared by multiple stakeholders within the institutional hierarchy.

Töllner also identified a tension between the pupils and the institution's exercise regimens. Specifically, he pointed to the pupils' reluctance to engage in prolonged physical activity, such as the two- to three-hour daily walking/sawing/spinning sessions. While this reference may have been intended to bolster his argument about restructuring physical motion into more productive forms or even skipping it in favour of academic work, it aligns with other entries in the conference protocol. For example: "4. The students' walking should be regulated because many would prefer to study rather than go for walks",⁶⁵³ and:

"The first class of the Orphanage is supposed to have two hours of exercise daily, as prescribed by the physician: however, many prefer to learn something instead and only engage in one hour of exercise."⁶⁵⁴

A notable entry suggests that the children's complaints and resistance to the motion practices were sometimes honoured: "Because the Latin School boys are reluctant to engage

⁶⁵³ „4. das Spazieren gehen der Schüler möchte zu reguliren seyn, weil viele lieber studiren wollen als spazieren gehen.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 18 March 1724.

⁶⁵⁴ „die erste Classe der Orphanorum soll nach Verordnung des Medici täglich 2 Stunden Motion haben; viele aber sollen lieber etwas lernen, und machen sich nur 1 Stunde motion.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 14 March 1726.

in wood sawing and view it with such ingratitude, it has been arranged that they work for one hour daily.”⁶⁵⁵ However, the opposite also occurred: in 1714, boys from both the Orphanage and Latin School “[...] complained about the lack of motion.”⁶⁵⁶ In the margin Francke had proposed that: “Whenever the weather is good, they can be taken for a walk in the evenings after dinner from 8 to 9 o’clock.”⁶⁵⁷

These protocol entries can be interpreted in multiple ways. On the one hand, they may reflect the inspectors’ interest in promoting academic instruction over the physical activity prescribed by the physician. Conversely, they may represent faint yet significant expressions of pupil resistance to motion practices perceived as excessive or misaligned with their academic priorities. The last referenced entries also illustrate the complexity of day-to-day pedagogical practices, as the children’s genuine complaints and resistance to planned activities – such as sawing wood for two to three hours daily – sometimes led to a reduction in such tasks. In other instances, however, the children actively requested more opportunities for physical activity, highlighting the ambivalent and negotiated nature of bodily discipline within the educational routine. Furthermore, the entry that referred the children’s complains about lack of motion suggests that physical motion sessions might be skipped, and that the children at times expressed a perceived need for movement, feeling entitled to voice complaints about the schedule. It remains unclear from the context whether these complaints reflect an internalisation of the idea that physical activity was necessary to counteract a sedentary lifestyle – indicating that the children desired more exercise than was already allotted – or whether they were responding to missed sessions. Alternatively, the complaints may have represented a strategic attempt to reclaim time for non-academic activities. Nonetheless, the entry demonstrates that negotiations over how time was spent were shaped by the prevailing discourse on the importance of movement. Ultimately, these examples suggest that the implementation of exercise routines was not simply a matter of top-down regulation but was shaped by ongoing negotiation among institutional leaders, preceptors, and the pupils themselves.

In the following years, Hieronimus Freyer continued to position himself as the principal opponent of Töllner’s strict interpretation of motion, disorder, and sin. He consistently advocated for the permissibility of games and for granting the children a measured degree of freedom in their activities. Freyer’s sustained defence of such practices suggests that he was operating under growing pressure – both in relation to his leadership of the *Paedagogii Regii* and in the light of an institutional drift towards Töllner’s more prohibitive stance. His interventions appear as efforts to preserve a more pragmatic and flexible approach to bodily regulation in the face of an increasingly tighter framework of what constituted motion.

⁶⁵⁵ „1) weil die lateinischen Knaben nicht gern an das Holtz-sägen gehen, und solches ein Undanck bey ihnen ist, so ist geordnet worden, daß sie täglich 1 stunde arbeiten sollen.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 7 February 1708.

⁶⁵⁶ „klagen über den Mangel der Motion.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 20 June 1714.

⁶⁵⁷ „So oft es gut Wetter ist, können sie Abends nach der Mahlzeit von 8 bis 9 Uhr spazieren geführt werden“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 20 June 1714.

In May 1716, Freyer again reached out to Francke to discuss the matter of recreation and exercise lessons, revealing that the children in the *Paedagogii Regii* were still engaging in the prohibited bowling game.⁶⁵⁸ However, Freyer assured that everything was under strict supervision, which he believed mitigated the game's potentially damaging and dangerous aspects: "In all cases, there is supervision, and anything that might be harmful or dangerous is prohibited."⁶⁵⁹ Though acknowledging that some issues might escape oversight, he emphasised that efforts were being made to maintain good order and discipline. In order to justify that several games were still played in the *Paedagogii Regii*, Freyer revisited his earlier argument for permitting bowling, questioning the rationale behind its current prohibition:

"As for the ball, it has, as far as I can remember, always been in use among them [the pupils] wherever the circumstances of the place permitted it. I am also not aware that it was ever objected to by the Professor [August Hermann Francke]. For this reason, two years ago, I brought forward, among other arguments in favour of bowling, the point that ball games, which demonstrate far greater disorder and wildness, were nevertheless permitted."⁶⁶⁰

Freyer continued arguing that if games like ball, *volanten*, and bowling were strictly supervised, they posed no problem regarding sinfulness. He further underlined the importance of such activities for the pupils' physical health, and building on this argument, Freyer proposed that such games should not only be allowed but even facilitated by installing a wire grid to protect the windows, with the cost to be covered by contributions from the pupils. Finally, Freyer summarised the conflict as he saw it:

"It is further affirmed that, regarding the oversight and proper order of their motion, much consultation takes place among us and our assemblies. And since difficulties constantly arise, ongoing consultation remains necessary. Thus, we must view the accusation of excessive liberty – so commonly voiced – as a cross arising from either ignorance or from malice. I must admit, however, that certain things do occasionally happen among us which must be addressed, and this occurs not only through me, but

⁶⁵⁸ AFS_t/HC 11: 41.

⁶⁵⁹ „Bey allen ist Aufsicht, und wird das verwehret, was schädlich und gefährlich seyn möchte.“ AFS_t/HC 11: 41.

⁶⁶⁰ „Was den Ball betrifft, so ist solcher, so weit ich nur zurück dencken kann, im Brauch bey ihnen gewesen; nachdem es die Beschaffenheit des Orts zugelassen: weiß auch nicht, daß niemals dawider von hrn. Professore excipiret worden. Daher führete ich vor 2 Jahren unter anderen für das Kugel Spiel der Argumenten, daß ihnen das Ballspiel, wobey doch viel größere Zerstörung und Wildheit zu bemercken, erlaubt würde.“ AFS_t/HC 11: 41.

through others as well. Most parents who have their children here claim that they are too restricted.”⁶⁶¹

Freyer’s arguments in this letter to Francke can thus be interpreted as a form of opposition within the leadership and a strategic negotiation over how bodily motion should be framed, implemented, and morally evaluated. Apparently, Freyer had allowed children in his department to continue to play different games, and by acknowledging the challenges of oversight while defending the pedagogical and physical benefits of supervised games, Freyer positioned himself in deliberate contrast to Töllner’s prohibitive stance. Where Töllner identified disorder as something to be eradicated through restriction and the elimination of morally ambiguous activities, Freyer reframed disorder as an inevitable element of educational life – something to be managed through structure, supervision, and mutual trust.

With his insistence that supervised games posed no inherent spiritual danger, Freyer sought to undermine the core of Töllner’s logic, which treated bodily activity not aligned with productive labour as a likely path to sin. Freyer’s proposals – such as installing a wire grid to facilitate safer play – demonstrate a proactive effort to make games compatible with institutional discipline rather than seeing them as inherently opposed to it. In doing so, Freyer sought to shift the discourse from a moral binary of permission versus prohibition to a pedagogical question of how best to balance freedom, oversight, and physical motion.

Moreover, Freyer’s citation of parental complaints that their children were too restricted strategically broadened the base of his critique. It invoked not only pedagogical reasoning but also the expectations of external stakeholders, suggesting that the institution should adapt to wider views on childrearing and education. This rhetorical move reframed the debate as not simply an internal dispute over orthodoxy but also a matter of institutional reputation and credibility.

While not outright rejecting the institution’s goals or values, Freyer’s arguments reflect a form of resistance to the theological norm of how to move the body correctly. His persistent effort to defend supervised games represents a significant pushback against the prohibition strategy. By allowing the children in the *Paedagogii Regii* to play games, Freyer emerged not only as a pragmatic voice within the institution but as an active negotiator of terms under which motion, morality, and education were understood and enacted.

Although it is not explicitly documented how Freyer’s recurrent critiques were formally addressed, the subsequent developments suggest that his proposals were ultimately not accepted, indicating a prevailing institutional alignment with the more restrictive approach advocated by Töllner. In 1719, Freyer handed in a report on the forms of exercise

⁶⁶¹ „Sonst versichern daß über den Punct der Aufsicht und guter Ordnung bey ihren Motionen unter uns und in unsern Zusammenkünften so viel consultiret werde, auch wegen immer nennend stehender Difficultäten zu consultiren nöthig daß wir die Beschuldigung von der gar zu großen freyheit bey den meisten Gemüthern nicht aber als ein vel ex inscitia vel malitia herfließendes Creutz ansehen müssen; ob ich gleich gestehen daß manches denach bey uns mit unterläuff wider welches geredet werden muß, welches die auch nicht allein von mir, sondern auf andern geschhet; die meisten von Eltern, die Ihre Kinder hier haben, sagen [sie] wären zu sehr eingeschränket.“ AFSt/H C 11: 41.

implemented in the *Paedagogii Regii*, in which he now described a decrease in games as a way of moving the body in favour of more productive activities:

“The students perform the necessary motion properly through woodturning, botany, and other so-called mechanical disciplines; likewise through outings and wood sawing. All of this takes place in the presence and under the supervision of their preceptors.”⁶⁶²

The report indicates that the stricter view on specific exercises leading to sin, as represented by Töllner and Francke’s rationality of the healthy Christian, had gained momentum, and most games were now prohibited, including in the *Paedagogii Regii*, as Freyer continued:

“In the garden, they are also able to entertain themselves during almost all their free hours. They strolled, dug, hoed, collected stones and wood, transported manure, carried water, sprinkled, watered, and undertook similar activities. In this manner, nothing further than *volanten* is allowed.”⁶⁶³

Even though Freyer now seemed to have accepted that motion had to be performed through productive work, a large part of his report had a somewhat bitter tone, still arguing that playing games should be allowed, using the only allowed game, *volanten*, to illustrate the harmlessness in playing games. He noted that even though *volanten* was permitted, it was rarely played because older students viewed it as childish, and younger students lost interest over time – illustrating, according to Freyer, that the children were capable themselves to administer the game in a morally conductive way. Freyer continued with a critique of the outright prohibition of games, arguing that such bans often increased the desire to play them, which would lead to the greater sin of transgressing rules. Further, when games were prohibited, there was a risk of children not having sufficient ways of moving their bodies, particularly in the winter, with Freyer further noting that inactivity affected not only their physical health but also the students’ mental and moral well-being. While Freyer acknowledged that the desire for play could lead to misuse, he still insisted that not all desires and lustful activities were sinful:

“They [the pupils] eat, they study with pleasure; and if, under our circumstance, riding out were not considered too risky and were allowed, they would ride out with great pleasure, and no one would likely reproach us for it, knowing that it was done

⁶⁶² „Die Scholaren machen die nöthige Motion ordentlich durch Drechseln, die Botanic und übrige sogenannte mechanische Disciplinen: item durch Ausgehen und Holzsägen. Und geschieht solches alles in Gegenwart und unter der Aufsicht ihrer Präceptores.“ AFSt/H C 11: 56.

⁶⁶³ „Im Garten haben sie sich auch fast in allen Freystunden divertiren können. Sie haben darin spatzieret, gegraben, gehacket, Steine und Holtz gesamlet, Mißt gefahren, Waßer getragen, gesprühet, begossen und dergleichen vorgenommen. Auf diese Weis ist weiter nicht als der Volant zugelassen werden.“ AFSt/H C 11: 56.

for the sake of their health, even if no other purpose were intended. And so is it with many other things that health requires.”⁶⁶⁴

Freyer ended the report by emphasising the value of physical activity but also referencing a tutor who had deliberately encouraged ball games to diminish their allure:

“He, therefore, instructed them to play ball games every day for at least one hour and also enforced this rule. As a result, they completely lost their desire for it, which was a reason not to forbid it; and thus, it was no longer required to enforce it further.”⁶⁶⁵

In this way, Freyer sought to demonstrate that controlled permission, rather than prohibition, would effectively manage desires and sinful behaviour.

To sum up, Freyer’s advocacy for the controlled inclusion of games like bowling and ball underlines the different positions among the inspectors of the institution. Whereas both Freyer and Töllner expressed pastoral concern towards the dangers of sin and saw disorder as a manifestation of sin, they differed in their suggestions on how to govern it. The conflict suggests that the definition of what constitutes unruly and sinful behaviour was more fluid in practice, given that different inspectors and preceptors had varying thresholds for what they considered acceptable. This variability led to inconsistencies in how the rules were applied and how behaviour was managed, which were also influenced by general disciplinary problems the preceptors faced during recreational periods in the schedule.

From a Foucauldian perspective, these discussions and conflicts between the leaders do not express a tension between medicine and theology but rather illustrate how the problematisation of the body as a battleground for sin guided the conference’s way of identifying problems among the children and preceptors that needed to be solved. The discussion exemplifies how power operated by creating specific rationalities that shaped the framework within which behaviour was problematised, evaluated, and regulated. Furthermore, the children’s secret playing of prohibited games, Freyer’s deliberate allowing of such in his department, and the failure of the preceptors to embody Christian values illustrate that the different groups within the institution navigated the rules in very different ways, following their own interest rather than simply subjecting themselves to power.

After Freyer’s plea in 1719, discussions on whether games should be allowed vanished from the protocol; in 1722, four new regulations were published outlining the rules for exercising and maintaining discipline in the Latin School:

⁶⁶⁴ „Sie essen, sie studieren mit Lust: und wenn nach unsern Umständen das Ausreiten nicht zu bedenklich und als ihnen erlaubt wäre; so würden sie mit großer Lust ausreiten und niemand würde es uns leicht verdencken, der doch wüste, daß es der Gesundheit wegen geschehe; obgleich sonst kein ander ohne dabey intendiret würde. Und so in vielen übrigen dingen, die die Gesundheit erfordert.“ AFS^t/H C 11: 56.

⁶⁶⁵ „Er gebet ihnen daher, daß sie motionis casina alle Tage, wenigstens eine Stunde spielen sollen: und hielte auch über das Gebot. Darüber verging ihnen aller Lust, daß was nicht zu verbieten Ursache hatten; wenn was denn auch nicht weiter geboten wollte.“ AFS^t/H C 11: 56.

- 1) Regulation on the Exercise of the Students of the Latin School for Health.
- 2) School Regulations for the Students of the Latin School by Johann Ludwig Wölffing.
- 3) Project by the Inspection of the Boys of the Latin School During Their Free Hours in the Schoolyard.
- 4) Instructions for the Supervisors During the Walks of the Students in the Latin School.⁶⁶⁶

Essentially, the content of these regulations expressed the enhanced focus of combatting disordered or indecent behaviour. All regulations stressed that when spending time in the yard, activities such as playing ball, throwing stones, running and chasing, and other actions contrary to decency and decorum were prohibited; shouting or screaming loudly were also banned.⁶⁶⁷ The same was held as a principle during walks, in which playing ball, other games and taking breaks were strictly prohibited as this caused disturbance and disorder among the pupils. All wild and unruly behaviour should be promptly addressed and corrected.⁶⁶⁸ Motion should always be a valuable and productive activity or offer the opportunity to learn something – for instance, botanical walks for studying the nature around the institution, or a visit to craftsmen in the city⁶⁶⁹ – and the productive but sedentary activity of knitting should be replaced with more active occupations such as carrying and cutting wood to counteract the adverse effects of sitting on both the body and mind.⁶⁷⁰

While these regulations may not represent how motion was exercised in the daily practices in a 1 to 1 reflection, they reinforced the rationality that children's physical activity should be conducted in a sin-free, orderly, and productive manner, eschewing games and behaviours that were disorderly or unruly and consequently detrimental to salvation. The regulation thus explicitly overruled Freyer's deliberations on the subject of how to navigate sin.

⁶⁶⁶ 1) Verordnung die Bewegung der Schüler der Lateinischen Schule für die Gesundheit, AFSt/W VII/I/11:2; 2) Schulordnung für die Schüler der Lateinischen Schule von Johann Ludwig Wölffing, AFSt/W VII/I/11: 4; 3) Projekt von der Inspektion über die Knaben der Lateinischen Schule während ihrer Freistunde auf dem Hof der Schulordnung, AFSt/W VII/I/11:1; 4) Instruktion für die Aufsichtskräfte bei den Spaziergängen der Schüler in der Lateinischen Schule, AFSt/W VII/I/11:3.

⁶⁶⁷ AFSt/W VII/I/11: 1.

⁶⁶⁸ AFSt/W VII/I/11: 3 Titel: Instruktion für die Aufsichtskräfte bei den Spaziergängen der Schüler der Lateinischen Schule. ⁶⁶⁹ AFSt/W VII/I/11: 2 Verordnung die Bewegung der Schüler der Lateinischen Schule für die Gesundheit.

⁶⁶⁹ AFSt/W VII/I/11: 2 Verordnung die Bewegung der Schüler der Lateinischen Schule für die Gesundheit.

⁶⁷⁰ AFSt/W VII/I/11:4 Lateinschule: Schulordnung für die Schüler der Lateinischen Schule von Johann Ludwig Wölffing.

A medical justification for the institution's motion practices

In 1734, some ten years after the debate about games had fizzled out, a former theological student and preceptor in the period 1729-1735, Johann Julius Hecker (1707-1768), authored and published a dietetical teaching resource titled *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit* aimed at instructing students on leading a lifestyle that was both physically and spiritually conducive to health.⁶⁷¹

Essentially, Hecker's framing of dietetics aligned with Richter's rationality which stated that unhealthy behaviour was equated with sin manifesting in bodily biology,⁶⁷² advocating for a lifestyle of temperance and moderation based on dietetical advice.⁶⁷³ Like Richter, he thus framed physical health as both humoral balance and a command of God,⁶⁷⁴ the body as a temple of God if utilised correctly,⁶⁷⁵ but added – and thereby intensified the sin of not following dietetical rules – that engaging in an unhealthy lifestyle equalled committing suicide due to self-inflicted diseases.⁶⁷⁶

In this context, Richter's dietetics from 1705 and 1715 did not problematise games as a form of exercise, nor did it advocate a specific method for exercising the body. Instead, Richter offered general advice, emphasising that physical labour was a divinely ordained and proven remedy for maintaining health. In contrast, Hecker's health book presented a detailed medical rationale for the types of physical exercise outlined in the regulations from 1722. Notably, Hecker's medical argumentation supported the regulations' prohibition of running, ball games, and shouting by explicating that:

⁶⁷¹ *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit. In einigen Regeln und Anmerkungen. Insonderheit auf studierende gerichtet. Ehedem als ein Anhang zur Betrachtung des menschlichen Körpers nach der Anatomie und Physiologie. Nummerbro aber auf Verlangen besonderes und mit einigen Zusätzen vermehret herausgegeben von Johann Julis Hecker* (Halle, in Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740). Short Guide to Maintaining Health. In a few rules and annotations. Especially aimed at students. Formerly as an appendix to the consideration of the human body according to anatomy and physiology. Now, however, published separately and with some additions upon request by Johann Julius Hecker; on the publication date.; See also Christian Soboth, “Also, wäre keine Affecten, so wäre kein Leben.” Affekt und Affektkontrolle im Halleschen Pietismus” in *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahrhundert*. ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021), 104.

⁶⁷² Johann Julius Hecker, *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit*. (Halle: in Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740), 4, 9, 10: §8, 74: §3.

⁶⁷³ Johann Julius Hecker, *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit*. (Halle: in Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740), 52, 77: § 13

⁶⁷⁴ Johann Julius Hecker, *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit*. (Halle: in Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740), 9: §4, 49 §1.

⁶⁷⁵ Johann Julius Hecker, *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit*. (Halle: in Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740), 6.

⁶⁷⁶ Johann Julius Hecker, *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit*. (Halle: in Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740), 4-5.

“Running, playing ball, and similar activities can greatly stir the blood and cause excessive heat. Therefore, great caution must be exercised in such activities, and for those who are full-blooded, such intense motion is not advisable.”⁶⁷⁷

This extended to medical reasoning on how to avoid using the voice in a disease-inducing way: “However, one should be cautious of loud screaming, as it can cause the blood to move excessively towards the head, and can easily lead to spitting blood and other diseases.”

⁶⁷⁸ In vivid and cautionary language, Hecker also warned about the dangers of idleness, portraying it as a direct threat to mental capacities and physical health: “An idle life makes people dull and stupid, resulting in a lethargic nature, strokes, pains from stones, and all sorts of ulcers in the chest and abdomen.”⁶⁷⁹ Idle people were constructed as “[...] stiff, sluggish, and look[ing] no different than living corpses.”⁶⁸⁰

By contrast, Hecker constructed the activities that became predominant within the institution during the 1720s as preferable ways of moving the body:

“Whoever can chop or saw wood with pleasure does well to continue doing so, for it is a form of motion that one can easily engage in and which sets the whole body in movement.”⁶⁸¹

For variety, he recommended activities such as: “[...] carpentry, sculpting, turning, glass polishing, bookbinding, and the like.”⁶⁸² These were the exact activities that were allowed

⁶⁷⁷ „Lauffen, Ballspielen und dergleichen können das Geblüt sehr bewegen und in grosse hitze bringen: daher viele Vorsichtigkeit dabey zu gebrauchen und ist solchen, die vollblütig sind, dergleichen starcke Motion nicht zu rathen.“ Johann Julius Hecker, *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit*. (Halle: in Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740), 55: §18.

⁶⁷⁸ „Für starcken Schreyen hat man sich hingegen wohl in acht zu nehmen, indem dadurch das Blut eines theils sehr zum Haupte hin bewoget wird, theils gar leicht das Blutspeyen und andere Kranckheiten daher entstehen können.“ Johann Julius Hecker, *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit*. (Halle: in Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740), 56: §21.

⁶⁷⁹ „Das müßige Leben macht stupide und dumme Leute, es entsteht daher eine schläfriges Wesen, Schlagflüsse, Steinschmerzen und allerhand Geschwüre in der Brust und im Unterleibe.“ Johann Julius Hecker, *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit*. (Halle: in Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740), 50: §4.

⁶⁸⁰ „[...] sind steif, träge, und sehen nicht anders aus, wie lebendige Leichen.“ Johann Julius Hecker, *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit*. (Halle: in Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740), 50: §4.

⁶⁸¹ „Wer nur mit vergnügen Holz hacken oder Sägen kann, der thut wohl, wenn er darinnen continuiert, denn es ist eine Motion, dazu man leicht gelangen kann und welche den gantzen Körper in Bewegung setzet.“ Johann Julius Hecker, *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit*. (Halle: in Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740), 54: §16.

⁶⁸² „Tischlerhandwerk, Bildhauen, Drechseln, Glasschliffen, Buchbinden und dergleichen vorzuschlagen.“ Johann Julius Hecker, *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit*. (Halle: in Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740), 50: §3.

and were already a part of the curriculum.⁶⁸³ Hecker also validated the institutional practice of walking as beneficial to health and step-counting as the technique to monitor one's motion through the practice of walking. It is almost amusing to consider how modern society has turned step-counting into a near-religious ritual – our wrists are now adorned with digital devices that celebrate or shame us according to whether we have reached the magical number of 10,000 steps. This technique of regulating health through counting steps is clearly traceable to the Pietist construction of health and was introduced by Hecker – though the number of steps was significantly lower – as he wrote: “You shall stand after dinner, or you shall walk a thousand steps. It could also well be two thousand or more.”⁶⁸⁴

In combination with walking, Hecker proposed a practice that combined utility and physical activity:

“Loud speaking is also to be considered among the movements of the body; as it not only sets the blood in the lungs in swifter motion but also, through the constant inhaling and exhaling, compresses the parts of the lower abdomen via the diaphragm. Particularly, this form of exercise is advisable next to walking after a meal, as one can read something good aloud or repeat something learned by heart in this manner.”⁶⁸⁵

Here, Hecker effectively merged physical health and walking with purposeful, intellectually enriching activities, reinforced by a medical rationale. The transformation of reading aloud while walking into an activity that stimulated circulation in the lungs and activated the diaphragm constructed the practice of repetition of learned material as targeting the physical organism. As Hecker simultaneously stated the godly imperative of physical health, his book exemplifies how pastoral power targeted the physical organism, thus exemplifying how biopower grew out of pastoral efforts to govern sin.

Hecker's book reflects a medical effort to normalise specific physical activities as an extension of discipline and productivity. By constructing the physical activities allowed in the institution, such as chopping wood, walking, or carpentry, as both theological and medical health-promoting practices, Hecker's book is an example of the reciprocal way practices and knowledge production influenced each other within the institutional context.

⁶⁸³ For a presentation of the curriculum see Kelly Joan Whitmer, *The Halle Orphanage as Scientific Community. Observation, Eclectism, and Pietism in the Early Enlightenment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 1-20.

⁶⁸⁴ „Post cœnam stabis, aut passus mille meabis. Es könne auch wol zwey tausend und mehrere warden.“ Johann Julius Hecker, *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit*. (Halle: in Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740), 54: §14.

⁶⁸⁵ „Lautes Reden ist gleichfalls unter die Bewegungen des Körpers zu rechnen; indem dadurch nicht allein das Blut in der Lunge in geschwindern Lauf gesetzt, sondern auch durch das beständige Einathmen und Ausathmen die Theile des Unterleibes vermittelst des Zwerchfels zusammen gedrückt warden. Insonderheit ist diese Art von der Motion nechst dem Spatzieren nach der Mahlzeit zu rathen, da man etwas Gutes laut herlesen, oder was man auswendig gelernet, auf solche Weise repetieren kann.“ Johann Julius Hecker, *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit*. (Halle: in Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740), 55-56: §20.

Hecker's *Kurtze Anleitung zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit* differed from Richter's dietetics, which was written before the institutional practices were developed, by directly constructing the students' daily exercise practices from a medical perspective. By positioning allowed activities as ideal forms of healthy exercise while pathologising banned games and disordered activities like running and shouting, Hecker provided a medical and scientific rationale for the institutional practices that had evolved over the years. His emphasis on regulating bodily movements, including vocal behaviour, integrated these practices into what can be understood as a broader biopastoral pedagogical strategy, where students' physical health became a moral imperative they needed to act upon. Hecker's work thus not only supplemented Richter's dietetics but also explicitly underpinned the school's disciplinary framework as it had developed over time.

Disordered preceptors and pupils

The fact that the implementation of motion practices and the debate on sin, exercise, and productivity unfolded over almost three decades is somewhat surprising. Considering that from the beginning, there was agreement that the children, due to the detrimental effects of sedentary student life, needed to move their bodies, it is striking that the issue of sin when moving the body remained under negotiation for such a long time.

This slow and often fraught process can be attributed to multiple factors. First, the sheer scale of the institution – with hundreds of children and a growing cadre of preceptors – posed significant logistical and behavioural challenges in general. Second, the pedagogical system relied heavily on the conduct of preceptors, whose role was to embody and enforce the institution's moral and pedagogical ideals. However, the conference protocol is replete with complaints about preceptors' misconduct, revealing that they often undermined these very goals.

Entries from as early as 1709 stressed the need to select preceptors with the right gifts and qualities to serve as positive role models both for their pupils and for new preceptors.⁶⁸⁶ Yet, many failed to meet these standards, and instances of what was framed as ungodly behaviour abounded: some preceptors invited friends to smoke tobacco and drink in the children's quarter,⁶⁸⁷ some permitted dice playing in their residence and the courtyards,⁶⁸⁸ and some shirked religious service on Sundays and exhibited a general disregard for expected conduct.⁶⁸⁹ Others engaged in excessive corporeal punishment, which was reprimanded,⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸⁶ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 21 June 1709.

⁶⁸⁷ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 27 May 1711; 22 July 1718.

⁶⁸⁸ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 27 May 1711.

⁶⁸⁹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 30 April 1715.

⁶⁹⁰ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 27 May 1711

and disrupted meals with ungodly behaviour by engaging in inappropriate speech.⁶⁹¹ Additionally, they neglected their supervisory duties in general, prioritising personal conversations over monitoring the pupils as required.⁶⁹² According to the protocol, bad behaviour among preceptors led to undisciplined conduct among the pupils. An entry from 1721 explicitly addresses the problem of inattentive preceptors leading to situations where: “[...] the greatest abominations can be committed among our youth.”⁶⁹³ Disorder among the children was thus often directly linked to the inattentiveness and corruption of their adult overseers.

Preceptors frequently forgot or dismissed the implementation of physical motion. The protocol shows repeated reminders to ensure regular exercise. A typical entry reads: “Weekly consideration should be given to ensuring sufficient motion for both the orphaned children and educators.”⁶⁹⁴ These recurring prompts reflect the difficulties of establishing routines in an environment where not all participants embraced the pedagogical, medical, or theological significance of bodily regulation.

The children themselves were also agents of disorder. Numerous entries document what was perceived as unruly behaviour. Examples include children engaging in noisy and unsanitary eating habits in the dining hall,⁶⁹⁵ engaging in sinful activities during free time,⁶⁹⁶ baulking at going to church,⁶⁹⁷ and general idleness on Sundays.⁶⁹⁸ There were instances of boys causing disorder in the girls’ toilets (whatever this meant is up to the reader to interpret);⁶⁹⁹ they engaged in dancing in Glaucha,⁷⁰⁰ played ball in the yard, walked around in their nightgowns,⁷⁰¹ played cards, and lied about their actions.⁷⁰² One child had picked up frogs during a walk and had later fried and eaten them.⁷⁰³ Another boy had eaten a herring outside of mealtimes, which had caused an ailment.⁷⁰⁴ Instances of truancy,⁷⁰⁵

⁶⁹¹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 29 May 1715; 24 July 1715.

⁶⁹² AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 30 June 1716.

⁶⁹³ ” [...] daß die größten Greuel unter unserer Jugend verübet werden können.” AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 16 July 1721.

⁶⁹⁴ „Es soll wochl. darauff gedacht werden, wie sowohl die Waysen=Kinder als Pädagogen einer gnugsamer Motion bekommen.“: AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 23 February 1703; Se also: AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 20 July 17107; AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 23 February 1720.

⁶⁹⁵ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 8 November 1707; 5 March 1708; AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 9 Marts 1712; 21 August 1715.

⁶⁹⁶ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 14 February 1710.

⁶⁹⁷ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 9 April 1710; 30 Juni 1710

⁶⁹⁸ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 5 March 1708.

⁶⁹⁹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 3: 5 November 1737.

⁷⁰⁰ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 23 June 1717.

⁷⁰¹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 26 May 1717

⁷⁰² AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 7 November 1714.

⁷⁰³ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 30 May 1707.

⁷⁰⁴ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 2 December 1718

⁷⁰⁵ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 20 January 1717; 2 December 1718.

including feigning illness⁷⁰⁶ and forging the physician's prescriptions,⁷⁰⁷ were also reported. Disorder was observed during bathing sessions⁷⁰⁸ and in the yard,⁷⁰⁹ along with instances of lewd speech,⁷¹⁰ theft,⁷¹¹ discipline issues among the orphan classes,⁷¹² and misbehaviour among boys in general,⁷¹³ including the persistent problem of children running away.

These incidents were often framed as manifestations of disorder needing correction so that order could be restored. Often the specific kind of misconduct described as sinful was tied to the exercise of individual will in unsupervised moments, e.g.: "The boys who have until now kept watch downstairs in the house during the evening meal must now give up their watch because they have used this opportunity to sin."⁷¹⁴ Both preceptors and children constantly broke the rules, especially when not under surveillance; they exploited the leisure time for what was framed as sinning.

The interaction between genders was also a recurrent source of sin. Already in 1702, it was decided to segregate the girls from the boys in specific houses and yards, and the preceptors were enjoined to provide strict supervision so the children did not get the opportunity to commit gruesome sins.⁷¹⁵ The term gruesome sin was used explicitly in reference to gendered interactions, suggesting a latent concern with sexuality, though this was not explicitly articulated, and the issue does not surface in other places in the records. To enforce gender segregation, a female doorkeeper was hired for the orphan girls' house, and a lock was installed on their door so they could remain alone in the building.⁷¹⁶ Furthermore, all activities, such as motion and garden work, were separated by gender.⁷¹⁷

The protocol shows how these instances were handled through different strategies, mostly consisting of further regulations, intensified surveillance, and admonitions. It was prohibited to run on the stairs,⁷¹⁸ and it was stressed that the children had to be polite to everyone they met and show gratitude.⁷¹⁹ Surveillance was increased as a response to

⁷⁰⁶ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 18 November 1706.

⁷⁰⁷ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 9 December 1718.

⁷⁰⁸ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 13 January 1706.

⁷⁰⁹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 5 February 1721.

⁷¹⁰ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 12 April 1709; Band 2: 30 April 1710.

⁷¹¹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 20 November 1715.

⁷¹² AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 19 March 1721.

⁷¹³ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 19 March 1710; 2 April 1710; 8 October 1710; 15 October 1710; 12 November 1710; 14 February 1711; 9 October 1715; 13 January 1717.

⁷¹⁴ "Die Knaben so bishero des Abends unter der Mahlzeit unten im Hause gewachtet, müssen wol ihre Wache aufheben, weil sie dieses Gelegenheit zu sündigen gebrauchen.," AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 14 February 1710.

⁷¹⁵ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 8 February 1702.

⁷¹⁶ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 8 February 1702.

⁷¹⁷ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 9 April 1721.

⁷¹⁸ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 15 September 1701.

⁷¹⁹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 18 October 1701; 3 December 1705.

disorder. There was a constant emphasis on expanding supervision in the sleeping rooms,⁷²⁰ during sawing and in the yard,⁷²¹ and on increased supervision in general.⁷²² The general disordered situation in the dining hall was handled with continuous admonitions, and printed codes of conduct were placed on the dinner tables;⁷²³ sometimes either a student of theology⁷²⁴ or even one of the inspectors was placed at tables where there was particular ungodly behaviour.⁷²⁵ Ungodly preceptors were sometimes banished from tables in the dining hall.⁷²⁶

Other methods of governance included reading from the Bible during spinning lessons,⁷²⁷ writing admonitory letters to parents,⁷²⁸ and even contemplating (though ultimately rejected by Francke) architectural modifications such as peepholes to surveil preceptors.⁷²⁹ Importantly, physical motion itself became a disciplinary tool used to combat idleness and discipline sin.⁷³⁰

Lighting of dark spaces was another strategic element in moral governance. Disorder thrived in darkness, leading to proposals that several spaces needed to be illuminated:⁷³¹ “[...] to avoid many disorders that can happen in the dark, especially so that the children who want to go to their house do not stumble or commit impurities.”⁷³² Sin often happened in the area around the lavatories, where it was uncovered that:

“The orphan boys are said to behave disgracefully in the dark on the privy after supper in the evening – beating one another, speaking obscenely, and afterwards refusing to confess anything. It is therefore considered advisable that a lantern be kept burning opposite the privy until around 10 o’clock.”⁷³³

⁷²⁰ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 8 November 1707.

⁷²¹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 1 November 1707.

⁷²² AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 31 May 1707; 12 April 1709; AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 23 February 1720; 5 February 1721.

⁷²³ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 9 March 1712.

⁷²⁴ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 31 July 1715.

⁷²⁵ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 26 May 1717.

⁷²⁶ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 23 February 1718.

⁷²⁷ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 8 November 1707.

⁷²⁸ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 2 December 1718.

⁷²⁹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 17 February 1708; 21 February 1708.

⁷³⁰ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 5 March 1708.

⁷³¹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 11 October 1709; 24 September 1710; 13 January 1717.

⁷³² “Um viele Unordnung, die in dem Dunkeln geschehen können, zu vermeiden: sonderlich auch damit die Kinder so nach ihrem Haußen gehen wollen, sich nicht stoßen oder Unreinigkeiten begehen.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 13 January 1706.

⁷³³ “Die WeysenKnaben sollen es Abends nach Tische in die Finsterniß auf dem Secret sehr schändlich treiben, einander schlagen, Zoten reden und wollen hernach nichts gestehen. Man hält daher für rathsam daß eine Lanterne gegen dem Secret bis umb 10 Uhr brennet. „ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 11 October 1709.

In other instances, the boys visited the girls by their toilets, leading to sinful conduct. Therefore, the dark areas around the toilets should be better lit in order to prevent sins being committed in the dark.⁷³⁴ The illumination of spaces was thus not only a practical measure but also a moral and a disciplinary technology – making bodies visible and thereby more governable.

The protocol thus reflects that the regulation of conduct was not primarily governed by prohibitions but rather through a complex matrix of disciplinary techniques designed to shape behaviour, enforce routine, and maintain spiritual order. It can be argued that since disorder and bad behaviour were closely linked to sin, all these governing strategies can be understood as spiritually health-promoting technologies. Light, supervision, physical activity, spatial segregation, and moral instruction were all used to guide pupils and preceptors towards order and away from disorder. Rather than forbidding actions outright, the main strategy was to structure the environment in ways that would produce the desired conduct.

The protocol illustrates a complex tableau of institutional challenges and behavioural issues within the educational context aimed at promoting Christian values and spiritual health. The entries underscore the difficulties of aligning the conduct of both preceptors and pupils with the institution's pedagogical objectives and moral ideas. Despite the intention to recruit preceptors who could embody and impart the essence of true Christianity to their pupils, many fell short, engaging in behaviours that contradicted the institution's values. On the other hand, the pupils were also not passive recipients of these influences. They, too, contributed to the disordered environment through various forms of misbehaviour, showing resistance to religious and institutional norms. This mutual reinforcement of disorder between preceptors and pupils points to a systemic issue within the institution, where regulations and the selection process for preceptors proved inadequate in cultivating the desired moral and behavioural standards.

In this context, the focus on children's physical motion and health cannot be separated from the institution's broader spiritual and pedagogical aims. The objective was not merely to produce healthy bodies for their own sake but to cultivate future Christians whose working on their own bodies reflected their inner morality and adherence to spiritual order. Although institutional records rarely deployed theological concepts like "the flesh", which played a significant role in both Francke's and Richter's normative writings, the persistent concern with disorder and sin – alongside the characterisation of certain children as "weak in the body" or as "carnal-minded"⁷³⁵ – suggests a tacit invocation of this concept. Bodily weakness, understood as a manifestation of the flesh, appears to have been a key concern of governance, as it was viewed as damaging to both spiritual and physical health.

⁷³⁴ AFSSt/W V/-/13, Band 3: 5 November 1737.

⁷³⁵ Juliane Jacobi and Thomas J. Müller-Bahlke, "Man hatte von ihm gute Hoffnung..." *Das Waisenalbum der Franckeschen Stiftungen 1695 – 1749*. Hallesche Quellenpublikationen und Repertorien, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1998), 13 Nr.75, 17 Nr. 101, 27 Nr. 157, 33 Nr.193, 35 Nr. 206, 71 Nr. 412, 84 Nr.488.

Recalling that Francke and Richter's rationality focused on staging the aim of human life as employing oneself as a tool, this specific way of describing humans did not explicitly emerge in institutional protocol or correspondences. However, notably, the idea surfaced in the *Album der Waisenknaben*, a record of orphan boys enrolled between 1695 and 1749, which included character assessments and expectations about their future utility. Several entries explicitly framed some boys as promising tools. One note, describing the orphan boy Conrad Wolfgang Schaar, who grew up at the institution and graduated in 1725, stated: "Gives us good hope of becoming a useful instrument."⁷³⁶ While not explicating the precise conditions that induced this hope, this way of framing some boys clearly echoes the theological-medical rationality of health that underpinned the institution: the correct use of the body and mind – keeping oneself healthy so one was fit for service – was central to forming godly individuals who could employ themselves as tools in the service of God.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that structured practices of bodily motion were a foundational component of governance at Die Franckeschen Anstalten from the earliest years of the institution's operations, with continuous efforts made to implement such practices. While motion at the institution did not align with sports or gymnastics, attempts to introduce ball games, as well as practices of sawing and chopping wood aimed at enhancing the physical health of the pupils, can certainly be interpreted as structured bodily education focused on teaching the children how to maintain their health through appropriate physical motion. Although the early decades provide rich documentation of the implementation of these practices, the latter part of the period has been more difficult to trace due to sparse entries in the conference protocol from the 1730s onwards. Nevertheless, continued references to motion classes, motion logs, and structured physical routines in the available records suggest that motion remained a central and institutionalised concept and practice embedded within the fabric of the institution's daily life.

These findings directly challenge the prevailing scholarly narrative that no structured bodily education existed within the institution until August Hermann Niemeyer introduced sports and gymnastics in the 1780s. Instead, it can be concluded that movement was intentionally incorporated as a regularised practice to promote both physical and spiritual health, in line with the broader educational and theological objectives of the institution.

⁷³⁶ "Machet uns gute Hoffnung, ein brauchbares Werkzeug zu werden." in Juliane Jacobi and Thomas J. Müller-Bahlke, *"Man hatte von ihm gute Hoffnung..." Das Waisenalbum der Franckeschen Stiftungen 1695 – 1749. Hallesche Quellenpublikationen und Repertorien*, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1998), 111-112 nr. 662; see also 141 no. 828 for the same framing of a child as an instrument.

The preceding analysis offers a foundation for interpreting the governance of bodily activity at the Die Franckeschen Anstalten as a key site in the emergence of an early modern biopastoral pedagogy – a mode of pedagogy that bound together the regulation of the physical organism, the formation of souls, and the cultivation of health as a godly imperative. Far from being a secular or purely medical development, the concern with physical motion in educational settings emerged directly from pastoral care of the soul, shaped by Pietist theology and a will to produce spiritually and physically disciplined Christians.

At the core of the formation of this biopedagogics was the theological understanding – particularly articulated by Francke and Richter – that the human body served as a tool in the service of God. Within this framework, health was not a neutral condition but a divine mandate: maintaining the body was essential for spiritual readiness and moral integrity. Notably, this rationale underpinned the practices among the leading group, who increasingly internalised this idea and engaged in what they termed motion, such as sawing and walking, for the sake of their own physical health, thereby normalising movement as a health-promoting practice among themselves.

What transpired in the educational setting was not merely the inclusion of dietetical knowledge in the curriculum, but the systematic framing of bodily practices as motion. Whether it involved walking, gardening, spinning, woodworking, or even reciting text aloud while moving, these activities were continuously evaluated in terms of their ability to sustain health and shield the body from the detrimental effects of student life and idleness. The conflation of motion and sin permitted institutional leaders to define acceptable bodily practices while delegitimising others – particularly games – as idle, disorderly, or morally perilous. Motion became a moral category: the proper way to move the body – through labour – was perceived as a measure of godly discipline, whereas unregulated play and games were initially problematised as detrimental to spiritual health.

The consolidation of the biopastoral pedagogical logic was further reinforced through new forms of knowledge production. Johann Julius Hecker's educational manual on student health did not merely reflect institutional practice; it codified it. By pathologising games and unregulated behaviour while elevating structured, productive labour as healthy methods of bodily movement, Hecker transformed pedagogical practices into medical truths. This fusion of pedagogy and medicine not only legitimised existing routines but also reinforced a particular vision of health promoting motion as part of a broader disciplinary project.

Moreover, this biopastoral pedagogy was reinforced by implementing habitual routines, and the pupils were trained to embody health promoting behaviours by participating in such activities for three hours each day. Institutional decisions, ostensibly driven by economic logic, were justified through the language of motion and illustrate how economic, spiritual, and psychological rationalities intersected seamlessly, while prioritising the framing of activities as motion.

In conclusion, the emergence of biopastoral pedagogical governance at Die Franckeschen Anstalten should be regarded as an integrated project aimed at both the physical organism and the soul of the pupils. This project did not replace theological education but rather extended it into the body's organism – through routines, practices, and discourses that

defined what it meant to move in a healthy and godly manner. The emergence of biopastoral pedagogics represents a historically significant convergence of early biopower and pastoral power. Through institutionalised routines, internalised norms, and systematic knowledge production, Halle Pietism prefigured later forms of biopolitical regulation by grounding bodily movement in a theological and educational setting. Thus, Halle's educational innovations marked a critical transformation in truth-making practices by establishing medically informed motion practices as an essential objective within children's education.

Chapter 7: Fostering a Clean and Health-promoting Environment

Introduction

In 1701, the preceptor Polycarb Jordan wrote a letter directly to Francke, expressing his frustrations with the washing and provision of the orphan children's clothes. He wrote:

“My dearest professor, it is impossible to describe all the troubles and burdens currently associated with the laundry [...] I am always promised that things will improve, but a whole year has passed, and I see little improvement. In my presence, people say: I will provide this or that, but afterwards, nothing happens.”⁷³⁷

In the letter, Jordan described a severe shortage of linen clothing, bed linen, and essential garments for the Orphanage children, despite his repeated requests over the past year. According to Jordan, many children lacked sufficient shirts, collars, and bedding, leading to the unpleasant situation where children were forced to wear damp laundry or sleep without proper blankets. The laundry system was disorganised, creating additional burdens for the laundresses, and when items went missing or were misplaced, the blame was often unfairly placed on the children.⁷³⁸

Jordan's account illuminates more than just the logistical challenges of maintaining efficiency in the institution's daily operations. It also points to deeper structural dynamics that shaped the institution's care practices – dynamics that run as red threads through this chapter. One such dynamic is the authoritative role of medical leaders, whose power extended not only over the institutional routines but also over the allocation of resources and even the professional careers of the children themselves. The children were subject to systems of control that aimed to instil discipline, cleanliness, and religious virtue, yet these systems often entailed unequal treatment, reflecting and reinforcing class differences

⁷³⁷ „Mein Herzgeliebtester Hr. Professor. Es ist nicht möglich alle Verdrüsslichkeiten und Beschwörungen zu beschreiben, die itzo bey der Wäsche sind [...] Man verspricht mir zwar immer, es soll alles geworden, aber es hat schon ein Jahr gewähret, und ich sehe noch wenig Beßerung. Vor meinem Angesicht spricht man wohl: ich will dies und jenes hingeben, aber hernach thun doch nicht.“ AFS_t/W VIII/IX/1: 8

⁷³⁸ AFS_t/W VIII/IX/1: 8

between the children – in the case of Jordan, he expressed explicit concern for the Orphanage children's access to clean, warm, and dry clothes.

Moreover, the question of how the leadership, staff, and children internalised – or resisted – these disciplinary and hygienic regimes is an important thread that recurs throughout the analysis. While the sources offer limited insight into the children's own voices, points of tension, such as the blame placed on children for missing laundry or the general problems with the laundry as described by Jordan, suggest moments of friction where institutional authority was not simply passively accepted but could also provoke frustration, resentment, or subtle forms of resistance.

At the same time, it is clear that cleanliness, washing, and environmental regulation were central to the institution's daily life and were woven into its pedagogical and spiritual mission from the early years. The institution was characterised by facilities that could be considered health-promoting when viewed through a modern lens. Although the terminology differs, the sources describe practices that we might today label as sanitary and hygienic: a water supply system bringing in fresh spring water via a five-kilometre wooden water pipe, the weekly changing of children's clothing and linens, facilities for laundering clothes and maintaining personal hygiene (such as bathing and brushing teeth), several hospitals for treating the ill, the establishment of extensive privy facilities across the location, and specialised production of beer, food, and medical drugs.⁷³⁹ These aspects have been staged as hallmarks of Halle Pietism's progressive and forward-looking approach, allegedly uninfluenced by theological considerations.⁷⁴⁰

This perspective often relies on a methodological separation of these practices from their religious and theological context. By framing hygienic and sanitary measures primarily through the lens of medical progression and secularisation, previous scholarship has often interpreted practices such as washing, tooth brushing, and physical health care in the institution through the normative values and knowledge systems of present-day biomedicine. These practices have been presented as neutral, natural, and unavoidable extensions of bodily health care. Their implementation is frequently understood as a

⁷³⁹ Thomas Grunewald, "Die Wasserversorgung der Glaucheschen Anstalten" in *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021), 124-144; Josef N. Neumann, „Die „physische Erziehung des Kindes“ Medizin unter dem Paradigma der Erziehung in Pietismus und Aufklärung“ in *Das Kind in Pietismus und Aufklärung* eds. Josef N. Neumann, Josef N. and Udo Sträter, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000). Thomas Müller-Bahlke (ed.) *Tief verwurzelt – hoch hinaus! Strong roots – inspiring vision. Die Baukunst der Franckeschen Stiftungen als Sozial- und Bildungsarchitektur des protestantischen Barock. / The Francke Foundations as Social and Educational Architecture in the Protestant Baroque*. (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen 2015); Hans-Theodor Piechocki, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Gesundheitswesens der Stadt Halle und der Medizinischen Fakultät der Universität Halle" *Acta Historica Leopoldina* 2, 1965, Leipzig.

⁷⁴⁰ Josef N. Neumann, „Die „physische Erziehung des Kindes“ Medizin unter dem Paradigma der Erziehung in Pietismus und Aufklärung“ in *Das Kind in Pietismus und Aufklärung* eds. Josef N. Neumann and Udo Sträter, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000); Thomas Müller-Bahlke, "August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhause zu Halle 1702", *Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen*, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), 1-2.

practical response to the evident neglect and poor health conditions among impoverished children in Glaucha rather than having an explicit religious aim of educating pious Christians.⁷⁴¹ From this perspective, Die Franckeschen Anstalten emerges as a site of proto-modern hygienic development, chiefly motivated by practical concerns for the pupils' well-being rather than by any theological or pastoral imperatives. Such an approach risks anachronistically projecting present day medical categories onto the past while overlooking the broader cultural and historical frameworks that shaped the historical understanding and practice of health, cleanliness, and environmental regulation. In particular, it has tended to neglect historical trends in cleanliness, as well as religious discourses on purity, sin, and the body, which were integral to the Pietist medical reasoning.

The institution's food and dietary practices have similarly been interpreted through this lens. Historian Thomas Müller-Bahlke, in his introduction to the transcribed edition of August Hermann Francke's eating regulation (*Speiseordnung*) from 1702, presents Francke as remarkably forward-thinking, particularly regarding ideas that align with our contemporary understanding of health and nutrition; for instance, salt was framed as unhealthy in the eating regulation. Furthermore, the differentiation of meal plans for children and for adults is described as distinctly modern.⁷⁴² Müller-Bahlke does not address why such differentiation is to be considered particularly modern, and as the eating regulations themselves do not provide a rationale for this distinction, further contextualisation is required to explain this practice. However, Müller-Bahlke does not perceive the provision of meals for students and orphaned children as pure acts of charity but as integrated aspects of their education and upbringing. Referring to behavioural rules for the dining hall, Müller-Bahlke contends that the fact that children were taught table manners reflected Francke's recognition of the importance of proper etiquette for social mobility and future career success.⁷⁴³ While this interpretation situated dining within the educational framework promoting moral conduct, it also emphasised the institution's supposedly progressive nature, despite the period's limited focus on social mobility and scientific understanding of hygiene, nutrition, and food safety, painting a somewhat idealised picture of the dining hall environment.

In contrast to this, to some extent, presentist framing, Thomas Grunewald has proposed an alternative interpretation, linking the institution's extensive sanitary and food production facilities to the Pietist conception of body-soul medicine. Grunewald argues that Die Franckeschen Anstalten should be understood as a *hygienisch-medizinische Gesamttopographie* – a comprehensive hygienic-medical topography – an infrastructure

⁷⁴¹ Josef N. Neumann, „Die „physische Erziehung des Kindes“ Medizin unter dem Paradigma der Erziehung in Pietismus und Aufklärung“ in *Das Kind in Pietismus und Aufklärung* ed. Josef N. Neumann, Josef N. and Udo Sträter, (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000) 208-209.

⁷⁴² Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaus zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), 1-4.

⁷⁴³ Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaus zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), p. 2-3.

designed to support the Pietist medical approach to the body-soul relationship.⁷⁴⁴ Yet, the precise meaning of Pietist body-soul infrastructure remains somewhat ambiguous. Grunewald focuses on the aspects of Richter's dietetics concerning the regulation and cultivation of affections, thus not including all the aspects of Richter's dietetics when interpreting the locations at Die Franckeschen Anstalten. Rightfully, Grunewald contends that the numerous sermons and prayer sessions were intended to shape the pupils' emotional dispositions in a manner conducive to spiritual health.⁷⁴⁵ Yet the potential link between Richter's construction of physical health – as the capacity to serve as a sufficient instrument for divine purposes – and the sanitary and hygienic practices at the institution remains largely unexplored. This includes the dietetical concerns about moderation as the primary guide when dining, the focus on balancing bodily excretions, and the dietetical attention to regulating air and environmental conditions.

Furthermore, initiatives such as washing, cleaning, and overseeing beer and food production are still predominantly described as self-evident practices⁷⁴⁶ rather than examined in terms of the motivation for their implementation. While the practice of food control and washing of bodies and clothes may seem self-evident to the modern sensibility, which tends to be averse to bodily odours, such practices, along with perceptions of smell, are culturally constructed. Historian of hygiene Katherine Ashenburg has documented several examples from this period in which individuals boasted about their personal scent, highlighting the differences in olfactory norms over time.⁷⁴⁷ Despite the acknowledgement of washing and food preparation practices at the institution, these have primarily been presented descriptively, leaving their precise relationship to body-soul medicine underexplored. In particular, their connection to Richter's concept of sin, as well as their broader alignment with contemporary trends in washing, cleaning, purging, and medical theory, remain underexplored.

When considering broader historical trends in washing and cleaning practices during the 17th and 18th centuries, the practices implemented at the institution appear rather unusual in comparison. Western European culture has been characterised as outright dirty in these centuries.⁷⁴⁸ The period was marked by a significant shift from the widespread bathing culture of the Middle Ages towards an aversion to direct skin contact with water, ultimately

⁷⁴⁴ Thomas Grunewald, „Die Glauchische Anstalten als medizinische Gesamttopographi.“ in *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahrhundert*. ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021).

⁷⁴⁵ Thomas Grunewald, „Die Glauchische Anstalten als medizinische Gesamttopographi.“ in *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahrhundert*. ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021), 296-298

⁷⁴⁶ See for instance Holger Zaunstöck, “ „Weil nun Seel und Leibe in diesem Leben vereinigt sind“. Medizin, Hygiene und Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert – zur Einleitung.“ in, *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahrhundert*. ed. Holger Zaunstöck (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021), 13-14.

⁷⁴⁷ Katherine Ashenburg, *Clean. An Unsanitised History of Washing*. (London: Profile Books, 2009), 99.

⁷⁴⁸ Katherine Ashenburg, *Clean. An Unsanitised History of Washing*. (London: Profile Books, 2009), 99.

framed as hydrophobia by some scholars.⁷⁴⁹ Several factors contributed to this transformation, including increasing religious concerns about the moral dangers associated with naked bodies in public bathhouses⁷⁵⁰ and evolving medical theories that supported the fear of water by framing encrusted skin and clogged pores as providing a protective barrier that sealed the body off from infection. Exposure to water and warm baths was framed as inducing vapours into the head and loosening the body's nerves and ligaments. As a result, only visible parts of the body, such as the hands and face, were regularly washed, while the hair and body were cleansed through so-called dry washing with powders and perfumes, the changing of clothes, along with purifying the air by refreshing it with incense and opening windows.⁷⁵¹ Travellers reported being astonished by the extensive washing routines in the Levant, and etiquette manuals did not recommend washing the entire body before the beginning of the 19th century.⁷⁵² While there were local differences, and the German-speaking regions were known for a higher level of regular washing practices, these areas were also a part of this trend.⁷⁵³

Peter Burschel has argued that concepts and practices of cleanliness must be understood as cultural constructs, reflecting broader societal notions of order and differentiation. Cleaning up the body and space – or the lack of the same – functions as a marker of societal distinction, delineating boundaries between different groups and spaces.⁷⁵⁴ Burschel argues that when exploring cleanliness in theories or practices, one must look for the patterns behind these that order the world in symbolic ways of being clean and unclean and prescribe specific practices.⁷⁵⁵ This perspective aligns with governmentality analysis, which emphasises how rationalities structure practices and the construction of cleanliness, thus both structuring the world and shaping it by outlining specific practices that define acceptable behaviours.

Burschel further posits that the early modern period, in particular, articulated a wide range of aspects of social life through dichotomies of cleanliness and uncleanliness, with

⁷⁴⁹ Peter Burschel, *Die Erfindung der Reinheit. Eine andere Geschichte der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014) 12-13.

⁷⁵⁰ Katherine Ashenburg, *Clean. An Unsanitised History of Washing*. (London: Profile Books, 2009), 112-113.

⁷⁵¹ Katherine Ashenburg, *Clean. An Unsanitised History of Washing*. (London: Profile Book, 2009), 100-102, 200.

⁷⁵² Katherine Ashenburg, *Clean. An Unsanitised History of Washing*. (London: Profile Books, 2009), 100-105; Peter Burschel, *Die Erfindung der Reinheit. Eine andere Geschichte der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014) 13.

⁷⁵³ Peter Burschel, *Die Erfindung der Reinheit. Eine andere Geschichte der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014).

⁷⁵⁴ Peter Burschel, *Die Erfindung der Reinheit. Eine andere Geschichte der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014) 16-18.

⁷⁵⁵ Peter Burschel, *Die Erfindung der Reinheit. Eine andere Geschichte der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014) 16-18

some associations carrying explicit religious connotations.⁷⁵⁶ While the period was characterised as being filled with practices of dry washing, particularly among the nobility, and medical discourses that framed water as dangerous, the religious notions of purity and cleanliness are of interest to this study, particularly when addressing the interest in washing and cleansing at Die Franckeschen Anstalten. Drawing on Mary Douglas's *Purity and Danger* and Michel Foucault's *The History of Sexuality*, Virginia Smith has argued that religious notions of spiritual purity have historically been linked to bodily cleanliness in different ways.⁷⁵⁷ Smith traces how ideas of cleanliness transformed within early Christian thought when shifting the focus from the Greco-Roman emphasis on "looking after yourself" to the moral imperative of scrutinising the flesh and soul in search of the truth of how much sin the individual contained, framed in Christian thinking as "know thyself".⁷⁵⁸ In early Christianity, this transformation inverted views of cleanliness, prioritising inner spiritual purity over cleansing the outer body, which was framed as a worldly distraction, and its ornamentation as a sin.⁷⁵⁹

While Martin Luther reinforced the idea that the purity of the soul was a moral duty rather than a matter of physical cleanliness,⁷⁶⁰ the subsequent Protestant ascetic and Puritan movements of the 17th and 18th centuries began to designate physical cleanliness of body and spaces as a signifier of true Christianity. The Methodist leader John Wesley demanded that his followers "BE PUNCTUAL. BE REGULAR. BE CLEAN."⁷⁶¹ Virginia Schmidt demonstrates how English Puritanism effectively shaped ideas and practices of cleaning the body and spaces in 18th and 19th century England.⁷⁶² These ascetic doctrines reinforced distinctions between the faithful saints and the general, dirty populace. In the Calvinist Netherlands and Geneva, for instance, streets were meticulously cleaned, and domestic manuals prominently featured images of brooms and mops as symbols of moral order.⁷⁶³

⁷⁵⁶ Peter Burschel, *Die Erfindung der Reinheit. Eine andere Geschichte der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014) 27.

⁷⁵⁷ Virginia Smith, *Clean. A history of personal hygiene and purity*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2007), 1-3.

⁷⁵⁸ See Michel Foucault, *Seksualitetens historie*, vol. 1-3, (København: Det lille Forlag, 2019).

⁷⁵⁹ Virginia Smith, *Clean. A history of personal hygiene and purity*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2007), 126-127.

⁷⁶⁰ Peter Burschel, *Die Erfindung der Reinheit. Eine andere Geschichte der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014) 27.

⁷⁶¹ Cited in Virginia Smith, *Clean. A history of personal hygiene and purity*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2007), 1.

⁷⁶² Virginia Smith, *Clean. A history of personal hygiene and purity*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2007), 3.

⁷⁶³ Simon Schama, *The embarrassment of Riches: An interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Fontana, 1991), 375-400; Hannah Wooley, *The Accomplish'd Laides Delight, in Preserving, Physick, Beautifying and Cookery* (London, 1675); Caroline Davidson, *A Woman's Work is Never Done: A History of Housework in the British Isles 1650-1950*. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1986), 115-20.

This ascetic discipline also extended to austere dress codes and an emphasis on personal neatness and cleanliness, reflecting broader religious ideals regarding purity and order.⁷⁶⁴

Taken together, these historical perspectives challenge the portrayal of Die Franckeschen Anstalten as a progressive, modern-thinking sanitary and hygienic institution. Instead, they suggest that its emphasis on bodily care and cleanliness should be understood within the specific Pietist religious and dietetical rationalities of health and simultaneously embedded in the broader cultural ideas of cleanliness of the time, in which cleanliness appeared not only as a matter of health but also as means of moral and societal differentiation.

This chapter explores how the environment at Die Franckeschen Anstalten was governed in a way that promoted physical health as a prerequisite for spiritual health. Furthermore, it focuses on the implementation of dietetical practices and measures, including laxation, purging, healthy eating, fresh air, and bodily purity through washing and cleaning. I focus on the intersections of cleanliness, bodily purification, and moral discipline in the writings of Richter and Francke, as well as their applications in the institutional practices of bathing, laxation, and environmental sanitation at Die Franckeschen Anstalten. Building on Grunewald's statement that the institution cultivated a health-orientated topography to govern sin, this section examines how cleansing the body, food, and environment was linked with pursuing spiritual purity.

The chapter is furthermore structured around the dynamics of internalisation and resistance, exploring the physicians' power and extended role within educational settings, as well as the class differences that emerged in these contexts.

The first section attends to cleansing the internal body through practices such as laxation, bloodletting, and purging. The chapter then turns towards healthy eating, a practice that – in a somewhat unexpected way – was also shaped by notions of washing and cleansing. Next, the chapter explores how recurrent disease outbreaks shaped institutional practices to promote clean air, bodily washing, and smoothening the humours through therapeutic exercise. In relation to this, the following section argues that the religious subtext of physical health as a divine imperative underpinned these practices. Finally, the chapter examines how concepts of physical health shaped educational selection mechanisms.

Purging the body

A directive from the conference protocol dated 9 June 1719, instructed the collective coordination of laxation among the pupils, stating:

⁷⁶⁴ Virginia Smith, *Clean. A history of personal hygiene and purity*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2007), 207.

“It is convenient that the students undertake laxation together at a specific time during the school week in spring, likewise that they purge on a day when food is served at the table that is suitable for laxation.”⁷⁶⁵

Bloodletting and laxatives as preventive and therapeutic interventions were well-established medical practices in the 18th century, rooted in the humoral theory. This framework of bodily governance held that maintaining health necessitated the expulsion of surplus fluids – blood, faeces, pus, and other bodily excretions – through carefully regimented interventions.

While some scholars have argued that Pietist physicians were generally sceptical of purgation treatments such as bloodletting and laxation because they thought that such intervention harmed the natural movement of fluids in the body,⁷⁶⁶ this instruction reflects an institutionalised approach to purging practices that was systematised, where students underwent laxation collectively at predetermined times. The institution physician Christian Friedrich Richter generally regarded bloodletting, laxatives, and induced sweating as crucial cleansing measures in cases of bodily congestion, particularly constipation.⁷⁶⁷ His dietetical writings established these measures as curative and health-promoting practices, required to purge harmful accumulations and regulate bodily equilibrium, thus reinforcing the notion that health was actively produced through regular corporeal interventions that cleansed the body.

The instruction in the conference protocol displays several aspects aligned with dietetical-inspired attempts within the institution to create health promoting structures for cleansing the body. First, the directive’s emphasis on collective and regularly scheduled laxation in the spring suggests that these purging practices were conceived as preventive interventions aimed at preserving health and pre-empting imbalances in bodily humours. This approach was reflected in Richter’s dietetical guides, where he described how the humoral balance was subject to the influence of the shifting seasons, and that the body actively sought to accumulate and expel substances, especially during seasonal shifts, often needing assistance in the form of purging techniques, which would ensure less disease the forthcoming season:

“§26. If such preparatory purging has taken place in autumn and nature has achieved its intended purpose through these extraordinary excretions, then a person, provided no other dangerous circumstances arise, will generally remain in good health

⁷⁶⁵ „Es ist bequem, daß die Schüler in der Schulwohnung im Frühjahr Laxation auf eine gewisse Zeit mit einander vornehmen, item daß sie purgiren auf einen Tag da etwas gespeiset wird am Tische, das sich zum laxiren schickt.“ AFS/W V/-/13, Band 2: 9 June, 1719.

⁷⁶⁶ Christa Habrich *Untersuchungen zur pietistischen Medizin und ihrer Ausprägung bei Johann Samuel Carl (1677 – 1757) und seinem Kreis*. (Habilitationsschrift: Deutsches Museum, 1981), 244; Richard Toellner, „Die Geburt einer sanften Medizin. Die Begegnung von Pietismus und Medizin in den Franckeschen Stiftungen.“ in *Die Geburt einer sanften Medizin: Die Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle als Begegnungsstätte von Medizin und Pietismus im frühen 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Richard Toellner, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2004).

⁷⁶⁷ Richter, 1705, 119, 120; Richter, 1715: 487: §7, § 35, §38-39, §47-49.

throughout the winter, however, in spring, once the cold has passed and the humours must again be driven outward, the body undergoes another purification process, much like in autumn. This serves as an examination of what harmful accumulations may have developed in the body and its humours during the winter. Particularly since, throughout the cold months, the humours have not moved as freely.”⁷⁶⁸

Thus, the periods of seasonal change posed risks to bodily equilibrium, and Richter described how the spring and autumn were characterised by more disease than the summer and winter time.⁷⁶⁹ To prevent this, Richter recommended preventive laxation and bloodletting at these transitional times of the year.⁷⁷⁰ Thus, by aligning purging with seasonal change, the institution sought to proactively cleanse pupils’ bodies, ensuring that no individual harboured excess humour that could later manifest as disease.

The second key feature of this directive is the explicit link between food and purging, as it specifies that laxation should coincide with meals designed to facilitate this process. While I have not found this practice repeatedly in the sources, the directive’s emphasis suggests an effort to coordinate food and purgation as complementary techniques for bodily cleansing. This indicates a broader institutional strategy of integrating dietary and medical practices into the framework of educational discipline and preventive health care. This prophylactic approach to health management – focused on regulating the humoral balance of the physical organism – reveals methods that can be interpreted as biopedagogical strategies targeting the pupils’ physical functions as part of the educational project.

The conference protocol is not rich in comments on purgation, but the issue emerged as a recurring theme in institutional records during the years when an outbreak of scabies peaked around the 1720s. Whether a direct proactive correlation existed between these purgative practices and the prevention of scabies remains uncertain; however, diaries, letters, and the protocols indicate that purging treatments were employed among the institution’s leaders and pupils.

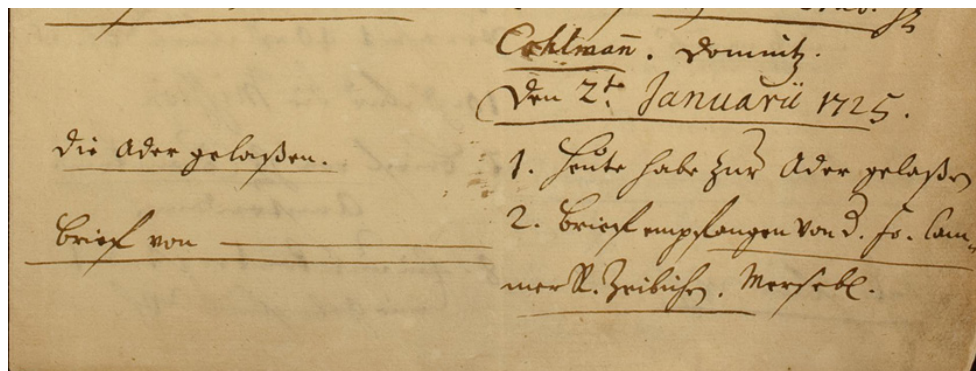
⁷⁶⁸ Wenn nun solche Vorbereitung im Herbste vorgegangen, und die Natur mit diesen ausserordentlichen Excretionibus ihren Endzweck erhalten, so bringet der Mensch her nach, wenn sich nicht sonst was anders gefährliches begiebt, den Winter ziemlich gesund hin im Frühling aber, wenn die Kälte vorbey ist, und die Humores wieder auswärts getrieben werden sollen, so geschieht abermal, wie im Herbste, eine Ausreinigung des Leibes, und eine Untersuchung, was sich etwan inzwischen von der Kälte, sonderlich da die Humores Den Winter über nicht eine solche willige Bewegung gehabt, schädliches im Leibe und dessen Humoribus entsponnen, bey welcher Gelegenheit obgemeldte Motus und Excretiones wieder zum Vorschein kommen“ Richter, 1715, 371-372: § 26.

⁷⁶⁹ Richter 1715, 618.

⁷⁷⁰ Richter 1715, 874-87: §13.

Laxation and bloodletting among the leading group

August Hermann Francke's diary exposes the extent to which he had internalised these medical truths, systematically incorporating bloodletting and laxation into his personal regimen. For years, he adhered to a structured schedule of purgation, performing the procedures regularly in spring and autumn as part of a health preserving strategy.⁷⁷¹ The documentation of these activities in his diary aligns with how he recorded his exercise routines.



AFSt/H A 179: 1, Die Ader gelaßen 1. Heute habe zur Ader gelaßen.⁷⁷²

This meticulous documentation of these treatments extended beyond Francke's own experience to include notes on his colleagues' and associates' bloodlettings. For instance, in 1717, while travelling, he recorded how his travelling companions – the inspector of buildings Georg Heinrich Neubauer and a former student at the Latin School and now friend Johann Ulrich Christian Köppen – underwent purgation:

⁷⁷¹ AFSt/H A 169 : 17a-m: 16 March 1716, 11 September 1716; AFSt/H A 170 : 1: 8 March 1717, 30 November 1717; AFSt/H A 171 : 1: 27 March 1718; AFSt/H A 172 : 1: 17 September, 22 September 1718; AFSt/H A 173 : 1: 7 March 1719, 2 October 1719; AFSt/H A 174 : 1: 5 March 1720, 19 September 1720; AFSt/H A 175 : 1: 17 March, 18 March 1721, 16 September 1721; AFSt/H A 176 : 1: 14 March 1722, 1 October 1722; AFSt/H A 177 : 1: 1 April 1723; AFSt/H A 178: 15 March 1724, 20 September 1724; AFSt/H A 179 : 1: 2 January 1725, 2 May 1725, 3 September 1725, 22 December 1725; AFSt/H A 180 : 1: 29 April 1726.

⁷⁷² „Bloodletting. Today I performed bloodletting. “AFSt/H A 179: 1: 2 January 1725.

“Mr Neubauer and Köppen have, due to previously experienced fullness of blood and the resulting discomforts here, been bled; which also, with God’s blessing, passed without harm.”⁷⁷³

Such entries suggest that bloodletting was not merely an individual medical treatment but also a shared practice within elite scholarly and Pietist circles.

Thus, beyond its physiological rationale, bloodletting appeared to have functioned as a socially significant event, often carried out in the company of colleagues and friends. Several diary entries indicate that it was a communal experience among the leading figures of Francke’s circle. In one account, he noted:

“In the afternoon, I went to the Weinberg, with Past. Freylinghausen, his wife, Miss Schwartzin, and Gottliebchen. There, Pastor Majer, my son, his wife, and Mr Tecklenburg also arrived – almost all of whom had undergone bloodletting today.”⁷⁷⁴

Another entry recorded a collective bloodletting involving Count Henckel, Francke himself, and Neubauer.⁷⁷⁵

These collective bloodletting events took place in the spring or autumn, structured by a seasonal rhythm that aligned with Richter’s instructions. If Francke underwent bloodletting outside these predetermined times, it was almost always recorded as a direct response to illness. In contrast, the spring and autumn bloodletting events were recorded without additional justification, reinforcing the practice as a health-maintaining measure and a structured routine within the leadership circle.

Bloodletting was often preceded by preparatory measures, particularly laxation, which was believed to facilitate the expulsion of impurities before the actual procedure. Francke’s diary contains multiple references to this preparatory step: “4. [...] I had a laxative today and stayed at home to prepare my body for the impending bloodletting.”⁷⁷⁶ This underscores the highly structured approach to bodily governance among these individuals, in which purgative practices were not merely reactive treatments but routine exercises in corporeal regulation and purification.

While bloodletting was understood as a physiological necessity, it also functioned as an opportunity for intellectual and social interaction among friends and colleagues. A striking example of how this practice both functioned as a situation for examining the physical

⁷⁷³ “3. Herr Neubauer und Köppen haben wegen bisher verspürter Vollblütigkeit und daher entstehenden Incommoditäten hieselbst zur Ader gelaßen; welches auch unter dem Segen Gottes ohne Schaden abgangen ist.”: AFS^t/H A 170 : 1: 25 October 1717.

⁷⁷⁴ „4. Nachmittag mit Herrn Past. Freylinghausen, m. Frauen, Jungfer Schwartzin u. Gottliebchen in den Weinberg gefahren. Dahin auch kamen Herr Past: Majer, mein Sohn, deßen Frau, u. Herrn Tecklenburg - die fast alle heute zur Ader gelaßen.“ AFS^t/H A 178: 1; 4 October 1724.

⁷⁷⁵ For collective practices of letting the blood see also: AFS^t/H A 171 : 1: 28 March 1718.

⁷⁷⁶ 4. Übrigens habe heute laxiret, und mich zu Hause gehalten, wegen bevorstehenden Aderlaßes den Leib zu praeparieren.“ AFS^t/H A 172 : 1 17 September 1718; see also AFS^t/H A 172 : 1: 27 March 1718; AFS^t/H A 173:1: 7 March 1719; AFS^t/H A 176: 1: 5 September 1722.

health of Francke and simultaneously extended beyond mere physical rejuvenation to serve as a moment for intellectual exchange, reflection, and remembrance is found in a diary entry from November 1717. Francke refers to himself in the third person in the text, using the title Mr Professor:

“3. Mr D. Camerarius, the younger of the brethern came at 8 o’clock to be present at the resolved bloodletting of Mr Professor. 4. After 8 o’clock, the surgeon Bauer came and successfully performed the bloodletting on Mr Professor, praise God, which was then indicated by the physician as very healthy, except from being somewhat feverish. 5. After the bloodletting had been performed, may God let it be blessed; Mr D. Camerarius stayed for over an hour and greatly pleased Mr Professor with a Christian and pleasant conversation so that Mr Professor thereby remembered the late Mr D. Richter and his company.”⁷⁷⁷

Significantly, this event also served as an occasion to remember and honour the late Richter, whose medical theories had profoundly shaped Francke’s own understanding of, for example, physical motion. The conversation with the physician, framed as both a medical and a Christian exchange, evoked these memories of Richter, pointing to Francke’s appreciation of Richter’s Pietist framing of dietetics.

It is also noteworthy that this episode took place while Francke was travelling, underscoring the importance of these practices as portable and structured routines that extended beyond the institutional context. Francke regarded the event as significant enough to recount in a letter to his wife, where he wrote:

“Yesterday, I had a bloodletting done here, which went quite well and successfully, and Mr Dr. and Professor Camerarius assisted me most faithfully in this, who is both a good doctor and a good Christian so that he took special pleasure in this.”⁷⁷⁸

Diving a little deeper into the episode, it furthermore elucidates the authority Francke gave to the physician as a Christian expert in interpreting the state of his physical organism. A

⁷⁷⁷ „3. Der Herr D. Camerarius, ex fratribus iunior, kam um 8 Uhr, bey dem resolvirten Aderlaß des Herrn Professoris gegenwärtig zu seyn. 4. Nach 8. Uhr kam der chirurgus Bauer und schlug dem Herrn Professori Gottlob, glücklich die Ader, die dann von dem Herrn Medico die consistence des Blutes gar gesund, außer etwas hitzig indiciret ward. 5. Nach geschehenem Aderlaß, welches Gott wolle lassen gesegnet seyn, blieb der Herr D. Camerarius noch über eine Stunde da und vergnügte den Herrn Prof. sehr mit einem christl. und angenehmen Gespräche, daß der Herr Prof. sich des seel. Herrn D. Richters und deßen Umgangs sich dabey erinnerte.“: AFSt/H A 170 : 1: 29 November 1717.

⁷⁷⁸ „Gestern habe ich hier die Ader gelassen, so gantz wohl u. glücklich abgangen, und hat Herr Dr. u. Prof. Camerarius mir darin aufs treulichste beygestanden, der beydes ein guter Medicus u. guter Christ ist, daß er sich hieraus eine besondere Freude gemacht. AFSt/H A 130 c : 3: 30 November 1717; see also AFSt/H A 130c:22: 11 March 1718 for a letter to his wife, in which he reports he will wait with the bloodletting until he gets home.; A letter to Francke’s friend Maria Eleonora Emilia he reports that he had not felt well in some day, and therefore led the blood: AFSt/H A 178: 20 September 1724.

central feature of this bloodletting was the physician's examination of the extracted blood, an act that exemplifies the early modern medical approach to bodily diagnosis and governance. The physician's observation that Francke's blood was "very healthy, except from being somewhat feverish" underscores how bloodletting was not merely a purging technique but also a diagnostic tool – a means through which the body's internal state was rendered legible through medical scrutiny. The diagnostic process highlights the epistemological function of bloodletting, as it allowed the physician to assess, classify, and regulate Francke's condition through empirical observation. This act of interpreting the blood transformed it from a bodily fluid into an object of medical knowledge, reinforcing the physician's authority while simultaneously producing a deeper surveillance of the body. The physician's pronouncement functioned as both a medical judgement and a regulatory measure, influencing subsequent intervention and reinforcing the prevailing medical discourse of bodily governance through bloodletting. This dynamic reveals how medical practice functioned not only as a means of bodily purification but also as a regulatory mechanism, aligning the body with contemporary medical discourses and rationalities of health governance.

Beyond its physiological and diagnostic significance, the diary entry illustrates how bloodletting was embedded within a framework of social interaction and moral virtue. The presence of Camerarius and the subsequent intellectual and theological discussion suggest that bloodletting was not conducted in isolation but in the company of learned colleagues, reinforcing a shared preventive health practice embedded in an intellectual culture where medical practice was interwoven with reflection and religious affirmation.

The significance of bloodletting as a communal experience is further illustrated by Francke's decision to report the incident to his wife, underscoring the extent to which medical interventions were integrated into the personal and social life of the Pietists. His characterisation of Camerarius as "both a good doctor and a good Christian" reveals how medical expertise and religious piety were not perceived as separate domains but as interconnected virtues. The fusion of medical and religious virtue reflects the broader epistemological order of the Pietist view on health, which tied physical health to moral and spiritual health. Bloodletting, in this sense, was not only a medical intervention but a ritual that enforced social bonds, reaffirmed theological commitments, and reinforced the authority of both physicians and religious figures.

The letters and entries in Francke's diary illustrate how dietetical health-promoting practices were interwoven with social, intellectual, and spiritual meaning. The records suggest these treatments were perceived as integral not only to physical well-being but also to the communal enactment of medical truth. The leaders underwent such procedures together, reflecting on their faith and commemorating their deceased colleagues. Far from being isolated medical occurrences, these practices were woven into the fabric of intellectual, social, and religious life, forming part of a broader disciplinary apparatus that sought to govern the bodily organism through structured interventions.

Navigating medical authority: Children's agency, resistance, and the internalisation of medical truths

While the institutional leaders sought to regulate bodily humours through regular bloodletting and laxation, thereby engaging in a structured, health-promoting governance of the physical organism, the actual implementation of such routines into the educational setting appears to have been far less systematic. Despite the introduction of a formalised schedule for laxation in 1719, institutional records suggest that the execution of these medical interventions remained inconsistent and somewhat chaotic.

Entries from 1719, 1721, 1725, and 1745 in the protocol provide insight into the administration of purging practices and the ongoing need to structure this practice in an orderly manner. By 1721, concerns emerged regarding students engaging in unauthorised purging and laxation within their rooms outside the prescribed institutional schedule. This practice exposed a loophole in the structure, as some students reportedly used purging as an excuse to secure a brief vacation from their regular duties:

“The pupils in the school residence appear to be laxating too frequently, and some choose to do so because of the holidays. [...] [*Margin note*]: Specific times should be established for this in autumn and spring.”⁷⁷⁹

This highlights the tension between institutional control and individual agency as students navigated institutional structures to their own advantage, transforming what was intended as a health-promoting practice into an opportunity for personal relief or leisure. In 1725, it was again mentioned that pupils' purging had to be better regulated,⁷⁸⁰ and in 1727, it was stated that those who needed an extraordinary laxation must perform this at the infirmary,⁷⁸¹ a directive reiterated in 1733.⁷⁸²

As late as 1745, the issue of unauthorised purging was on the agenda:

“The complaints from Mr Schulenburg regarding the orphaned children's frequent and unauthorised purging were conveyed by the Director to Mr Pastor Weise, in order to ensure that in the future the established regulation would be strictly upheld. Additionally, vigilance should be exercised to prevent the boys from advancing

⁷⁷⁹ „2. die Schüler in der Schulwohnung scheinen zu vielmal zu laxiren, und manche nur wegen der Ferien es zu erwählen: [...] Margin: Sollen gewisse Zeiten dazu im herbst u. Frühjahr gesetzet werden.“ AFSSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 8 October 1721.

⁷⁸⁰ AFSSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 31 August, 31 1725.

⁷⁸¹ AFSSt/W V/-/13, Band 3: 4-5. The first folio in the protocol begins somewhat unusually, containing a number of written pages that are undated and do not appear to be a minute from the conference. In some ways, it resembles a handwritten index. Under the first column, titled *Waysenkinder* it states that the children who requires extraordinary purging must do so in the infirmary.

⁷⁸² AFSSt/W V/-/13, Band 3: 21 December 1733.

themselves in pill-making and from using them inappropriately or at the wrong time.”⁷⁸³

These entries reflect ongoing concerns over unauthorised purging practices among the children at the institution. The complaints and constant emphasis that the practice needed to be scheduled underscores how medical governance remained an ongoing challenge despite earlier directives aimed at structuring purging practices in an orderly manner.

A key issue raised in the last entry – which had been a problem since the beginning of the institution⁷⁸⁴ – was the improper use and production of pills and the unauthorised use of medicine, suggesting that some students were actively engaging with medical substances outside prescribed institutional oversight, either experimenting with medical preparations or self-administering purgatives without medical supervision. This reflects a subversion of institutional authority, as students not only consumed medical drugs at inappropriate times but also played an active role in their production, potentially undermining the physician’s exclusive role in determining and administering medical treatment.

These entries further illustrate the biopedagogical dimension of institutional medicine, where the regulation of bodily intervention was about health maintenance and enforcing discipline, authority, and hierarchy. By ensuring that students adhered to the prescribed medical order, institutional leaders sought to curtail self-directed health practices, reinforcing that medical interventions were not to be decided by the individual but by institutional and medical authorities.

The recurring concerns over unauthorised purging and pill making raise essential questions about how the children at the institution engaged with the medical discourses and practices imposed upon them. Why did the pupils not consistently follow the rules despite the structured attempts to enforce a schedule for laxation and medical intervention? Several factors appear to be at play, reflecting a complex dynamic of resistance, adaptation, and selective internalisation of medical knowledge.

On the one hand, the reports of students using purging as an excuse for a brief holiday – escaping the strict routines and expectations of institutional life – suggest that medical practices were sometimes co-opted for personal advantage. For some pupils, the discourse of bodily regulation and the institutional emphasis on purging provided an opportunity to exploit a loophole: engaging in laxation could momentarily exempt them from other duties and obligations. This strategy is also reflected in the protocol, where several entries admonished that the staff at the infirmary should keep an eye on whether the pupils who came were genuinely ill or merely feigning illness.⁷⁸⁵ The tactical appropriation of medical

⁷⁸³ „1. von dem H. Directore die Klagens von dem Hr. Schulenburg wegen der Waysenkinder öfteren und unerlaubten purgiren, dem H. Part. Weisen zu dem Ende vergehalten, damit künftig über die eingeführte Ordnung stricte gehalten, auch invigiliret werde daß die Knaben beym Pillenmachen, keine promovierten, und Sie zur Unzeit brauchten.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 3: 21 June 1745.

⁷⁸⁴ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 1 September 1705.

⁷⁸⁵ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 18 November 1706.

routines points to a form of subtle resistance in which pupils navigated the imposed structure to carve out moments of relief within a demanding educational environment.

Yet, this behaviour should not be understood solely as an act of opportunism. The fact that pupils engaged in unauthorised purging – and even went so far as to produce pills themselves – also suggests a degree of familiarity with, and perhaps even partial internalisation of, medical concepts and practices. The protocol also exposes examples of children forging the physician's prescriptions,⁷⁸⁶ indicating that some children deliberately reinterpreted the prescribed use of medicine and followed their own ideas of what was most beneficial to their ailment. The production of pills by pupils thus also reflects an appropriation of medical knowledge and techniques, indicating that some pupils were not merely passive recipients of medical authority but actively experimented with it and, to some extent, mastered aspects of medical practice. Whether this reflects an emerging sense of self-care, a desire for autonomy, or simply a practical attempt to manage discomfort, it demonstrates that children were not simply the objects of medical governance but also, in some cases, active participants in shaping their own bodily experience.

At the same time, these practices can be seen as a subversion of institutional authority. By producing and consuming medicines outside sanctioned structures of medical governance, pupils challenged the exclusive control of physicians and institutional leaders over health practices. Their actions blurred the lines between patient and practitioner, regulated body and autonomous agent. In this sense, their behaviour illustrated the limits of medical governance: the children did not fully internalise the disciplinary rationality of health as a top-down imposition but instead engaged with it pragmatically, selectively, and sometimes playfully.

Moreover, these episodes illustrate the tension between the institutional ideal of structured, preventive care and the lived reality of institutional life. The case reveals the children's agency in navigating, reinterpreting, adapting to, and occasionally resisting the biopedagogical strategies imposed upon them. Their actions challenge an understanding of medical governance as a one-directional imposition of discipline, instead revealing a more complex interplay of regulation, resistance, and negotiation in the everyday life of the institution. The continued need for oversight and corrective measures illustrates that institutional health regulations were not always seamlessly enforced but were sites of negotiation, resistance, and adaptation within the school's daily life.

⁷⁸⁶ AFSSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 9 December 1718.

Healthy eating – a matter of moderation or steering clear of spoiled food?

It is essential to recognise that conceptions of healthy eating in the rationalities of August Hermann Francke and Christian Friedrich Richter differed significantly from those of the present, which link elements like vitamins, minerals, proteins, carbohydrates, and different kinds of fat, etc. to health. Unlike some modern perspectives, which categorise certain foods as beneficial or detrimental, their approach did not concern itself with the nutritional composition of food but rather with the manner in which it was consumed.

Within the health rationalities of both Richter and Francke, the primary guidance on healthy eating and drinking was centred on the principle of moderation. From the perspective of spiritual health, Francke consistently reminded his audience that the Kingdom of God was not defined by eating and drinking, emphasising that all consumption should be conducted with temperance in a way that honoured God. Richter echoed this sentiment, reinforcing that proper eating habits were primarily a matter of discipline and self-restraint. He did not classify specific foods as inherently healthier than others; instead, Francke and Richter framed healthy eating as the regulated and moderate intake of food, ensuring that the body's equilibrium was not disrupted, nor the soul burdened by excess.

Given the centrality of moderation and temperance in the health rationalities of Richter and Francke, one might reasonably expect these concepts to be prominently reflected in eating practices in the institutional context. However, explicit references to moderation or the invocation of honouring God through temperate eating are notably scarce in institutional sources concerning food and drink.

The only explicit reference to honouring God through eating appears in the eating regulation dated 13 June 1702, in which Francke stated that the quality of food must be such that it can be: "[...] enjoyed by everyone, without disgust, with pleasure, to the praise of God."⁷⁸⁷ While this statement acknowledged that food consumption should be an act of praise, its primary concern lay in ensuring that food did not provoke disgust, as such a reaction would render the act of praising God through eating impossible.

This emphasis on avoiding disgust reveals an essential and perhaps unexpected dimension of healthy eating within institution. While some scholars have commended Francke for his focus on what he termed healthy food, the specific meanings and implications of healthy in this context merit closer examination. The fact that neither Francke nor Richter framed any food as inherently healthy or unhealthy but conceptualised health as a matter of moderation makes it striking that this moderation-based imperative does not feature in the eating regulation concerning health. The focus on healthy food thus

⁷⁸⁷ „[...] damit sie von iederman, ohne Eckel, mit Wohlgefallen zu Gottes Lobe, genoßen werden können.“ Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaus zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011).

raises an important question: how did Francke conceptualise healthy food in the regulation and why did he conclude with the statement that food should not provoke disgust?

The regulation comprised 31 instructional sections, in which Francke provided detailed guidelines on the types of food to be served, methods of preparation, the condition of ingredients, and, significantly, how meals should contribute to the physical health of students and pupils. Notably, nearly half of these sections – 15 out of 31 – specifically emphasised the necessity of fresh, clean, and well-prepared food. Francke repeatedly stressed the importance of the quality of meat, specifying that it should not consist only of skin and bone⁷⁸⁸ and that it must be free from any unpleasant taste or smell.⁷⁸⁹ Furthermore, he mandated that all dishes, including meat and vegetables, be properly prepared and palatable.⁷⁹⁰

Proper cleansing of food was also a key concern. Francke insisted that meat be cleaned before cooking,⁷⁹¹ salads not only sliced but also splashed with water,⁷⁹² and cabbage carefully washed.⁷⁹³ Similarly, he required that cooking utensils and tableware be thoroughly cleaned,⁷⁹⁴ stones be removed from millet before making porridge, and that leftovers be stored appropriately. He explicitly forbade mixing older or spoiled leftovers with fresh food and serving these to the orphaned children as meals.⁷⁹⁵

Additionally, Francke paid close attention to the proper preparation of staple foods. He instructed that bread should be baked thoroughly, as half-baked bread would impart an unappetising taste of raw dough.⁷⁹⁶ Flour-based soups were to be free of lumps,⁷⁹⁷ and porridge had to be of the correct consistency – neither overly thick nor too thin.⁷⁹⁸ To

⁷⁸⁸ Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaufe zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), §2.

⁷⁸⁹ Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaufe zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), § 6, 21.

⁷⁹⁰ Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaufe zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), §8.

⁷⁹¹ Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaufe zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), §14.

⁷⁹² Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaufe zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), §23.

⁷⁹³ Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaufe zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), §18.

⁷⁹⁴ Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaufe zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), §24.

⁷⁹⁵ Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaufe zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), §26.

⁷⁹⁶ Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaufe zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), §17.

⁷⁹⁷ Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaufe zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), §15.

⁷⁹⁸ Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaufe zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), §19.

prevent bread from drying out, the baker was required to bake once a week.⁷⁹⁹ Further, it was stressed that all individuals, particularly children and staff engaged in physically demanding labour, received sufficient bread, porridge, or barley to satisfy their hunger.⁸⁰⁰

The rules around eating have been viewed as indicative of a highly controlled, orderly, and health-conscious institutional environment.⁸⁰¹ This perspective has led to the assumption that the food and beverages provided within the institution were consistently controlled, of high quality, and conducive to good health.⁸⁰² However, the specific focus on unclean and repugnant food in the regulation from 1702 is conspicuous, and it raises questions about what the eating regulations were a reflection of: a very ordered or a very disordered food practice.

To provide a more nuanced perspective, the following analysis will go beyond the regulations themselves, incorporating entries in the conference protocol, as well as notes and correspondence from preceptors, physicians, and inspectors. By situating the eating regulation within this broader context of sources, the following analysis will critically assess whether the institution's dietary practices aligned with the idealised vision suggested by earlier interpretations.

Unclean food, spoiled beer, and outbreaks of acute diseases

In the months leading up to the formulation and publication of the eating regulation of 13 June 1702, numerous complaints were raised regarding the quality of food served to the orphaned children and the kitchen staff's response to these concerns.⁸⁰³ Under the heading "Regarding the children's food, it has been noted"⁸⁰⁴ an unidentified author presented August Hermann Francke with an 11-point list of grievances detailing various shortcomings in meal preparation and distribution.

The complaints emphasised several issues: the soup, peas, and porridge were often prepared without fat, and vegetables were frequently served raw and unseasoned, making

⁷⁹⁹Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhause zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), §29.

⁸⁰⁰Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhause zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), §28, §14.

⁸⁰¹Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhause zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), 4-5.

⁸⁰²Thomas Grunewald, „Die Glauchische Anstalten als medizinische Gesamttopographi.“ in *Heilen an Leib und Seele. Medizin und Hygiene im 18. Jahrhundert*. ed. Holger Zaunstöck, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2021), 299 – 300; Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhause zu Halle 1702*, Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011), 4-5.

⁸⁰³AFSt/W XX/III/3:13

⁸⁰⁴„Wegen des Eßens der Kinder ist angemercket worden.“ AFSt/W XX/III/3:13.

these dishes unpleasant.⁸⁰⁵ Additionally: “2. That the soup has occasionally turned sour from being left overnight [...]”⁸⁰⁶ yet it was still served to the orphan children. Further concerns were raised about the quality of baked pears, which were described as burned and inedible.⁸⁰⁷ The children were supposed to receive additional butter, but this was often forgotten, as was their allotted meat portion. Instead of receiving meat, they were frequently served porridge or baked pears, particularly when preceptors were given meat.⁸⁰⁸

Another major issue was the hardness of the bread, which was so dry that the children refused to eat it, yet the bread appeared again the next morning: “9. The bread is often so hard that the children left a significant amount at the table, which was used for breakfast the following day.”⁸⁰⁹ When these deficiencies were brought to the attention of the kitchen staff, their response was dismissive, simply stating that this was the standard practice and that preceptors were treated in the same manner.⁸¹⁰

While no direct response from Francke to the initial complaints has been preserved in the archives, institutional records indicate that Christian Sigismund Richter – institutional physician alongside his brother Christian Friedrich Richter – actively intervened in the matter. On 6 May 1702 – approximately a month before the publication of the eating regulation – Richter reiterated the concerns about the children’s meals in a letter addressed to August Hermann Francke.⁸¹¹

In his letter, Richter urged Francke to take action, emphasising the same issues outlined in the earlier complaints: no fat was added to the soup, porridge, or peas, and butter was not provided, making the food disgusting. Additionally, Richter highlighted the problem of old and hard bread, which made it difficult for the children to consume their meals. At the bottom of Richter’s letter, Francke annotated his willingness to allocate slightly higher expenditures to address these problems and instructed that the *oconomus* be informed.⁸¹²

Richter’s intervention underscores the physician’s authority in matters of dietary regulation within the institution. Significantly, the eating regulation published a month after Richter’s letter strongly reflects the concerns addressed both in the anonymous memorial and Richter’s complaints, indicating that the physician’s intervention may have played a decisive role in shaping the institution’s dietary policies.

Francke’s detailed descriptions – particularly the rejection of foul leftovers, spoiled ingredients, and improperly prepared dishes – thus suggest a concern that extended beyond mere preferences of taste. The focus on cleanliness and freshness likely reflected an

⁸⁰⁵ AFSt/W XX/III/3:13, item 4.

⁸⁰⁶ „2. daß die Suppen zuweilen vom über Nacht stehen saur gewesen,[...]“ AFSt/W XX/III/3:13.

⁸⁰⁷ AFSt/W XX/III/3:13, item 6.

⁸⁰⁸ AFSt/W XX/III/3:13, item 8.

⁸⁰⁹ „9. daß Brodt ist oft den so hart, daß die Kinder daher beym Tisch so viel haben liegen lassen, als des folgenden Tages zum Früh- Stück ist gebraucht worden.“ AFSt/W XX/III/3:13, item 9.

⁸¹⁰ AFSt/W XX/III/3:13.

⁸¹¹ AFSt/W XX/III/3:7.

⁸¹² AFSt/W XX/III/3:7.

awareness of the health risks posed by consuming foul or spoiled food, including the threat of acute illnesses, such as food poisoning or intestinal distress. Moreover, in the collective dining setting where meals were the orphan children's only source of sustenance, the quality of food directly impacted the children's ability to eat enough: if food was unpalatable or spoiled it could result in hunger or a breakdown of the collective order at the table and in the classrooms afterwards. Thus, the eating regulation's insistence on clean and fresh food can be understood as a practical measure to protect the children's bodily health by preventing acute illness and the leadership's insistence on properly prepared meals for all individuals under its care, including orphaned children. This underscores a deliberate effort to maintain a high standard of dietary provision.

However, the practical implementation of these standards proved challenging, and the production of such regulations did not in itself resolve persistent problems. The continued difficulties in maintaining food quality are evident in a steady stream of complaints recorded in institutional protocols, indicating that food-related issues remained a recurrent concern. In the years following the 1702 regulation, complaints came from children, students, and preceptors, suggesting widespread dissatisfaction with the meals. Issues such as poorly cooked meat,⁸¹³ the children not receiving their meat portions,⁸¹⁴ unbaked bread,⁸¹⁵ and missing servings⁸¹⁶ were frequently reported.

Such food-related concerns persisted well into the following decades, as evidenced by an addendum to the eating regulation issued in 1722.⁸¹⁷ With direct reference to the paragraphs in the eating regulation of 1702, it outlined ongoing failures, such as pork never being served,⁸¹⁸ the flour not being properly browned before use,⁸¹⁹ and water being mixed into the milk used for porridge. Too many loaves of bread were baked at once, leading to a sticky residue that had to be removed after baking.⁸²⁰ Further, it was stated that there were many complaints about the kitchen, mainly about mashed vegetables of inferior quality, as excessive water was added, resulting in an unpleasant taste.⁸²¹ Such recurrent criticism underscores the practical challenges of feeding a large group, leading to neglect of certain groups, e.g., the orphan children, and that standards of cleanliness were not met in the everyday practices. These ongoing complaints reveal that systematic failures in food preparation persisted despite official regulations, reinforcing the need for continuous oversight and intervention.

⁸¹³ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 1 February 1706.

⁸¹⁴ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 18 June 1708.

⁸¹⁵ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 30 August 1709; 19 May 1719.

⁸¹⁶ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 22 April 1711.

⁸¹⁷ AFSt/W XX/III/3: 12.

⁸¹⁸ AFSt/W XX/III/3: 12, §14.

⁸¹⁹ AFSt/W XX/III/3: 12, §15.

⁸²⁰ AFSt/W XX/III/3: 12, §29.

⁸²¹ AFSt/W XX/III/3: 12.

Notably, institutional physicians – as with Richter’s intervention in 1702 – frequently intervened when the quality of the food and beer was poor. From 1706 to 1741, the institution struggled with poorly brewed beer, negatively influencing pupils and employees. Two illustrative entries from the conference protocol of 1706 and 1709 provide insight into the ongoing challenges posed by poorly prepared beverages that directly influenced the physical health of the drinkers. The first entry states: “Due to the complaints that have arisen regarding the beer, an investigation shall be conducted to ensure that those who consume it do not suffer any harm to their bodies.”⁸²² This indicates concerns about the health effects of consuming the institution’s beer, suggesting that it may have caused acute illness among its drinkers. However, the issue remained unresolved three years later, as reflected in the 1709 entry: “There have been complaints about sour beer and under-baked bread. The brewer has been spoken to. And regarding the baking, it must be brought into better order.”⁸²³ Several times, Johann Juncker, Richter’s successor as institutional physician, engaged directly with the brewer, attempting to teach him how to brew in a way that would not endanger the health of those drinking it.⁸²⁴ This medical authority over food quality was reinforced in Richter’s dietetical imperative to maintain functional digestion. In his writings, Richter noted that poorly brewed beer – mainly containing excessive yeast or having turned sour – could lead to digestive distress, including bloating and discomfort.⁸²⁵ Given their background in dietetics and preventive medicine, both Richter and Juncker took active roles in regulating food and drink within the institution, although not with the objective that it follow specific dietetical rules on how to eat with moderation, but rather to prevent unclean, old, and poorly prepared food from causing immediate health problems for those consuming it. This underscores a notable characteristic of the physician’s role and authority within the institutional context. In this way, the physicians acted beyond the role of providing medical treatment and healing to encompass broader responsibilities in dietary oversight and health maintenance.

To sum up, when the regulations are examined alongside the documented complaints and criticism from individuals within the institution, the detailed and prescriptive nature of the eating orders suggests that these regulations responded to ongoing problems rather than reflecting an ordered milieu. Furthermore, the complaints reveal the frequent occurrence of orphaned children being served substandard food. The discrepancy between the idealised standards outlined in the eating regulations and the documented dietary practices highlights a significant gap between policy and practice; however, there was a strong commitment to

⁸²² „Wegen der Klagen, so bißher über das Bier gewesen, soll eine Untersuchung geschehen: damit diejenigen, so es genießen, keinen Schaden am Leibe davon haben“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 15 July 1706.

⁸²³ „Es kommt Klage über sauer Bier und unausgebackenes Brod. Mit dem Brauer ist geredet worden. Und wegen des Backens muß es beßer in Ordnung gebracht werden.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 30 August 1709.

⁸²⁴ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 15 July 1706; AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 30 august 1709; 10 December 1721; 25 August 1724; AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 3: 27 November 1741.

⁸²⁵ Richter 1715, 428: §31.

regulating these practices. The ongoing efforts to enhance food quality, as evidenced by the specific emphasis on fresh ingredients, cleanliness, and preparation methods, indicate that the institution faced practical challenges in mass food provisioning.

Indulgence and moderation among orphan children – extra meat and extra bread

While moderation as a health-promoting strategy did not explicitly shape concerns about food in the eating regulations of 1702 and 1722 or in the conference protocol, the relationship between indulgence and moral decay did emerge in two specific instances. These cases illustrate that moderation and restraint served as subtexts within the institutional practices.

The first instance occurred in 1716 when a new food regulation introduced an additional meat meal for specific groups. The second case, in 1729, involved a conflict between the institution's physician, Johann Juncker, and the preceptors regarding the distribution of *Vesper* (evening) bread.

In 1716, an additional weekly meat meal was introduced for specific groups within the institution, and the discussion leading to this decision is well documented, offering insight into the rationale behind the change. The document, titled *Project for Improving the Table by Reducing Flatulence and Increasing Meat Meals*,⁸²⁶ ostensibly suggests a focus on dietary health, particularly reducing flatulence. This focus makes sense in several ways, particularly when considering the persistent problems with spoiled food and overly yeasted beer. Additionally, it aligns with Richter's dietetical principles, which emphasised that maintaining well-functioning digestion was the most essential means of preserving humoral balance. In his books he had identified several causes of flatulence and bloating, such as the consumption of cabbage, fruits, young beer, and juice, prolonged sitting, and inadequate hydration.⁸²⁷ Notably, Richter's approach to managing flatulence did not involve increasing meat consumption. Instead, he advocated for physical activity that engaged the abdominal region – such as horseback riding and coach driving,⁸²⁸ woodturning, sawing, and rasping⁸²⁹ – as well as dietary remedies like hot coffee and carefully moderated alcohol consumption, or the use of laxatives, purgatives, or enemas.⁸³⁰

⁸²⁶ „Project von der Verbeßerung des Tisches durch Verminderung der Flatulentorum, und Vermehrung der Fleishmahlzeiten Speyseordnung.“ AFSt/W XX/III/3: 18.

⁸²⁷ Richter 1715, 1158: §16.

⁸²⁸ In the 18th century driving in small coaches was commonly seen as physical exercise, as it shook the body and thus loosened up the humores. See also Richters recommendation that the preceptors ride a coach to motion themselves: AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 15 April 1707.

⁸²⁹ Richter 1715, 1067: §108.

⁸³⁰ Richter 1715, 977 – 778: §82; 1076: §115.

Given that Richter's dietetics emphasised well-functioning digestion as essential for maintaining humoral balance and physical health, a regulation aimed at governing these aspects of the body appears entirely reasonable. However, despite the regulation's title emphasising reducing flatulence, this aspect received little substantive attention in the actual discussion. A closer examination of the debate leading to the regulation reveals a more complex interplay of economic considerations, moral concerns, and underlying class or rank distinctions. Rather than prioritising digestive improvement, the discussion primarily revolved around budgetary constraints, resource allocation, and the potential moral and behavioural effects of dietary habits, particularly for orphaned children. This suggests that the regulation, while framed as a dietary intervention, in practice was embedded in social and institutional structures that governed hierarchy.

Despite the title's purported focus on digestion, the primary concern in the discussion was the financial implications of introducing an additional meat meal. The debate centred on budgetary calculations and how adjustments to vegetable and butter allocations could offset the cost of purchasing more meat. No direct correlation was made between reducing flatulence and increasing meat consumption – a point left entirely unaddressed in the discussion. Instead, the redistribution of food resources was discussed strictly financially, suggesting that, in this case, economic efficiency took precedence over medical reasoning. To accommodate the additional meat meal without increasing overall costs, it was decided that 1) certain vegetables and butter rations would be reduced to free up funds for meat purchases, and 2) meat portion size, in general, would be slightly decreased to allow for an additional serving across the week. Given these deliberations, it remains unclear whether the reduction of flatulence, as implied in the title, was genuinely considered a health benefit of increased meat consumption or whether this framing served as a rhetorical strategy to justify a primarily economic decision.

While discussions of flatulence and digestion were totally absent from the deliberations, a moral dimension became apparent in relation to the orphaned children. A particular anecdote was used to illustrate the potential dangers of habituating orphans to excessive meat consumption: while working with a craftsman in the city, an orphaned boy had expressed dissatisfaction because he received only one meat meal per week in his new placement, with smaller portions than he had been accustomed to at the Orphanage, where meat was served twice weekly and in larger quantities. This incident raised concerns that if orphaned children became accustomed to frequent and generous meat portions, they might develop unrealistic expectations when transitioning into apprenticeship or other placements in society. There was a fear that such an expectation could lead to resentment towards their hosts if they did not receive the exact amount of meat servings they had previously enjoyed.⁸³¹

The anecdote was embedded in a broader discussion regarding the potential consequences of increased meat consumption, with specific apprehensions that regular access to large portions of meat could foster sins like anger, a demanding or entitled attitude,

⁸³¹ AFS_t/W XX/III/3: 18.

indulgence, greed, and lack of discipline, making orphans unfit for social integration. Although these concerns – for instance, the statement that orphaned children, if habituated to consuming sizable meat portions, may face adverse consequences in the future – were not explicitly defined, they suggested an underlying belief that meat was a dangerous luxury if enjoyed by the lower classes, in this case, orphaned children. This argument reinforces that dietary restriction played a role in moral discipline and social conditioning.

On 5 December 1716, Francke approved the proposed dietary adjustment and implemented the new directive shortly after, which added a fourth meat meal, except for orphans.⁸³² This decision underscores a deliberate differentiation between social groups, in which higher-status individuals, like preceptors or pupils from the *Paedagogii Regii*, were granted greater access to meat while orphans were explicitly excluded from this dietary privilege. The analysis of the eating regulation from 1716 nuances existing statements in research that Francke sought to teach orphans proper table manners to facilitate their integration into society.⁸³³ While learning table etiquette was indeed emphasised in the dining hall the dietary restrictions imposed on orphans suggests that such training extended beyond simply teaching them how to behave correctly at the table. Instead, it also sought to condition their expectations regarding food, ensuring that they did not develop a sense of entitlement to luxuries – such as frequent meat consumption – that they were unlikely to encounter outside the institution. This suggests that dietary discipline was as much about regulating social expectations as it was about enforcing behavioural norms. The use of food as a disciplinary measure is further evident in instances where restrictions on food were explicitly used as punishment – for example, in cases of unruly pupils being subjected to punitive measures such as confinement on a diet of water and bread.⁸³⁴ While I have not been able to verify this practice – using withdrawal of food as a punitive means – such practices underscore how food policies within the institution were not merely about sustenance or health but also functioned as mechanisms to regulate behaviour, instil discipline, and reinforce social hierarchies.

Notably, despite the document's title suggesting a dietary strategy to combat flatulence, no institutional physician appeared to have been involved in the decision-making process – an unusual omission given their involvement in matters of food and drink. The absence in this discussion is striking, particularly since dietetics and digestion were central to the physicians' expertise. This lack of medical consultation can be interpreted in several ways: 1) it may have been coincidental, with economic concerns overshadowing medical considerations; 2) it could indicate that flatulence was not a genuine concern in the discussion despite its prominent mention in the document's title; and 3) it may reflect underlying class dynamics, as beer consumption affected the entire institution, whereas increased meat portions primarily benefited the upper social classes. However, as shown in

832 AFSt/W XX/III/3: 19; AFSt/W XX/III/3: 20, Speyseordnung part 2. 1716.

833 Thomas Müller-Bahlke, *August Hermann Francke: Speise=Ordnung im Waisenhaus zu Halle 1702*, *Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen*, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2011).

834 AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 20 February 1715.

Chapter 6, there appeared to be no class distinction in the expectation that all pupils should engage in physical labour – motion practice was applied uniformly across social groups. These differences in the treatment of groups did not simply reflect medical or pedagogical priorities but were probably shaped by underlying economic rationalities that intersected with class. Allowing all pupils, regardless of social status, to participate in labour imposed no financial cost on the institution – indeed, it likely enhanced its economic functioning by extracting productive labour from the children, while serving extra meat to everyone would be a financial burden.

This means that rather than functioning solely as a means of equalising the status of the children under institutional care, the regulation of food also served as a key site for the production and maintenance of social distinctions. While the 1702 and 1722 eating regulations demonstrate a commitment to ensuring that orphans, at least on a basic level, were secured healthy food and prevented from being further marginalised within the institution, the 1716 regulation clarifies that the goal was not to elevate orphans to the same dietary status as other social classes within the institution. While the quality of their food was prioritised, orphans were not granted access to dietary privileges such as additional meat, mainly in reference to how it would be harmful to their conduct outside the institution and instil greed, anger, and indulgence in them. Thus, the regulation of food simultaneously functioned as a technique of differentiation: by controlling the distribution of dietary goods, the institution reinforced the social stratification in society.

Balancing austerity and health: The 1729 *Vesper* bread dispute

While the regulation of food within Die Franckeschen Anstalten often reflected the interplay of biopower, economic rationality, and class differentiation, moments of contestation also reveal how these structures were shaped by a medical-theological logic. One such episode – the dispute over the provision of *Vesper* bread to orphan boys in 1729⁸³⁵ – illustrates how dietary policies were sometimes a direct consequence of the physician's concerns for religious discipline and physical health. The dispute differed in character from earlier discussions about food distribution, as it was explicitly framed within the religious discourse on moderation and physical health. The controversy involved Johann Juncker, the preceptors responsible for the children's daily care, and Gotthilf August Francke.

Usually, the children received both morning and *Vesper* bread. However, a decision had been made, without further explication, to discontinue the provision of the *Vesper* bread during the winter, prompting concerns and complaints from the children and preceptors responsible for their care. The preceptors voiced multiple worries regarding the consequences of this decision, emphasising how it had negatively affected the pupils' physical health and discipline. They argued that removing *Vesper* bread caused discontent among the children, making it more challenging to maintain order and morale. The absence of evening bread

⁸³⁵ AFSst/W VIII/IX/1: 2.

contributed to behavioural problems, and further, the fear of hunger led to overeating at other meals, potentially resulting in physical health issues. This argument suggests that the preceptors knew the dietetical reasoning that indulgence in food led to physical health problems and framed their argumentation within this reasoning in order to strengthen their point. Finally, they argued that this new practice could tarnish the institution's reputation if complaints reached the children's relatives.⁸³⁶ By raising these concerns, the preceptors approached the issue pragmatically, focusing on the practical daily challenges of managing hungry and dissatisfied children, but simultaneously they addressed the issue within the discourse of health, emphasising the problem of overeating at other meals.

Johann Juncker countered these arguments by underscoring that experience showed that children's health was not compromised but rather improved through the cultivation of moderation in eating habits. He reinforced this argument by drawing a biblical parallel, likening the children's complaints about bread reduction to the Israelites' discontent in the wilderness. Invoking this comparison, Juncker suggested that learning to consume less and practice self-restraint was essential to a proper education and would ultimately lead to both physical and spiritual benefits. Although Juncker acknowledged the preceptors' concerns that children might compensate by overeating at other meals, he dismissed this as unlikely to cause harm to their health due to the simplicity of the food served at the institution.⁸³⁷ The argument that learning to cope with less was beneficial for both health and spiritual development aligned with the rationalities of health in both Richter's dietetics and August Hermann Francke's writings.

While such argumentation does not emerge frequently in the records, these instances reflect that the theological framing of medicine existed as a subtext for a long period. Juncker's argumentation – in which he positions himself as an expert in health, counteracting the arguments of the preceptors, who tried to appeal to health discourse by arguing that overeating at some meals could harm the pupils' health – reflects the medical values of austerity and discipline as tools for shaping the pupils' character, reinforcing the institution's commitment to producing devout and disciplined Christians. By asserting this interpretation of the issue, Juncker reinforced the physician's authority as an expert in both the care of the body and the moral formation of the soul.

Gotthilf August Francke sided with Juncker, thus reinforcing the leadership's commitment to a pedagogical and moral practice focused on discipline, self-restraint, and resilience over the preceptors' more immediate concerns about managing hunger and dissatisfaction among pupils. As shown in Chapter 6, this stance was not unique to food policies but was also evident in the prohibition of games and play. In those cases, the preceptors and Hieronymus Freyer similarly argued for the calming effect of playing on the children, yet such activities were still discouraged. These examples reveal consistent pattern: the leadership's refusal to accommodate arguments based on the preceptors' or children's

⁸³⁶ AFS_t/W VIII/IX/1: 2.

⁸³⁷ AFS_t/W VIII/IX/1: 2.

immediate needs in favour of a broader, long-term educational project grounded in austerity and moral discipline.

Thus, such conflicts encapsulate that the religious subtext sometimes emerged in disagreements that were framed as health issues. The leadership's support of the medical religious interpretation of the situations illustrates how the leadership consistently privileged the medical religious interpretation of health and education over the preceptors' pragmatic concerns with the daily realities of institutional life. This underscores the centrality of theological and medical rationalities in shaping the institution's pedagogical ideal: health was not a matter of responding to hunger or providing comfort but of disciplining the body and forming resilient, obedient, and devout Christians. The physician in this context emerged not merely as a healer but as a spiritual and pedagogical authority whose expertise reinforced the educational norms of austerity, moderation, and self-control as essential to the moral and spiritual development of the pupils.

Washing the body and cleaning the air

As the washing practices in the institution have never been analysed in relation to the Pietist rationalities of cleanliness and purity, this section will begin with a brief analysis of Richter's perspective on washing, with additional reference to Francke's views. This analysis will serve as a foundation for understanding how cleanliness was conceptualised and practised within institutional settings.

As demonstrated in Chapter 4, Richter constructed original sin as a physical manifestation within the body through foul-smelling secretions – stool, urine, mucus, snot, and pus. These substances, perceived as byproducts of humanity's fallen nature, were framed as obstructions to the humours' natural movement and flow, disrupting bodily equilibrium and necessitating continuous purification. In Richter's construction of the body, these excretions were not merely physiological waste but material evidence of sin's presence, a visible and odorous mark of human corruption that threatened both bodily and spiritual integrity. Because these bodily processes revealed the inherent decay of the flesh, they required constant cleansing to prevent both moral and physical degradation.

Richter explicitly connected this demand for physical purification to a broader theological concern. In *Die höchstnötigen Erkenntniß der Menschen*, Richter admonished the Christian to wash and clean his body daily, emphasising the corrupt nature of the human body: "[...] do not seek nobility in your body and blood! Consider how full of stench and filth it is which you cannot hide from yourself, no matter how distinguished, great, or noble you may be: for it is abundantly found within you and breaks forth

everywhere. Therefore, you must cleanse and purify yourself daily.”⁸³⁸ Here, the act of cleansing served a dual function: on the one hand, it was a necessary practice to rid the body of foul emissions; on the other, it was an external signifier of moral self-discipline and vigilance against sin. Put bluntly, one could say that daily washing of the body symbolised the ongoing process of repentance, reinforcing the idea that filth – both literal and metaphorical – must be actively expelled to maintain spiritual purity.

The conceptual framework that associated filth with spiritual corruption and cleansing with moral renewal was also reflected in August Hermann Francke’s writings. In his diary dated 14 May 1716, he conceptualised the preparation for conversion in terms of cleanness and filth to delineate the moral boundaries of student behaviour. Referring to how he had that day exhorted the newly arrived students of theology at the University of Halle, he had stressed that: “[...] they should examine their past life and properly wash themselves of the filth and impurity weighing on their conscience and thus begin their theological studies only after their conversion.”⁸³⁹ This demand for self-purification was presented along with a structured set of behaviours that students were required to follow: avoiding social contamination, submitting to faculty oversight, structuring daily life with discipline, never wasting time, and demonstrating ethical responsibility in financial matters. These behavioural prescriptions solidified the connection between cleanliness and righteousness, embedding the cleanliness/filth binary within the behavioural discipline. While, in this case, the washing of impurities was metaphorical, Francke also emphasised the moral significance of cleansing oneself – in this case, as a transformative process before conversion.

Richter’s construction of cleansing builds on this conceptualisation of cleanliness as spiritual purity and filth as equalling sin, but he went further in making explicit the connection between the body’s filth and the soul’s shame. As shown in Chapter 3 he argued that the body’s processes, if left unchecked, became a source of disgrace, exposing the moral inferiority of human flesh in contrast to the purity of the soul. The need for clothing, hair-cutting, and bodily washing was framed as a consequence of the Fall – a constant reminder that the body, unlike the soul, in its natural state is a source of shame, requiring intervention and regulation to remain in a condition that aligned with spiritual ideals.⁸⁴⁰

⁸³⁸ „Darum suche nicht den Adel in deinen Leibe und Geblute! Bedencke, wie voller Stanck und Unflat er sey, welcher du vor dir selber wie vornehm, groß, und edel du auch bist, nicht verbergen kanst; denn er ist hauffenweise in dir zu finden, und bricht allenthalben hervor; deswegen du dich reinigen und täglich saubern must“ Richter 1715, 26.

⁸³⁹ „9. Daß sie ihr bisher. Leben untersuchen, u. sich von ihrem Schlamm u. Unflat so sie auf ihren Gewißen haben recht waschen, u. also ihr stud. theol. vor ihrer eigenen Bekehr. ansetzen sollen“; AFS/H A 169 : 17a-m: 14 May 1716.

⁸⁴⁰ „Was meynest du wohl, wenn man der Beschaffenheit des Leibes den Lauff lassen, deine Haare und Nägel nicht beschneiden, noch dich eine Zeitlang von deinem Unflat reinigen sollte, würdest du nicht an Häslichkeit die Thiere übertreffen, und als ein Scheufal unter den Menschen seyn? Hast du noch nie gemercket, daß dein unsterblicher Geist sich dieses Leibes schäme, so bedencke nur, warum du deinen Leib mit Kleidern bedeckest, und warum solches im Anfang nicht geschene sey.“ Richter 1715, Vorrede 27 (xliii); Richter 1705, Vorrede, xviii.

Richter's construction of sin as bodily filth shifted the emphasis from the impure conscience to the dirty body, which was not only problematic due to its sinful inclinations but also inherently shameful because of its continuous production of foul-smelling substances. Throughout his works, Richter argued that if these substances were not actively washed away, the individual risked suffocating in filth.⁸⁴¹ This marks a distinct medical-theological interpretation of bodily impurities, diverging from earlier Christian theological frameworks that often downplayed or even distrusted the act of bodily cleansing.

Virginia Smith has argued that earlier Christian traditions were deeply ambivalent about physical washing. Within Judaeo-Christian asceticism, the purification of the inner soul was considered paramount, whereas cleansing the outer body was often constructed as a worldly distraction or, in some cases, even a positive sin.⁸⁴² The early Christian rejection of bodily washing as a sign of spiritual purity is exemplified by the story of the virgin Melania, who demonstrated her chastity by ceasing to bathe altogether.⁸⁴³ Such acts of bodily neglect were not understood as filthiness but rather as visible defiance of worldly concerns, reinforcing the idea that true purification came from moral and spiritual discipline rather than external cleanliness. However, Christian thought never entirely rejected the significance of bodily cleansing, though it was often framed as problematic. The desire to wash oneself created a tension between purity and exposure; even when bodily cleansing was deemed necessary, individuals were admonished to cover themselves during the process, emphasising the continued shamefulness of the flesh. As Smith observes, Christian culture contained a: "[...] deep-rooted aversion to baths and nakedness, [...] baths and cosmetics were dangerous, if not abominations."⁸⁴⁴

Against this backdrop, the Pietist medical-theological construction of health as dependent on bodily purification stands out. Richter directly argued that:

“One must care to ensure that the body's impurities, which accumulate daily, are also discharged daily, whether the body remains open, whether enough urine is passed, whether a gentle exhalation of the body takes place, whether the nostrils are open, and whether the earwax is properly expelled etc. so that no impurities remain in the body and causes illness.”⁸⁴⁵

⁸⁴¹ Richter 1715, 26 -27.

⁸⁴² Virginia Smith, *Clean. A history of personal hygiene and purity*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 126-127.

⁸⁴³ Virginia Smith, *Clean. A history of personal hygiene and purity*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 138.

⁸⁴⁴ Virginia Smith, *Clean. A history of personal hygiene and purity*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 140.

⁸⁴⁵ „Man muß Acht haben , ob die Unreinigkeiten des Leibes, so sich täglich sammeln auch täglich abgeführt werden, ob der Leib offen sey, ob gnug Urin abgehe, ob gelinde Ausdunstung des Leibes stattfinden könne, ob die Nasenlöcher geöffnet seyn , und das Ohren Schmalz recht abgehe , u. s. w. damit sich also keine Unreinigkeit im Leibe verhalten, und Kranckheiten verursachen könne.“
Richter 1715, 504: §35.

Thus, instead of seeing bodily washing as a distraction from spiritual purification, Richter fused the two, constructing a framework in which the physical act of cleansing became integral to the moral imperative of purifying the soul.

This construction of the body's impurities led Richter to recommend cleansing the body in several ways. Throughout his works, Richter advocated multiple cleansing practices that – by their link to expelling the substances of original sin – reinforced the idea that physical cleansing was a moral imperative. Bathing in hot water was recommended as a cleansing practice and therapeutic cure, while bodily motion was framed as purifying the blood. Furthermore, Richter prescribed purgation methods such as bloodletting, laxatives, and medically induced sweating as necessary practices to release the body from the surplus of effluvia.⁸⁴⁶

While the Pietist construction of washing differentiates itself from earlier Christian ways of constructing cleanliness, Richter's emphasis on bodily cleansing finds parallels in the spiritual discourse of English Puritanism. As Virginia Smith notes, several Puritan thinkers recommended bodily washing as a means of purifying the soul. Edward Topsell (1572-1626) admonished the faithful to “the outward cleansing and washing away of the filth of our bodies, being the saviour of sinne reigning in us”, while the zealous puritan Phillip Stubbes (1555- 1610) urged washing because “as the filthyness and pollution of my bodie are washed and made clean by the element of water; so is my bodie and soul purified and washed from the spots and blemished of sin, by the precious blood of Jesus Christ... This washing putteth me in remembrance of my baptism”.⁸⁴⁷

Although Smith does not explicitly address the extent to which these statements were informed by medical theories, their framing of bodily washing as a moral necessity aligns with Richter's dietetical framing of washing as a health-promoting necessity to avoid embarrassing the soul. This connection places the Halle Pietist firmly within broader contemporary Protestant ascetic trends that saw cleanliness as an external sign of internal virtue. Yet, unlike earlier Puritans, Richter's emphasis on the physical necessity of bodily cleansing through regulated medical interventions suggests a deepening integration of theology and medicine where physical health, cleanliness, and piety became inseparable.

While Richter's medical theological rationality aligned with specific Protestant trends, it diverged significantly from broader 18th-century dietetical and medical thought. At the time, many physicians argued that the body should be protected by a thin film of sweat that acted as a natural seal against disease intruding through the pores.⁸⁴⁸ In contrast, Richter linked clogged pores and unclean surfaces of the skin with the development of skin diseases, particularly in smaller children. The construction of bodily impurity as a medical risk was especially evident in his discussions of the skin diseases *Mitesser* and *Krätze*. The former, in

⁸⁴⁶ Richter 1705: 119 – 200; Richter 1715, 487: §7, 508-509: §47-50, 743-744: §36-37. See also the index of the books.

⁸⁴⁷ Virginia Smith, *Clean. A history of personal hygiene and purity*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 208-209.

⁸⁴⁸ Katherine Ashenburg, *Clean. An Unsanitised History of Washing*. (London: Profile Books, 2009), 105.

modern German, refers to blackheads, but in the historical context probably extended to other symptoms, while *Krätze* was characterised by an itchy rash:

“§9 When the sweat pores of children become clogged, either because they have not been kept clean enough, leading to a mucous impurity settling on the skin and blocking the sweat pores, or because they themselves have thick and mucous humours that infiltrate the sweat pores and, due to their viscosity, remain stuck inside – then this lymphatic and gelatinous matter undergoes corruption, leading to the generation of small worms in the sweat pores. As a result, children are not only afflicted, becoming restless, crying frequently, and sleeping poorly, but they also become severely weakened, appearing physically frail and miserable. To free children from this condition, it is customary first to bath them and cleanse them of all external impurities so that their sweat pores can reopen.”⁸⁴⁹

This construction of clogged sweat pores as a cause of both physical and behavioural disturbances – such as crying, restlessness, and sleeplessness – directly opposed contemporary medical theories that saw the body’s natural secretions as protective.

To sum up, Richter’s medical-theological framework reshaped the relationship between bodily cleansing and spiritual purity. By framing bodily excretions as manifestations of sin, he not only linked cleanliness to moral discipline but also made it a theological necessity. In contrast to earlier Christian thought that saw bathing as indulgent or unnecessary, Richter positioned cleansing as an act of physical and spiritual health. His construction of the dirty body as reflecting sin necessitated a rigorous regime of washing, purging, and regulation that went beyond simple hygiene to form the foundation of a Pietist ethic of bodily maintenance. In doing so, Richter contributed to shaping a discourse of cleanliness that merged theological doctrine with medical science, reinforcing that to remain pure in spirit, one must also remain clean in the body.

⁸⁴⁹ „Wenn die Schweiß Löcher der Kinder verstopft sind, indem sie entweder nicht rein genug gehalten worden, und sich daher eine schleimichte Unreinigkeit an der Haut ansetzet, und die Schweißlöcher verstopffet; oder wenn sie selbst dicke und schleimichte Humores haben, welche in die Schweißlöcher mit eindringen , und wegen ihrer Zähigkeit drinnen stecken bleiben: So gehet solche lymphatische , und gelatinöse Materie in eine Corruption , und generiren sich kleine Würmchen in den Schweiß Löchern; wovon die Kinder nicht allein geplaget werden, daß sie unruhig sind, viel schreyen von des und wenig schlafen, sondern kommen auch dabey von allen Krafftten, daß sie auch am Leibe ganz elend und geringe werden. Das mit nun die Kinder hievon befreyet werden mögen, so pflaget man sie erst zu baden, und von allem ausserlichen Unflath zu reinigen, damit die Schweißlöcher wieder geöffnet werden.“ Richter, 1715, 1225: §9.

Krätze – preventing and curing disease through cleansing the body and environment

When examining the concrete practice of washing and cleansing within the institution, explicit justifications for the implementation of bathing, laundering of clothes, and routine washing of linens are less clearly documented in the sources.

While the institutional leadership, as I have previously demonstrated, recorded their physical movement and purging practices in letters and diaries, direct reference to their own washing habits remains absent. It remains unclear why the institutional leaders did not document their own washing practices, and the absence of direct arguments for implementing washing practices in protocols, diaries, letters, etc., raises questions about how institutional cleansing was understood and why it was practised. While leaders may not have documented their routines, their concern with cleanliness runs as a subtext in many discussions, especially in how they approached the management of diseases, particularly *Krätze*.

Krätze – or scabies – was a persistent itching skin disease that afflicted the institution's inhabitants, and a recurring issue that the leaders sought to govern throughout the entire period. Consequently, it became a subject of ongoing discussion in institutional protocols regarding interventions and environmental structuring to prevent its spread. In this section, I will analyse the effort to combat *Krätze*, as it offers key insight into how bodily and spatial cleanliness was constructed within the framework of dietetical and medical knowledge, even when such connections were not always explicitly articulated.

According to Richter's dietetics, *Krätze* could be classified into four distinct types, two of which – venereal scabies and leprosy – were rare. The two more common variants were attributed to excessive slimy lymph and exhibited different symptoms: one manifested as an oozing rash, while the other presented as a dry, shrivelling crust, often accompanied by a burning sensation. Richter noted that patients frequently experienced gasping for breath and developed skin perforations. To treat *Krätze*, aside from medication, Richter recommended:

“[...] that the patient maintain cleanliness, frequently wears white clothing, washes with soap, and, if possible, takes baths. Once the scabies have healed, it is necessary for the patient to change their clothes to avoid being re-infected by the old ones.”⁸⁵⁰

In the conference protocol, the emergence of a discussion concerning the management of *Krätze* can be traced back to 1705. In September, several entries documented a problem regarding a range of ailments, including eye infections (*böse Augen*), oral ulceration (*Mundfäule*), possible infections of the scalp, headaches, or lice infestations (*böse Kopf*), and

⁸⁵⁰ „[...] / daß sich der Patient reinlich halte / sich öfters weiß anziehe / sich mit Seifen wasche / und wenn er es haben kan / Bäder gebrauche . Wenn die Krätze abgeheilet / ist nöthig / daß der Patient seine Kleider verändere Damit er von den alten nicht wieder aufs neue inficiret werde .“ Richter 1705: 370; Richter 1715: 1117-1118, §26.

Krätze. Some of these ailments were attributed to the adverse effects of medical drugs used to treat *Krätze* without the physician's authorisation.⁸⁵¹

In response, the institutional leadership outlined a structured protocol for treating affected orphaned children in an 11-point guideline aimed at governing medical care and disease containment. These guidelines stressed the importance of using only physician-prescribed medications, ensuring that the preceptors monitored the medical administration carefully.⁸⁵² As it was emphasised, measures to prevent the spread of the diseases were to be taken: "The shirts, bed linens, and towels of children afflicted with *Krätze* should be washed separately to prevent them from being mixed up and thus infecting healthy children."⁸⁵³ The physicians should keep a detailed record of diseased children, tracking their recovery progress and noting cases where treatment proved ineffective.⁸⁵⁴ Furthermore, medical students were allocated to sleep with the infected children at night.⁸⁵⁵ A few years later, it was further implemented that infected individuals should use special plates,⁸⁵⁶ and even later, it was reminded to change the towels more often during scabies epidemics.⁸⁵⁷ These measures, particularly the emphasis on laundering clothing, towels, and bed linens, align with Richter's recommendations for preventing and curing scabies.

Despite the initiatives, diseases caused significant disruptions, consuming the time of the affected students and interfering with their studies. In response, some inspectors sought faster cures to minimise these disruptions. However, when proposing such, the idea was brushed aside by the physician's assistant, who attended the conference:

"Freyer proposes that head conditions, fevers and scabies cause significant inconvenience within the *Pedagogium*, in that they consume much time. Might there not be found a faster way [to cure the students]? Mr Eckebrech advises against the swift cure, saying they should instead take greater heed of their diet."⁸⁵⁸

This exchange explicitly positioned diet as a central factor in treating and preventing diseases. It is essential to recall that in the 18th-century medical framework, diet extended far beyond mere food consumption: it encompassed physical motion, air regulation, emotional control, and eating habits. In this context, it is notable that on the same day as

⁸⁵¹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 1 September 1705; 4 September 1705.

⁸⁵² AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 1 September 1705; 4 September 1705.

⁸⁵³ „4) „Der kretzigen Kinder Hembde und Bettlacken auch Handtücher sollen besonders gewasche werden, damit dieselbe nicht verwechselt u. also gesunde Kinder nicht inficiert werden.“: AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 1 September 1705.

⁸⁵⁴ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 1 September 1705.

⁸⁵⁵ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 17 September 1705.

⁸⁵⁶ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 8 April 1711.

⁸⁵⁷ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 9 June 1719.

⁸⁵⁸ 2) Freyer proponieret, daß die bösen Köpffe, die Fieber u. Kretze machen großen incommodität im Pädagogio indem sie viele Zeit verderben. Könnte man nicht einen kurtzen Weg finden? Hern Eckebrecht wiederrathet denn die geschwinde Cur, sagt sie sollten sich in der Diæt beßer in Ach nehmen [...].“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 31 May 1707.

the physician's assistant, Mr Eckebrech, issued a reminder to keep a healthy diet, physical exercise was formally prescribed as a remedy for curing scabies. The diseased children were to exercise, and: "The preceptors must prescribe them [the pupils] exercise and oversee them."⁸⁵⁹

Richter's writings reinforced this principle, describing how physical motion cleansed the blood and facilitated its smooth circulation. Thus, the emphasis on exercise in relation to diseased children can be understood as a direct intervention aimed at regulating and governing their bodily humours and physical organisms, reflecting the broader medical understanding that imbalance in these fluids could lead to illness. Beyond exercise, additional measures against scabies also appear to have been guided by dietetical principles. A 1710 entry notes that children infected with scabies were served butter instead of peas.⁸⁶⁰ Although the reasoning behind this substitution was not explicitly stated, it can be understood in light of Richter's dietetical writings, in which he warns that certain foods – including peas – if consumed in excess, could fill the body with mucus, which in turn could: "[...] impair the mixture of the blood and other humours [...]."⁸⁶¹ Given that Richter attributed the aetiology of scabies to an excess of slimy lymph, the exclusion of peas from the diet of infected children can be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to prevent further mucus accumulation. In this context, Mr Eckebrecht's insistence on dietary regulation can be seen as part of the broader effort by institutional physicians to integrate dietetical knowledge into institutional health care practices. His remark thus implicitly reinforced the inspector's responsibility to ensure the dietetic regimen – including exercise – was adequately maintained, highlighting that dietetical interventions were understood as fundamental to effective disease management.

While the handling of diseases was thus directly framed within an argument of following dietetical advice, explicit references to reasons for washing the body remain almost absent in the early records. However, the practice was addressed in October 1705, a time when the leaders were struggling to get the outbreaks of scabies under control, and recalling Richter's recommendation that scabies should be cured by washing with soap, the following entries focusing on the need for the children to wash can be interpreted in this light. On the 2. October, the conference proposed establishing bathing facilities:

⁸⁵⁹ „Die aber nun Motion wegen Krankheit machen sollen, müssen unter Inspection seyn. [...] Praeceptores müssen ihnen Motion ordiniren und auf sie sehen“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 31 May 1707.

⁸⁶⁰ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 30 June 1710.

⁸⁶¹ „Diese alle können die Mixtion des Geblütes und der übrigen Humorū lœdiren, wenn sie in Abundance genommen werden.“ Richter 1715, 584-585: §5.

“Would it not be necessary to have a bathhouse at the Waysenhaus? Since it is often necessary for the children to be bathed: and whether the old washhouse could not be adapted for this purpose.”⁸⁶²

In the margin, Francke signalled approval by marking *fiat* – let it be done.

Subsequent records reinforced the necessity to bathe the children. By March 1707, the directive became more categorical: “The children are to bath”,⁸⁶³ and in April 1707, washing was linked directly to head related ailments, where it was reminded that these should not be treated with balms but rather by washing with hot water and soap.⁸⁶⁴ By 1710, a telling entry appears, suggesting the internalisation of bathing ideals among the children: “The children are asking for another bath.”⁸⁶⁵ These records indicate a growing recognition of bathing as a necessary therapeutic measure for treating diseases. Years later, bathing was directly linked to curing scabies. In August 1722, under a large outbreak of *Krätze*, the protocol described that the physician Johann Juncker had discussed the healing of *Krätze* and again recommended bathing: “Mr Pitsch from Berlin spoke with Mr Juncker regarding the treatment of scabies [...] The doctor again recommends bathing the orphan boys.”⁸⁶⁶

Although the early entries did not explicitly state why bathing was imperative, its increased institutionalisation, along with the general framing of curing scabies through dietetical measures, Richter’s construction of the cure as focused on bathing and soap, and Juncker’s recommendation of reintroducing bathing suggests that bathing was a practical response to disease outbreaks and in alignment with dietetical rationality. The repeated reference to the necessity of bathing – culminating in the children themselves requesting baths – suggests a process of internalising bathing norms, reinforcing a culture of cleanliness within the institution.

The efforts to handle *Krätze* can be divided into two distinct periods. The first, spanning from 1705-1711, was characterised by several initiatives aimed at counteracting the disease. However, from 1715 onward, the problem of infected children appears to have worsened. This period coincides with the decline in the discussion surrounding motion, games, productive work, and sin, discussed in the previous chapter, and simultaneously reflects an increased focus on physical exercise as a therapeutic practice, bad air, and student segregation as preventive measures over the following 30 years. By the 1720s, the frequency and severity of scabies outbreaks seemed to have reached a critical level. Some children had

⁸⁶² „Ob nicht eine Bad Stube bey dem Waysenhause nötig sey? Weil öftters nötig ist, daß die Kinder gebadet werden: und ob nicht das alte Wasch-Haus dazu könne aptirt werden. - fiat.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 2 October 1705.

⁸⁶³ „Die Kinder sollen Baden.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Bandt 1: 15 March 1707.

⁸⁶⁴ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 15 April 1707.

⁸⁶⁵ „6 die Kinder verlangen noch ein Bad.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 27 August 1710.

⁸⁶⁶ „Hr. Pitsch von Berlin hat mit dem Herrn Juncker gesprochen wegen der Heilung der Krätze [...] Dn. Medicus recommendirt wieder die Waisenknaben zu baden.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 7 August 1722.

been unable to attend school for six months due to persistent infections.⁸⁶⁷ In response, throughout 1721 and 1722, institutional efforts to combat the spread of *Krätze* and other diseases intensified, including particular measures that addressed air purification and continual attempts to establish continuity in exercise classes.

Clean air – combatting effluvium and bad air

Addressing the issue of clean air first, the sources elucidate that this was a central concern among the institutional directors who, throughout the period, consistently sought to ensure an environment that preserved and facilitated the circulation of fresh air. The issue of clean air was a fundamental concern in early 18th-century medical theory, particularly within the framework of miasma theory. At the core of these theories was the concept of miasma, or bad air, which posited that disease spread through corrupt air from swamps, meteorological phenomena, poor indoor climates, decaying organic matter, filth, and stagnant water. For instance, the aetiology of malaria – a term derived from *mala aria* (Italian for bad air) – was historically attributed to miasmatic influences. Foul smells were interpreted as an indicator of the presence of miasmas, reinforcing the construction of odours as not just unpleasant but actively harmful to health. Miasmatic air was believed to disturb the humoral balance, thereby producing illness by altering the body's equilibrium by either drying up or moisturising the humours.⁸⁶⁸ Additionally, air was classified as one of the non-naturals in dietetics, meaning it was considered an external factor the individual could control, influencing his health. As such, dietetical advice emphasised regulating air quality through temperature, moisture, and purification measures like incense to create an environment conducive to bodily equilibrium and disease prevention. Richter's dietetics similarly underscored the necessity of securing dry and warm air, uncontaminated by foul, disease-inducing odours, as an essential component of health management.⁸⁶⁹

In the institutional context, the preoccupation with air quality was not merely theoretical but had direct architectural and infrastructural implications. The principles of miasma theory and dietetics were reflected in the description of the buildings in normative writings, such as *Seegensvolle Fußstapfen. Geschichte der Entstehung der Halleschen Anstalten von August Hermann Francke selbst erzählt* (1709) in which August Hermann Francke framed the architecture of the Orphanage and its associated buildings as inherently health-promoting. This work has been interpreted as a form of advertising for his institution, in which Francke's narrative not only testified to divine providence but also served to inspire faith, portraying his educational and social welfare initiatives as guided and sustained by God's help and his own religious convictions. Given this context, it is particularly notable that

⁸⁶⁷ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 21 July 1719.

⁸⁶⁸ Carlo M. Cipolla, *Miasmas and Disease: Public Health and the Environment in the Pre-Industrial Age*, trans. Elizabeth Potter (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁸⁶⁹ Richter 1705, 106-107; Richter 1715: 361-367, 419-423.

Francke explicitly emphasised the health promoting qualities of the architecture of the institution, suggesting that he wished to present the institution as consciously engaged in creating a physical space that supported health.

For instance, in a passage where Francke praised the lack of unnecessary decoration of the buildings, he explained the architectural choices of installing chimneys with reference to deliberate air purification measures: "The chimneys, [...] are built in large chambers for the extraction of air for the sake of health."⁸⁷⁰

Likewise, he emphasised that the height of the chambers was not determined by aesthetic consideration but by health concerns:

"As for the height of the chambers, which gives the house a certain appearance, this was not chosen for that reason, but rather with careful consideration for health. Experience has so far shown that in low-ceilinged rooms, the children became sick and unhealthy, which one sought to prevent when planning the construction of a new building."⁸⁷¹

This rhetorical choice indicates that air quality and physical health were considerations Francke sought to highlight as integral to the institution's identity and mission.

While these statements framed the architectural choices as creating a health-promoting space securing fresh air, the conference protocol reveals an ongoing problem with complaints about odours and lack of cleaning, particularly in relation to latrines and chamber pots in sleeping quarters.⁸⁷² Though the smell of urine and faeces might seem an obvious source of discomfort, the standard for cleaning latrine areas differed significantly from today's practices, as illustrated in an entry that suggests the latrine area should be cleaned once a week: "1. In the place where the children relieve themselves at night, scrubbing shall be carried out once a week during summer." The same entry suggests that the main problem with latrines revolved around improper urine disposal outside of designated areas: "2. Pouring out urine shall henceforth be prohibited so that it does not take place either in the school residence or in the lower Collegium."⁸⁷³ The entries in the

⁸⁷⁰ „Die Camine, so in grossen Gemächern zur Abziehung der Luft, um der Gesundheit willen, gemacht sind[...].“ August Hermann Francke (1709), *Segensvolle Fußstapfen. Geschichte der Entstehung der Halleschen Anstalten von August Hermann Franckes selbst erzählt* ed. Michael Welte (Göttingen: Brunnen Verlag Gießen, 1994), 130.

⁸⁷¹ „Was aber die Höhe der Gemächer betrifft, welche dem Hause ein Ansehen gibt, so ist solche nicht um deswillen, sondern der Gesundheit wegen mit guter Bedacht erwehlet worden, nachdem die Erfahrung bisher gelehret daß in den niedrigen Stuben die Kinder krank und ungesund worden, welches man bey Anlegung eines neuen Gebäudes gern hier verhüten wollen“ August Hermann Francke (1709), *Segensvolle Fußstapfen. Geschichte der Entstehung der Halleschen Anstalten von August Hermann Franckes selbst erzählt* ed. Michael Welte (Göttingen: Brunnen Verlag Gießen, 1994), 131.

⁸⁷² AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 1: 27 August 1706; 22 March 1707, 22 July 1708, 3 August 1708; AFSt/W VI/-/13 Band 2: 16 December 1716, 20 January 1717, 18 August 1719, 21 July 1724.

⁸⁷³ „1. An dem Orth, wo zu Nacht die Kinder Abtritt nehmen, soll wochentlich im Sommer einmahl gescheuert werden. 2 das Ausgießen des Urins soll als untersaget werden, daß es weder in der Schulwohnung noch in dem Unter Collegio geschehe.“ AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 2: 21 July 1724.

protocol repeated over and over that urine vessels in the sleeping quarters produced a foul smell that needed to be mitigated by better cleaning and by purifying with fresh air: “Casper shall open the hole where the urine vessel stood every morning and close it every evening. The air shall purify it.”⁸⁷⁴ There are several attempts to remove the chamber pots from the sleeping quarters⁸⁷⁵ and direct the children to use the latrine area outside the building,⁸⁷⁶ but it seems that the offending pots were moved back to the dormitories again and again.⁸⁷⁷

It may be objected that complaints about the cleanliness of latrines and the odour of urine pots are merely practical concerns about unpleasant smells rather than evidence of miasma theory shaping environmental perceptions. However, the German historian of medicine Robert Jütte has argued that smell tolerance is historically constructed. In the German-speaking regions, tolerance for strong odours began to decline towards the end of the 18th century, a process that accelerated further in the 19th century.⁸⁷⁸ The theory of a so-called hygienic instinct, which assumes that humans have an inherent repulsion towards foul-smelling substances due to their association with health risks, does not align entirely with historical perceptions of smell. This is reflected in the protocol in which other sources of odour and vapour – which today are not considered a risk to health – were also explicitly problematised as health risks. For example, yarn with a foul smell was deemed unhealthy,⁸⁷⁹ and it was noted that the woman responsible for tending to the sick washed dishes in the infirmary, which produced: “[...] vapours from the water, [which] are not beneficial to the sick.”⁸⁸⁰ Similarly, the seasonal air quality was perceived as an environmental health concern:

“Herr Freyer asks whether it would be advisable to take children to the fields during this time of year in good weather? Since the vapours from the earth are now in the air, it is not beneficial until the equinox has passed.”⁸⁸¹

These entries suggest an active engagement with miasma theory, in which dietetical advice on securing clean air played a role in shaping the institutional response to environmental

⁸⁷⁴ „4 Casper soll alle Morgen das Loch öffnen wo das Urin Gefäß gestanden und alle Abend schließen. Die Luft soll es noch weiter reinigen.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 3 August 1708.

⁸⁷⁵ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 22 March 1707.

⁸⁷⁶ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 13 January 1717; 18 August 1719.

⁸⁷⁷ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 22 March 1707, 20 July 1707, 22 July 1708; AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 25 August 1720, 21 January 1724.

⁸⁷⁸ Robert Jütte, “The sense of smell in historical perspective” in, *Sensory Perception Mind and Matter* eds. Friedrich G. Barth, Patrizia Giampieri-Deutsch, Hans-Dieter Klein, (Wien: Springer-Verlag, 2012), 322.

⁸⁷⁹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 22 March 1707, 20 December 1707, 10 January 1708, 13 March 1708.

⁸⁸⁰ „[...] welche Dünstung vom Wasser den Kranken nicht dienlich“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 4 November 1718

⁸⁸¹ „Herr Freyer fragt: ob es rathsam sey, daß man die Kinder zu dieser Jahre-Zeit im guten Wetter aufs Feld führe? Weil die Ausdunstungen aus der Erde jetzo in der Luft sind, so ist es nicht dienstlich biß des Æquinoctium vorbey ist.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 15 February 1707.

dangers affecting students' health. Moreover, these concerns were not limited to physicians. The fact that the inspectors framed odours and vapours as harmful influences suggests that miasma theory was not confined to medical discourse or medical treatises but was a widespread and accepted framework for interpreting smell, air quality, and the spread of disease. This association of bad air and illness is traceable well into the 1740s, as illustrated by preceptors' complaints about the condition of air in the dorms:

“And it was reported by Pastor Weisen 1. That the preceptors of the Orphanage continue to complain about the strong odours in the dormitory and that they suffer harm to their health because of it. He suggests for the consideration of the Board of Directors whether additional vapour holes could be installed?”⁸⁸²

A few weeks later, after ventilation improvements were made, the protocol recorded that: “The complaints about the harmful vapours have ceased.”⁸⁸³ Such records illustrate how concerns over air quality were not merely reactions to unpleasant smells but rather reflected an embedded understanding of air as an agent of disease transmission, consistent with miasma theory.

Narrowing the focus to the problems with scabies, by 1722, a connection between scabies outbreaks and bad air had emerged. The records indicate that scabies had reached epidemic proportions around these years, prompting a large-scale discussion in March 1722 on how to combat the disease. As a result, August Hermann Francke introduced a regulation for the orphan boys' quarters, *Projekt der Veränderung und Verbesserung der Waisenstuben für die Waysenknaben*.⁸⁸⁴

Francke referred to the conference, where the inspectors had agreed on three factors as the primary causes of the scabies epidemic: 1) there were too many children being housed in one room, with up to 30 children per room; 2) healthy children, the semi-sick, and those diseased sat among each other in the class, leading to re-infection; and 3) the boys consumed too much dry bread early in the day, and during and between meals.⁸⁸⁵

Two crucial issues emerge regarding the institutional understanding of disease causation and the implementation of practices that prevented this. First, the solution proposed to mitigate infections illustrates how miasma theory shaped institutional response. Francke's project focused on giving the children more space and implementing several structural modifications, all aimed at reducing the accumulation of bad air. These changes included

⁸⁸² „Und würde von H. Pastor Weisen angezeigt 1. daß die H. Praeceptores Orphanorum noch in Ihren Klagen über die starcke dünstung auf dem Schlafsaal, und daß sie dadurch an Ihrer gesundheit Schaden litten, fortführen. Er gebe dennoch zur Überlegung zu des Herr Directoris approbation anheim, ob nicht noch mehrere Dunstlöcher vorgerichtet werden könnten.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 3: 15 July 1743.

⁸⁸³ „[...] die Klagen über die schädliche Dünstung cessiret hatten.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 3: 29 July 1743.

⁸⁸⁴ “Project for the modification and improvement of the orphan rooms for the orphan boys.” AFST/W VIII/IX: 10.

⁸⁸⁵ AFST/W VIII/IX: 10.

separating the classes into healthy and diseased and into smaller groups, removing walls and podiums from the classes, and establishing air holes in the wall for ventilation: “[...] because they [the rooms] seemed too cramped and insufficiently airy, [...]”⁸⁸⁶ This arrangement would allow the boys to spread out better and ensure that: “[...] there be fewer exhalations in a room.”⁸⁸⁷ Furthermore, the physician was required to systematically monitor students showing early signs of scabies: “These shall be placed together in a spacious and airy room in the attic floor [...]”⁸⁸⁸ These interventions clearly reflect an institutional attempt to prevent the accumulation of bad air. The measures restructured the space in far-reaching ways involving significant architectural modifications such as removing walls and creating ventilation openings to improve airflow and reduce stagnant air.

The fact that Francke himself authored the regulatory project suggests that the epidemic was perceived as a severe institutional crisis requiring direct intervention from the highest levels of leadership. This leads to the second issue I want to address: the concern over mixing sick and healthy children was not new. The separation of these groups had already been formulated as a key strategy at the inspectors’ conference in 1715 and 1716. The fact that Francke reiterated the mixed classes as problematic years later suggests that such segregation practices had not been consistently enforced, indicating an ongoing struggle to implement and maintain outlined practices. Bearing in mind the direct intervention by Francke, it is rather notable that two years later, an entry in the protocol states:

“7. Since it has been observed that the third orphan class of boys is the most afflicted with scabies, it may be, among other reasons, because they remain in the classroom all day, and the room is never free from vapour. Query: Might this class also be relocated and assigned to the German schools *secundum profectus*, and the room would be freed from constant effluvium and vapour? Consequently, scabies might no longer be found so frequently.”⁸⁸⁹

This indicates that the regulations, even if they came from the highest place, did not reflect an environment that was strictly ordered in every little detail but rather a constant struggle to implement practices, and also that the writing of regulations and orders did not secure that these practices were implemented consistently. However, the regulations and the constant discussions, which often repeatedly took up the same measures and stressed that

⁸⁸⁶ „[...] und weil sie zu enge und zu wenig luftig geschienen,[...]. AFST/W VIII/IX: 10.

⁸⁸⁷ „[...] und weniger exhalationes in einer Stube seyn.“ AFST/W VIII/IX: 10.

⁸⁸⁸ „Dieselben sollen beysammen in einer räumlichen und luftten Stube im Dach Stockwerk, [...] angewiesen [...]“ AFST/W VIII/IX: 10.

⁸⁸⁹ „7, Weil angemercket worden, daß die III. Weisen- Classe der Knaben am meisten mit der Scabie beladen ist, so möchte es unten andern mit dahin kommen, weil sie den ganzen Tag in der Classe wehren und die Stube von den Dampf niemals frey wird. Quaer, Ob nicht diese Classe auch in die deutsche Schulen *secundum profectus* können lociret und geschicket werden, so möchten die Kinder in der Information besser können abgewartet werden, und die Stube würde von dem beständigen Qualm oder dampf befreiet, folglich möchte auch die Scabies sich so häufig nicht mehr finden.“ AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 2: 23 Februar 1720.

they needed to be remembered, point towards a will to regulate the environment and the practices within it.

Motion as a way to govern scabies outbreaks

By early 1715, a recurrence of the scabies outbreak led to the introduction of segregated classes for infected children as a containment strategy,⁸⁹⁰ a practice that was repeated in 1716.⁸⁹¹ This segregation became a recurrent practice with these groups called “motion classes”.⁸⁹² The longevity of this approach is evident in the archival records from 1747⁸⁹³ and as late as 1752, when children suffering from headaches were directed to the exercise class along with children with scabies.⁸⁹⁴

Relating to the point above concerning the reintroduction of practices, Francke’s project of improvement of the orphan boys’ rooms also addressed exercise as a therapeutic measure that needed implementation. It was decided that a special class named motion class should be established:

“[...] Whereby the student, for the restoration of their health, shall be granted extra hours of motion daily.”⁸⁹⁵

In the same year, 1722, a regulation on the daily schedule for the Latin School was also introduced, in which the same was suggested. The pupils in the Latin School included boys who lived in the city with their parents and orphan boys who showed intellectual talent. The daily schedule differed between these two groups: while the city boys went home at five o’clock, the orphan boys continued with two hours of knitting.⁸⁹⁶

However, the author of the regulation, Johann Ludwig Wölffing, concluded the text by pointing to an issue with this structure that mainly caused problems for the orphan boys, as he had noticed that they consumed a lot of medicine due to *Krätze* and other ailments. Wölffing considered the medical treatment a bad solution to treating such ailments as he also identified another significant problem regarding the orphan boys’ schedule that was contributing to perpetuating the disease: they sat too much during the day. Therefore, he proposed:

⁸⁹⁰ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 2 January 1715, 10 January 1715, 30 January 1715.

⁸⁹¹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 13 May 1716.

⁸⁹² AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 18 March 1722.

⁸⁹³ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 3: 23 October 1747.

⁸⁹⁴ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 3: 8 May 1752.

⁸⁹⁵ „Wobey die Schüler zu Wiederherstellung ihrer Gesundheit täglich ein paar Stunden extraord. Motion zugemessen haben sollen“ AFST/W VIII/IX: 10.

⁸⁹⁶ AFSt/W VII/I/11: 4.

“[...] thus my humble request would be whether it could not be arranged that the children be relieved of knitting because they otherwise have little or no movement at all. It is also clearly noticeable that, since they sit all day and, even when the city children are dismissed, continue sitting again until 7 o'clock, they become very irritated and, therefore, do not approach their work with enthusiasm. If, however, they were given two hours of a different task, such as carrying or cutting wood, which involves movement, then not only could constant medical expenses be avoided, but they would also become more lively both in body and soul. This would allow them to approach their schoolwork with greater seriousness and diligence.”⁸⁹⁷

Wölffing's request that the children should move their bodies to mitigate the ill effects of the sedentary life, along with the argument that this would also have a positive impact on their minds and attitudes towards schoolwork in general, was similar to arguments discussed in Chapter 6 regarding implementation of daily motion. Wölffing's suggestion that this motion should be sawing or carrying wood aligns with the change in discourse throughout the 1720s that motion equalled physical work – in this case, knitting was not framed as exercising the body enough.

However, Francke's and Wölffing's suggestions to implement physical motion as a cure for scabies in 1722 are notable as the conference protocol in the years 1721 and 1722 is filled with entries that link the prevention and treatment of scabies with physical motion⁸⁹⁸ and extra saws and pickaxes for garden work were purchased.⁸⁹⁹ In March 1721, the knitting hour had already been problematised, as an entry suggested: “4. The question arises as to what would be best – whether, in summer, the knitting hour should be replaced with a motion hour or retained.”⁹⁰⁰ Though it seems that arrangements for physical work in the gardens were made for both boys and girls during the spring, this caused problems. In May, an entry stated:

“3. It has been noted that the boys, after meals, either lie down or sit in their rooms instead of engaging in movement; at the very least, they could walk back and forth,

⁸⁹⁷ „[...] so wäre meine unterthänige Bitte, obs nicht könnte so vermittelt werden, daß die Kinder des Strickens des entübrigt seyn könnten, weil sie ohne dem darbey wenig oder gar keine Motion haben. Man vermercket auch gar bey denen Kindern, daß weil sie den gantzen Tag durch sitzen, und doch wenn die Stadt-Kinder dimittiret werden, das Sitzen auff's neüe bis 7. Uhr continieren fortsitzen daß sie sehr verdrießen werden und deßwegen nicht mit Lust an die Arbeit gehen. Wenn man ihnen aber die 2 Stunden durch andere Arbeit, als zum Exempel Holtz zu tragen oder zuschneiden gabe, worbey sie motion haben könnten, so könnten nicht nur solche beständige Artzney Ankosten erspahret, sondern sie wurden auch sonst am Leibe und Seele muntere werden, und könnten denn auch ihre Schul-Arbeit mit bescheren Ernst und Fleiß verrichten.: AFSt/W VII/I/11: 4.

⁸⁹⁸ See for instance: AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 5 November, 1721, 14 January 1722; AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 28 January.

⁸⁹⁹ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 26 March 1721, 28 January 1722.

⁹⁰⁰ „4. Es fragt sich, welches am besten sei, ob man im Sommer die Strickstunde in eine Motionstunde verändern, oder beybehalten solle.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 19 March 1721.

as the preceptors do. The orphan girls also merely sit on the steps of their house in the courtyard without further motion.”⁹⁰¹

Some children were framed as needing motion, as in January 1722: “Some students require extraordinary movement, for which they have been given schedules, and designated places have been assigned to them in the upper part of the infirmary.”⁹⁰²

Despite these initiatives, the physician Johann Juncker felt called to mention the importance of exercise in November 1721:

“H. D. Juncker reminds us that the orphan boys must engage in movement by sawing wood in the winter so that they do not become scabby. The preceptors are to be reminded to supervise this diligently.”⁹⁰³

This reminder from the physician came in November after a year where the children’s physical activity had been recurrently on the agenda, not as a subject of discussion but as a subject of implementation.

Nevertheless, Juncker, maybe trying to be provident, in June 1722 put forward the suggestion to prepare a room that could be warmed for working in the winter.⁹⁰⁴ In March 1722, the protocol mentioned the specific extra motion class that Francke had introduced in the regulation for the orphan boys’ rooms. It seems like the struggle to implement motion intensified in 1723: a specific preceptor should be appointed with responsibility for exercising the orphan children,⁹⁰⁵ a practice that was consistent through 1724, where particular preceptors were assigned to these exercise classes, and if they – for not explicated reasons – stopped new preceptors were assigned.⁹⁰⁶ In addition, new places for exercise in the wood sheds were pointed out,⁹⁰⁷ and specific schedules were outlined for the orphan classes, both boys and girls.⁹⁰⁸

By December 1724, it seems like these initiatives had finally been fruitful:

⁹⁰¹ „3. Es ist erinnert daß die Knaben nach der Mahlzeit sich auf den Stuben niederlegen oder setzen, anstatt daß sie sich bewegen, wenigstens hin und her gehen könnten, wie die Praeceptores thun. Die Wäysen- Mädlein setzen sich auch nur auf die Treppe ihres Hauses wieder im Hof ohne fernere Motion.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 18 May 1721.

⁹⁰² „2. Einige Schüler haben extraord. Motion nöthig, wozu ihnen Schedulae sollen gegeben, und loci oben in der Kranckenwohnung angewiesey werden.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 14 January 1722.

⁹⁰³ „H. D. Juncker erinnert, daß die Wäysen- Knaben im Winter mit Holzsägen sich Bewegung machen müssen, damit sie nicht krätzig werden. Die Praeceptores sind zu erinnern, daß sie hierüber vigiliren.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 5 November 1721.

⁹⁰⁴ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 1: 12 June 1722.

⁹⁰⁵ „3. Bey der Waisen Classe ist ein gewisser Studiosus zu bestellen, der sie täglich von 5-7 spazieren führt oder sonst Motion mit ihnen mache, sonderlich in Majo.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 17 maj 1723.

⁹⁰⁶ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 11 February 1724, 25 August 1724, 8 September 1724.

⁹⁰⁷ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 5 November 1723.

⁹⁰⁸ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 12 November 1723, 19 November 1723.

“One can clearly perceive the benefits of the physical activity that has been carried out so far among the orphaned children, as there are now very few cases of scabies and very few children currently need to be in the exercise room.”⁹⁰⁹

In 1725, the practice of exercise may have even taken precedence for some children, as exemplified by the case of a pupil named Schlauf: “Schlauf does not go to school because he must constantly do his motion: the question is, what advice should be given to him?”⁹¹⁰ In the margin, Francke had noted that the pupil’s mother should be advised, given his condition, that she should seek to direct him towards a craftsman instead of keeping him at the school.

These strategies – encompassing segregation, the washing of bodies, cleansing with air, and structured physical exercise – and the constant problems with implementing them within the institution to manage and prevent scabies among pupils showcase the development of governance methods aimed at organising the environment to enhance health outcomes. They reflect an early example of biopower in several ways. The environmental organisation, which involved the segregation of students and strict cleansing of personal and communal items such as clothes, towels, and plates, were not only practical responses to immediate health threats but evolved through the years into the attempt to establish more systematised efforts to control both the environment and the humours of the pupils’ bodies, and by extension, the physical health of the pupils. Such measures reflect the institution’s recognition of the environment’s role in health and disease transmission. That the issue of governing scabies did not explicitly exhibit much religious framing of the problem and the evolution towards a primary understanding of physical exercise as physical labour and as a preventive and therapeutic strategy may invite an interpretation that we see a progression towards a non-theological – or more secular and medical – understanding of, e.g., physical exercise. However, when remembering how Richter’s dietetics was strictly embedded in Pietist theology, which also underpinned the understanding of the circulation of fluids within the body, the religious imperative to keep the body healthy may be seen to run as a subtext throughout the period. The pastoral concern that physical health influenced the health of the soul, which was hindered in its movement when self-induced diseases occurred due to a bad diet, still existed long after Richter’s death in 1711 and is illustrated by a minor conflict between the succeeding physician Johann Juncker and the inspectors and preceptors in 1732. The conflict shows that although it was not often explicitly articulated, Johann Juncker understood moving the body as a divine command that aligned with Richter’s dietetical rationality from around the early turn of the century.

⁹⁰⁹ „Man verspühret die Frucht gar sehr von der bißher getriebenen Motion unter den Waysen-Kindern in dem sehr wenige Scabiosi sind, auch sehr wenige auf die Motions-Stube anietzo sind.“ AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 2: 1 December 1724.

⁹¹⁰ „3. Schlaufs gehet in keine Schule, weil Er beständig Motion machen muß, quaritur wie ihm zu rathen?“ AFSt/W VI/-/13, Band 2: 31 August 1725.

The theological underpinning of physical health-promoting strategies in the daily practice.

While the pastoral focus on salvation and sin may seem to diminish in the governing strategies discussed above, where the medical gaze appears to dominate over theological concerns, this was not the case. The subtext of a religious imperative to protect and promote physical health remained central to Johann Juncker's approach to medical health, retaining a deeply pastoral objective of creating an environment that did not induce diseases in the pupils. The following section will examine a conflict between Juncker and the preceptors in 1732 on the necessity of physical exercise. The conflict illustrates how Juncker's health strategies were fundamentally shaped by a religious ethos and a firm belief that safeguarding the children's physical health was part of their spiritual care and the institution's responsibility. Furthermore, the dispute reflects the recurring pattern in which the institutional commitment to exercise practices deteriorated, in this case, prompting medical intervention to restore their implementation.

In a letter addressed directly to Gotthilf August Francke, Juncker argued that the orphan boys should engage in daily physical activity preferably under the supervision of a medical student. While not explicitly stated, placing a medical student as supervisor would ensure that a person who understood the importance of exercise was in charge of these classes. Juncker acknowledged that enforcing such a regime posed logistical challenges, as students were already occupied with other time-consuming obligations, including cleaning their rooms, maintaining their clothing, and preparing for school. However, he insisted on drawing up a schedule that ensured every child two hours of exercise daily. With complete confidence in the physician's recommendations for exercise, Gotthilf backed this up by stating: "My will is that everyone moves according to Mr Juncker's prescription [...]."⁹¹¹ Supporting this further, he noted that no one, except for Gotthilf himself, had the authority to excuse pupils from the daily exercise classes.

Juncker's proposal and Gotthilf Francke's support underscore the physician's power in institutional governance, particularly in reasserting medical priorities when these were neglected. Juncker's role was not advisory but instrumental in reshaping the routines of the institution, reinforcing the authority of medical expertise in pedagogical settings. His attempt to take control was backed up by the highest authority, which can be interpreted as Gotthilf's attempt to institutionalise Juncker's prescription, ensuring that exercise was not subject to the preceptors' discretion but rather an enforced medical and administrative requirement.

However, as seen in previous instances, preceptors, and in this case also inspectors, resisted institutional policies and disregarded directives concerning physical exercise. A few days after his initial complaint, Johann Juncker again wrote directly to Gotthilf August Francke, reiterating his critique of the inspectors and preceptors. They had argued that too much motion before lunch would induce sleepiness, while exercise after dinner was deemed

⁹¹¹ „Mein Wille ist, daß sich alle nach Hr. Junkers Vorschrift moviren, [...]. AFSt/W VIII/IX/1: 10.

impractical due to the students' need to prepare for the next day's lessons. Contrary to these objections, Juncker explicitly framed physical activity as an act aligned with the divine wisdom and natural order established by God: "[...] [it] strides towards the wisdom of God and His order, which He has commanded the human race for the preservation of health."⁹¹² Juncker further underscored that excessive devotion to studies was detrimental to health and that proper habituation to physical work did not induce sleepiness but increased alertness and capacity for learning, underpinning his argument with: "According to divine order and the unavoidable necessity of our bodies [...] physical labour comes first, and lessons take second place."⁹¹³

These statements reflected the fundamental conviction, also articulated in Richter's dietetical writings, that exercise, as ordained by divine law, was intrinsically aligned with the body's natural needs, and therefore must take precedence over academic studies. Reiterating his demand for at least two hours of motion, Juncker escalated the argument by warning of severe consequences if this principle was ignored: "[...] that you do not get learned people because they die early and are thus deprived of the years necessary for advanced studies."⁹¹⁴ Here, Juncker not only justified exercise as a means of promoting health but also framed its omission as an existential threat to the institution's very purpose – the formation of educated and pious Christians. Drawing on Richter's argumentation that self-inflicted diseases led to premature death, Juncker's critique thus implicitly accused the institution itself of failing in its moral duties to balance the humours of the pupils through exercise. By depriving children of necessary movement, the school not only was unable to uphold divine expectations but also actively harmed the students, inducing the very illnesses that its educational, pastoral, and medical mission sought to prevent. This shifted the locus of moral and medical failure from the individual to the institution, suggesting that the school's structure, rather than the behaviour of the pupils, was responsible for disease and early mortality. The unwavering support from Gotthilf August Francke, like in other instances, underscored the institutional commitment to implementing practices that prioritised health despite resistance from other administrative figures or preceptors.

Juncker's formulations represent the intersection of medical and religious argumentation, demonstrating the construction of exercise as both a religious and physiological requirement that persisted as a subtext well into the 1730s and remained a consistent feature of institutional discourse. This case exemplifies the physician's expanding role in shaping educational practices, illustrating that medical professionals were key actors in designing pedagogical policies. By insisting on a health-promoting educational milieu, Juncker and Francke contributed to developing practices that framed education as a space

912, "[...] stritten wider die Weisheit Gottes und wider diese Ordnung, welche Er ad conservandum sanitatem dem menschlichen Geschlecht befohlen hat." AFSt/W VIII/IX/1: 10.

913 „Auf Göttlicher Ordnung aber und nach der unumgänglichen Notdurft unseres Leibes ist [...] die Leibes-Arbeit der erste, und die Lectiones stehen hinteran.“ AFSt/W VIII/IX/1: 10.

914 „[...] daß ihr keine gelehrte Leute bekommt, weil sie bald sterben und daher der Jahre, welche zu reifen Studien gehören, beraubt werden.“ AFSt/W VIII/IX/1: 10.

requiring attention to biological and physiological development. Their intervention shows the integration of biopower into pedagogical structures, as the institution sought to regulate the physical organism and cultivate healthier, more productive individuals through the enforcement of divinely sanctioned medical practice. Simultaneously, the conflict over motion practices illustrates the recurring, almost cyclical nature of the implementation of practices and the ensuing neglect of these within the institution, demonstrating how medical authority repeatedly felt called upon to intervene when, for instance, physical activity was deprioritised.

Health as a mechanism of selection

While the physician's influence on the pedagogical structures was evident in previously discussed cases, such as the institutionalisation of regular exercise, the power-knowledge nexus of the physician is particularly apparent in how medical assessment influenced educational selection mechanisms.

The physician's influence over students' professional futures is reflected in several cases where children were advised to pursue careers requiring more physical activity. Around 1710-1712, several boys suffered from throat swellings (*Hals-Beulen*),⁹¹⁵ raising concerns about their ability to thrive in a mainly sedentary environment. One entry in the protocol recorded the case of Jacob Weyse, a student who himself linked his ailment to insufficient physical work: "[Jacob] complains that because he no longer has work, his swelling grows large again, and he desires a master who will give him much work."⁹¹⁶

As mentioned earlier, many orphans worked with artisans in the city to finance their studies. At this stage, the entry merely noted that Jacob expressed a preference for working with an artisan who would assign him more physical labour, suggesting that he had internalised the notion of a link between lack of physical activity and acute diseases. The internalisation of humoral principles among pupils is further exemplified by a separate case involving orphan boys: "The orphan boys, because they often become scabby, ask for motion."⁹¹⁷ Here, the students themselves actively requested additional physical activity as a preventive measure against scabies, illustrating that the pupils had absorbed health directives. The fact that students sought out physical labour for health reasons indicates a shift from top-down enforcement of medical principles to their active internalisation, which can be considered a key mechanism in the operation of pastoral and biopower.

Returning to Jacob Weyse's case, despite the awareness of the benefits of exercise, his health did not improve either through school-facilitated exercise or work with an artisan.

⁹¹⁵ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 27 May 1711, 13 July 1712.

⁹¹⁶ „Klagt, daß, weil er nicht mehr zu arbeiten hatte, so wachse seine Beule wieder groß, und verlanget als einen Herrn, der ihm viel zu arbeiten gebe.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 5 November 1710.

⁹¹⁷ „die Waysen-Knaben, weil sie meist krätzig werden, bitten um Motion.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 20 March 1715.

Approximately six months after his initial complaints, a new recommendation was made, highlighting the potential benefits of transitioning Jacob to a lifestyle that entailed more physical movement, thereby better serving his health: “Whether to bring the boy Jacob Weyse to a way of life where he would have more movement and his health would be better helped.”⁹¹⁸ In this suggestion, the authority of medical knowledge about the health effects of a sedentary lifestyle directly influences educational and professional redirection, as health considerations became decisive factors in career placement. This was not an isolated case. On 14 April, 1719, Johann Juncker conducted a health evaluation of the orphan boys, identifying several in a bad state of health. The recommendation made following this examination was explicit: “[...] to advise them to pursue a profession in which they are active. [...]”⁹¹⁹ This decision underscores how medical expertise actively shaped students’ life paths, illustrating a way of acting aligning with biopolitical principles. The selection process for determining suitability for a scholarly career thus extended beyond intellectual ability to include physical resilience, reinforcing what can be interpreted as a biopedagogical framework in which students’ humoral balance – or the capacity of their biology – influenced their educational and professional futures. Moreover, an entry from 1721 articulates concerns regarding the reintegration of pupils into a sedentary school environment, particularly emphasising the risk of recurring scabies when the children did not exercise enough. This concern precipitated a proposal to redirect affected students towards more physically demanding professions, articulated in the following solution:

“Kraul is now completely free of his scabies, so it will be necessary to place him in a profession. Because as soon as he sits down again in school, he gets scabies again.”⁹²⁰

This statement reflects an explicit recognition of the limitations of the school’s existing health regimen. The institutional leadership acknowledged that the exercise opportunities provided within the school were insufficient to counteract the adverse effects of prolonged inactivity for some students, reinforcing the notion that some students were physiologically unsuited for an academic career. By recommending alternative professional paths based on medical interpretations of their physical health, the institution solidified the physician’s role as a regulator of bodies and futures.

The integration of medical discourse into educational decision making reflects an early form of adapting educational pathways to biological capacities, demonstrating how medical authority extended beyond curing illnesses to structuring institutional governance. The

⁹¹⁸ “Ob der Knabe Jacob Weyse etwan zu einer Lebens-Arth zu bringen wäre, da er mehr Bewegung hätte, und also seiner Gesundheit beßer geholten würde.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 11 March 1711.

⁹¹⁹ „[...] denen zurathen daß sie sich zu einer Profession wenden, wobey sie Bewegung haben, [...]“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 14 April 1719.

⁹²⁰ “Kraul ist, ietzo rein von seiner Krätze, nun wird nötig seyn ihn zu einer Profession zu bringen. Denn sobald er wieder ins Sitze kommt in die Schule, kriegt er die Krätze wieder.“ AFSt/W V/-/13, Band 2: 27 August 1721.

strategic use of dieterical knowledge to shape pupils' futures highlights the emergence of a biopedagogical framework, wherein health and career prospects were intricately linked.

The expansion of medical authority into career selection illustrates how the physician's role and power evolved into a mechanism of social regulation, exemplifying the biopedagogical dimensions of the institution's evolution. The power-knowledge nexus of the physician's role is particularly evident in how medical assessments influenced the educational selection mechanism, where physical health was considered alongside intellectual aptitude. The physician's authority and power to pedagogical decision making underscores how biopolitical strategies were embedded within the educational framework, ensuring that institutional structures actively shaped student's bodies and futures.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the governance of space, food, cleanliness, and washing within Die Franckeschen Anstalten cannot be understood solely as a matter of physical health management, nor can it be reduced to a secular, forward-looking proto-modern hygiene programme. Rather, the institution's meticulous attention to cleanliness, dietary regulation, physical movement, and environmental structuring reveals a convergence of two rationalities of governance: biopower and pastoral power. These rationalities coalesced into what may be described as a biopastoral pedagogical regime – a system that sought not merely to preserve the pupils' physical health, but to integrate their bodies and physical organisms into a broader spiritually grounded framework of discipline.

The institution employed what can clearly be identified as biopolitical strategies: regimented physical exercise, environmental control (including air purification, lighting of dark spaces, and sanitation), medical surveillance, and structured dietary practices, all designed to optimise the physical and spiritual health of the pupils. Central to this regime was the physician, whose authority extended far beyond the role of healer, becoming instead a significant institutional authority and gatekeeper. The elevated status of the physician reflects the consolidation of biopower: physicians were responsible not only for treating illness but for safeguarding the general physical health of the inhabitants through proactive intervention in everyday life. Perhaps most significantly, the medical construction of the outbreak of diseases like scabies and of the sedentary life provided the physician with the authority to categorise certain pupils as unsuited for academic pursuits due to their fragile bodily constitutions, redirecting them towards more physically demanding vocations. In doing so, the institution ensured that each child was assigned a future commensurate with their physical constitution. That this medical logic was internalised by the pupils themselves – who reportedly demanded increased physical activity when ill – demonstrates how medical knowledge became a central way of perceiving the body and was woven into the pedagogical fabric of the school. The integration of medical knowledge as a selection mechanism illustrates how deeply biopolitical strategies were a part of the institution's educational model.

The systematic implementation of purging practices – such as laxation and bloodletting – further illustrates the interweaving of theological and medical concerns. On one level, these practices can be conceived as physical health-promoting measures. Yet, within Christian Friedrich Richter's dietetics, such purgative techniques were embedded in a theological anthropology that construed the human body as a repository of the filthy consequences of original sin, manifested as foul-smelling, fluid substances. Consequently, these practices acquired a ritual and spiritual character, functioning as acts of spiritual cleansing as well as medical intervention. Among the institution's leadership, purging practices became highly formalised, communal events imbued with religious significance as moments for prayer, praise of Christian-minded physicians, and remembrance of dear and Christian friends.

At the same time, the regulation of purgation practices points to a broader institutional challenge: the issue of maintaining order. The breakdown of practices – also reflected in physical movement routines and the frequent failure to uphold dietary standards – mirrored the disorderliness that surfaced in the implementation of health-promoting practices. Children often adapted the practices of laxation to serve their own purposes, requesting purgation as a means of securing time off or due to a self-diagnosed need for further cleansing. These behaviours resulted in ongoing disruptions of the intended order which the institution found necessary to regulate. The gap between institutional ideals, often deeply internalised among the leadership, and everyday practices highlights how biopastoral pedagogical governance was neither seamless nor unidirectional but rather a site of continuous negotiation and contestation. The continual need to reinstate broken practices alongside the intermittent reluctance of preceptors to enforce these regimes illustrates the institutional struggle to integrate biopastoral pedagogical practices into everyday routines.

Dietary regulation similarly reflected tensions between idealised order and practical disorder. While the main health principle of moderation faded somewhat from direct focus, concern with freshness and cleanliness in the food served can be understood as a response to chronic institutional failure to provide adequately nourishing food and maintain basic health standards. Poor quality of food appears to have been a continuous problem, especially for orphaned children who were routinely served substandard meals. Moreover, dietary regulation reflected and reinforced existing social hierarchies within the institution. The restrictions on meat consumption for orphaned children served both economic and moral functions – limiting cost while instilling in them an acceptance of their subordinate place in the hierarchy, designed to shape them to their social status outside the institution. Thus, dietary regulation became a nexus at which economic rationality, moral discipline, and social stratification converged. In essence, the governance of health was never neutral: in the case of food, it fundamentally aimed at sustaining every individual with a basic level of health while simultaneously reinforcing their predetermined social roles.

Although many of these practices were not explicitly framed as pastoral in the sources, the persistent emergence of theological justifications – like in the *Vesper* bread debate or Juncker's accusation that the preceptors violated divine order by skipping motion classes –

underscores the fundamental pastoral logic guiding dietetical practices, reinforcing that such practices were embedded in a broader salvific logic.

The regulation of washing and environmental control further exemplifies the co-production of spiritual and physical cleanliness. Within Richter's theological-medical rationality, bodily impurities were concrete manifestations of sin and posed a danger to the soul. Consequently, practices such as bathing, purging, and air purification acquired a spiritual dimension beyond hygienic functions. While washing was primarily employed as a remedy for curing scabies, the deeper imperative of preserving health by combatting diseases associated with original sin placed these practices firmly within a pastoral framework. The persistent problem of *Krätze* and similar conditions demonstrates how Die Franckeschen Anstalten functioned as a biopolitical space in which bodily governance was inextricably linked to spatial and environmental control and health conceptualised as an interplay between individual discipline and regulated surroundings.

Furthermore, spatial governance extended to architectural modifications: ventilation systems, high ceilings, odour and vapour control, the segregation of diseased students, and the creation of specific motion classes for diseased children all formed part of a strategy to align physical space with the divine order of physical health. The controlled lighting of spaces intended to expose and govern sinful conduct among the children reveals the deep entanglement of environmental governance and theology.

Taken together, these findings challenge the interpretation of Die Franckeschen Anstalten as a proto-modern, forward-looking institution concerned solely with hygiene. Instead, the practices examined here reveal a distinctively pastoral way of understanding washing, purging, and spatial governance. Through continuous attempts to structure bodily cleansing, dietary regulation, spatial ordering, and environmental control, the institution sought to counter the ill effects of sin – and the carnal inclination – in both body and soul. Thus, the institution cultivated a pastoral-dietetical topography deeply embedded in theological and medical rationalities. This approach aimed not only to maintain physical health but to shape the pupils into true, healthy Christians – physically, morally, and spiritually – individuals who conformed to institutional and theological ideals of Pietism. Although constantly contested and negotiated, this regime remained fundamentally committed to the Pietist value of disciplining the flesh, employing oneself as a tool of God, and ultimately teaching how to secure salvation through bodily discipline.

The analysis in Part II has illustrated that *cultura animi* was not only aimed at cultivating students' emotional states but extended into the very fabric of the body and its internal organism. This broader notion of *cultura animi* was not abstract but concrete, requiring direct interventions into the pupil's physical life through structured washing, a clean diet, and regulated motion. These aspects of *cultura animi* thus emerged as a means of aligning the external form with internal virtue – clean bodies, a clean environment, a clean consciousness, restraint, and diligence. The objective of *cultura animi* aligned with the Pietist conviction that education must not only transmit knowledge but also actively transform the student into an embodiment of Christian virtue. The convergence of biopower, pastoral discipline, and *cultura animi* within Die Franckeschen Anstalten thus

represents an early example of how education, medicine, and theology coalesced into a unified programme of body-mind-soul-societal governance.

Conclusion and Discussion

This dissertation has demonstrated that Halle Pietism functioned as a key site for the historical emergence of a distinct pastoral biopower in which spiritual and physical health governance were systematically entwined.

This study set out to explore how the Halle Pietists, particularly within the educational project at Die Franckeschen Anstalten, constructed and implemented practices of physical and spiritual health as a part of their broader pedagogical and social reform programme in the period between 1698 and 1759. At the heart of this inquiry, my aim has been to rethink the dominant narrative of the emergence of biopower and large-scale health reform as mainly secular phenomena by foregrounding the role of religious institutions in developing early systematic health optimising strategies. Rather than presenting a linear story in which medical rationalities gradually displaced religious ones, this dissertation has shown how medical and theological concerns were deeply entangled in the Pietist effort to shape a healthy Christian body, soul, and society.

In order to frame this rethinking, I have drawn on Michel Foucault's theories of power. While approaching physical health through a Foucauldian lens is not itself novel, I have argued that existing scholarship on large-scale health optimisation of the population in the 18th century – primarily informed by theories of medicalisation – has tended to reproduce a dichotomy between medicine and religion, positioning medicine as providing secular interpretations of the biological landscape of the body which marginalised the religious perspective said primarily to be concerned about the soul. By employing Foucault's concept of governmentality, which allows for an analysis of multiple rationalities and their interplay, I have been able to highlight how medical and pastoral issues intersected. Analysing how Pietist authority figures produced knowledge of health, and combining this with an exploration of how such rationalities were enacted, has enabled me to analyse the intersection of medical and pastoral concerns. Using analytical concepts such as problematisation, technologies, internalisation, and resistance has allowed me to focus specifically on how the governmentality of health in this specific context encompassed the governance of the bios (the biological organism) as a technology aimed at governing the soul (the pastoral dimension). Moreover, I have sought to illuminate how governance of bodily desires is a complex issue to unpack. While pastoral power always targeted sin manifested in bodily desires – such as indulging in eating, drinking, and sloth – such actions were sometimes problematised in relation to the biology of the body, sometimes described merely as vices that expressed themselves in sinful desires and actions. This theoretical approach has allowed me to trace the modes of power through which health was defined,

administered, practised, and contested. Thus, governmentality has provided a framework suited to capturing the intertwined nature of Pietist medical and theological rationalities, revealing that physical health was not a purely secular medical category but profoundly connected to pastoral care, broader pedagogical strategies of educating true Christians, and societal improvement.

Ultimately, the key finding of the analysis is that efforts to govern and optimise physical health in this specific context were deeply rooted in the *cultura animi* tradition that saw the care of the soul and the care of the body as fundamentally interconnected, and that biopower – as a power targeting the biology of the body – emerged out of this pastoral care for the soul.

The following concluding reflections revisit the key findings of the dissertation and discuss their broader implications for our understanding of 18th-century governmentality of health, the role of religion in this governance, and the entangled genealogies of biopower and pastoral power.

Part I

In Part I, I analysed the normative health rationalities of August Hermann Francke and Christian Friedrich Richter with particular attention to how the body and the concept of health were problematised and sought to be governed within their theological, medical, and pedagogical rationalities.

The crucifixion of the flesh as a prerequisite for spiritual health

One of the major findings of Part I is that August Hermann Francke formulated a theological health rationality shaped by a medical vocabulary deeply rooted in a theological programme that problematised the body and stressed governance of its desires as central to both individual salvation and societal reform. Rather than treating the care of the body as a secondary concern, Francke integrated bodily governance as a means to obtain spiritual health into a comprehensive spiritual-pedagogical project that fused medical, theological, and pastoral aims.

In the first empirical chapter, I have argued that Francke's understanding of the healthy Christian emerged from controversies regarding the definition and practice of true Christianity. Francke positioned himself critically against local Lutheran churches, particularly concerning interpretations of the role of the flesh and carnal desires and their implications for attaining salvation. The theological conflict centred on two critical issues influencing Francke's construction of the body and health: his positive stance on the possibility of achieving partial perfection in this life, and his rejection of *adiaphora* – the

theological notion that there existed actions indifferent to salvation. Francke's rejection of *adiaphora* underpinned a rationality in which every action – including satisfying seemingly mundane bodily needs such as eating, drinking, and sleeping – was spiritually charged and thus required scrutiny for alignment with divine service. Since carnal inclinations, like overeating or excessive drinking, were identified as the force that diverted individuals from divine duties, Francke problematised the body and its natural needs as potential pathways for damnation and as domains requiring active governance to prevent the loss of salvation. Essentially, the pious person needed to crucify the flesh, in Francke's terms, thus enabling a sin-free life that contributed both to individual and societal perfection by ensuring constant readiness for divine service. This imperative resulted in two principal technologies for governing the flesh: introspection and moderation. While introspection served to distinguish between actions driven by carnal desires and those motivated by service to God, moderation ensured that ascetic practices did not exceed the necessary boundaries for maintaining bodily capacity for productive labour.

Although such constructions of flesh and body might appear to reflect classical Christian approaches to bodily desires, Francke's rationality diverged from more rigorous ascetic traditions by emphasising bodily care rather than extreme deprivation: regulation geared towards moderate food intake and rest aimed not only at suppressing the flesh, but essentially at maintaining the body capable of productive work. Therefore, Francke did not advocate strict abstinence, as this would lead to physical exhaustion, undermining the body's function as a tool in the continuous service of God. Instead, the goal was consistently assessing bodily needs to optimise physical potential as an instrument of divine labour. Consequently, the body was both a site of risk, susceptible to sinful indulgence, and a vehicle for sanctification, also expressed in the framing of the body as the temple of the living soul – if governed correctly. Thus, the body required active care – precisely measured nourishment and rest – to remain an effective tool in the service of God.

When identifying the crucifixion of the flesh as the signifier of true Christianity, Francke drew heavily on the *Christus Medicus* tradition, which formulated theological concepts like faith, soul, Jesus, and God in a medical terminology. Faith, sin, and redemption were framed in terms of health, disease, medicine, healing, and cure. These were not merely metaphorical constructions but represented a distinct ontology wherein soul diseases existed and spiritual conditions or states like faith could genuinely be healthy or diseased. Following this tradition, Francke articulated original sin as a fundamental, inherent disease whose symptoms were carnal desires. This view positioned human existence as intrinsically pathological. Jesus and God functioned as true healers, capable of remedying humanity's inherently pathological state through divine grace mediated by God's word.

However, in Francke's rationality, mere belief was insufficient to maintain a healthy faith: a healthy soul required the active practice of overcoming the flesh. Spiritual health was mirrored by physical conduct, the elimination of carnal desires, and the cultivation of a body optimised for work. Introspection and moderation thus emerged as core technologies through which individuals regulated spiritual health.

Notably, the domains to be regulated – eating, drinking, rest, motion, and passions – were also core areas of health regulation within dietetical theories, underscoring a convergence between theological and medical discourses concerning the practices essential for health.

Although Francke himself did not employ the term explicitly, his rationality can accurately be described as a dietetics of the soul: a programme for spiritual health rooted in the governance of bodily desires articulated in a religious-medical language that defined the health or illness of the soul as ontologically real conditions. Thus, Francke's concept of *cultura animi*, or the cultivation or healing of the soul, encompassed not only the governance of emotions and spiritual passions but extended explicitly to the management of categories similar to those presented in dietetics as essential for health maintenance.

Ultimately, I have shown that Francke's vision of spiritual health was inseparable from the active care of the body. Even though he did not directly engage with physiological health as a biological category, his theological rationality integrated bodily governance into the broader Pietist project of shaping the individual for divine service and societal reform. In this way, Francke's spiritual health rationality exemplifies how religious movements contributed to the discourse of health and linked spiritual health to the governance of categories linked to the body very similar to those that dietetic prescribed to be monitored in order to maintain health.

From the governance of the flesh to the governance of the biological body

While Francke established a health rationality centred on the governance of carnal desires through introspection and moderation, his emphasis remained primarily on the regulation of intention and external behaviours and their spiritual consequences. In the second empirical chapter, I have argued that Christian Friedrich Richter extended and intensified this rationality by introducing a distinct medical-theological perspective that bound the governance of sin directly to the body's internal biological processes, a move that intensified the reach of pastoral governance.

A key finding of this chapter is that Richter reframed original sin not merely as moral inclination towards vice but as a tangible force materially inscribed in the biological processes of bodily decay. Drawing on humoral pathology, Richter identified the production of sluggish, viscous humours – slow-running, slimy blood, stool, sweat, mucus, urine, earwax, and other excretions – as signs of the body's fallen state and the principal cause of diseases. These substances were framed not as neutral waste products, but as tangible reminders of the body's corruption after the Fall. To leave them unregulated was to allow sin to fester within the biology of the body, increasing the risk of developing physical diseases. Since Richter formulated it as a divine imperative to maintain the humoral balance intact, they threatened both physical health and spiritual integrity when left unregulated. Humoral governance thus

became imperative, not simply to prevent diseases but to counter the persistent danger of sin inscribed within the human organism – a spiritual obligation with eschatological stakes. In this way, Richter expanded the Pietist project of bodily governance by embedding health practices such as moderation, manual labour, emotional control, and purging into a pastoral regime aimed at managing spiritual and biological life. As in Francke's theology, bodily governance served the higher goal of preserving the body's capacity for divine service. However, Richter underscored that while diseases could never be entirely avoided due to original sin, individual conduct could influence the pace of bodily decay. Sinful behaviour – such as sloth, indulgence, or unregulated passions – disrupted the humoral balance and risked self-inflicted diseases. This created a double fault: the sin itself and the additional transgression of rendering oneself unfit for Christian labour. For Richter, the body's divinely instituted humoral order demanded vigilant regulation as a safeguard against sin and a means of maintaining the Christian's readiness for work.

By opening up the body's internal landscape as a site for Christian knowledge production, Richter biologised original sin without diminishing its theological meaning, effectively linking the body's biology and physical health governance to concepts like salvation and damnation. Furthermore, Richter thus bound regulation of sin to health practices like moderation, physical motion, emotional regulation, clean air, and purging techniques. This led to an extreme focus on balancing physical processes, for instance maintaining a well-functioning digestive system, washing away bad-smelling substances, and purging excessive fluids, all framed as spiritual practices that God demanded the pious Christian to perform. While Richter did not articulate the concept of *adiaphora*, his dietetics can be interpreted as a medical intensification of the concept that conditions like leaving constipation untreated or forgetting to exercise were spiritual transgressions with ultimate consequences for salvation. This extension of pastoral care into the biological features of the body gave rise to a distinctive theological dietetics in which humoral governance aimed at enhancing physical health became a spiritual imperative inseparable from the governance of the soul. This reinforced the Pietist vision of the human body as a site of both divine service and pastoral control. Thus, while Richter shared Francke's view of the body as an instrument of divine service, he advanced Francke's health rationality by reframing the relationship between sin and body through a distinct physiological lens.

Finally, it is crucial to note that both Francke and Richter problematised ignorance as the greatest obstacle to salvation. Humanity was not only sinful but lacked the crucial knowledge to counteract the effects of sin, biologically and spiritually. Existing institutions such as churches, universities, and schools were, in Francke and Richter's view, failing in their duty to provide this knowledge. Hence, institutions like Die Franckeschen Anstalten were of significant importance as crucial sites of societal reform: sites where knowledge, health, and piety were cultivated under a regime of religiously motivated governance. In the health rationalities of Francke and Richter, the production of healthy individuals was not an ancillary goal but a core part of their vision for societal reform.

This logic exemplifies what can be understood as pastoral biopower or biopastoral power: a form of governance in which the care for the biological body was a direct extension of the

pastoral aim to guide souls. Within this framework, Richter's dietetics emerged from a deeply theological concern for the soul's destiny. Dietetics thus became an instrument of pastoral power, deployed not only to improve the physical body but to realign it with divine order and thereby save the soul.

These findings in Part I demonstrate that the Pietist health rationalities marked the emergence of a biopastoral power in its own right – one that mobilised bodily techniques to shape Christian health and advance societal reform. While it has often been argued that biopower is concerned with optimising life in this world, whereas pastoral power addresses the afterlife, Part I has shown that in the Pietist context, the governance of physical and spiritual health was profoundly eschatological. The danger of neglecting one's health was framed not merely as risking physical harm but as imperilling one's salvation; conversely, disciplined bodily care was a means of securing eternal life but simultaneously a means of optimising society towards more pious standards. Thus, in their rationalities, the discourse of health remained in constant dialogue with the care of the soul and the broader project of societal reform.

Part II

While the production of truth about health constitutes a form of power in the Foucauldian sense, such rationalities only acquire real force when they are enacted in practice – when they are translated into concrete techniques that shape conduct. As Mitchell Dean has emphasised, power operates not merely through discourse but through practices: knowledge made technical and practical. In Part II, I have therefore explored how health rationalities were operationalised within the pedagogical framework of Die Franckeschen Anstalten as part of the project to educate true Christians, focusing on how intertwined theological and medical norms shaped institutional life and individual conduct.

Part II has demonstrated how the Pietist project of shaping healthy pious Christians was not confined to discourse but translated into concrete, institutionalised techniques of physical and spiritual governance. One of the central findings of Part II is that the institution's leadership actively sought to cultivate a health promoting educational environment in which theological and medical norms merged into a coherent pastoral-dietetical project aimed at shaping pious, healthy Christian subjects. These findings show that the governance of health functioned as a key technology within the Pietist reform effort through the implementation of systematic motion routines, food control, systematic purging, the regulation of space and architecture, and disciplinary interventions like surveillance and strict schedules. Along with the elevation of the physician as a pastoral and educational authority, the institution can be seen as a place where technologies of governing the physical and spiritual health of larger groups of people were developed and practised.

Governing motion

Chapter 6 has demonstrated that from the inception of the institution, physical activity, or motion, emerged as a key category in both the physical and spiritual education of the pupils. A principal finding is that systematic, structured motion practice – introduced almost from the institution's inception – became a persistent element of daily routines, anchored in the dietetical logic of counteracting the disease inducing sedentary student life. While conflict arose among the inspectors over the legitimacy of certain forms of motion, these debates were never about the necessity of motion itself but rather about which forms aligned with spiritual health. Motion, therefore, functioned not only as a physical health practice but as a moral technology that defined which bodily activities were spiritually sanctioned and which were not, particularly when used to control idleness. Notably, not only were wild and disordered activities like playing dismissed as forms of motion; the reverse situation could also appear, where an activity once dismissed as idle or sinful, such as leisure walks, was reinterpreted within a humoral framework and legitimised as spiritually beneficial. Furthermore, productive labour like sawing or chopping wood, garden work, and spinning was increasingly framed as physical motion, and games and playing were increasingly forbidden as ways of exercising the body. The publication of a student health guide in the middle of the period under examination – endorsing the motion practices implemented over the past years and condemning those dismissed by an argumentation drawing on humoral pathology and theology of health – illustrates how health discourse was codified into institutional norms through new knowledge production.

Moreover, motion was internalised by both leaders and pupils as a meaningful health practice. The leadership's correspondence, diaries, and memoirs revealed how motion became a shared technique of humoral governance, explicitly recommended among the Pietist elite. Even pupils adopted this perspective, sometimes requesting additional motion as both prophylactic and therapeutic means, thus conforming to institutional expectations.

This implementation of structured motion practices, the framing and reframing of activities, the new production of medical health knowledge, and the internalisation of these ideal practices demonstrates how health governance became a normative standard for defining acceptable behaviour.

Managing space, cleanliness, and excretions

Chapter 7 demonstrated how health rationalities shaped the management of food, space, cleanliness, and architecture. It is significant that the institution's physical environment was in part deliberately designed according to dietetical and theological health promoting principles and miasma theory. Providing air circulation to support clean air and the lighting of dark spaces in order to mitigate sins committed in the dark were technologies for both physical and spiritual health.

Purging through bloodletting and laxation was also introduced as systematic practices, where the institution's leaders but also the pupils were scheduled to undergo these practices in the spring and autumn. Together with washing practices, which were primarily installed as a means to combat diseases like scabies, these acts of purification were spiritually motivated as divine commands of health, and thus presented not merely as hygienic measures but as attempts to instil God's order into the environmental setting. The ritual and communal dimension of purging practices, accompanied by prayer and moral reflection, further underscore their embeddedness in a pastoral framework.

Surprisingly, the significant focus on serving healthy food in the food regulations did not refer to dietetical rules, but rather to the fact that the institution faced a constant struggle with badly prepared and even rotten beer and food. Furthermore, the convergence of spiritual health, moral conduct, and economic rationalities was particularly evident in practices of food regulation. For example, the denial of extra meat to orphan children under the argument that such a practice would instil vices like greed and anger, served both cost-saving and moral-educational purposes, illustrating how the institution's health regime also functioned as a site for producing and reinforcing social hierarchies. The production of healthy Christian subjects was not simply a spiritual ideal, but a material process embedded in a stratified institutional economy.

The rise of the physician as a pastoral and pedagogical authority

Another key finding of Chapter 7 is the evolving authority of the physician. Far from being limited to curative functions, physicians became institutional authorities who shaped pedagogical routines, dietary standards, and environmental conditions. Their influence extended across domains: they oversaw food quality, advocated for motion as both a preventive and curative practice, contributed to educational manuals, produced new knowledge that legitimised evolving practices with medical arguments, and played a central role in selecting pupils not fit for an academic career based on their physical constitution. This position and legitimacy stemmed not only from medical expertise but from the theological arguments that framed physical health as a divine obligation. Physicians in this setting became guardians of God's order in the human organism. Their role reflects how the theological medical knowledge expanded into every corner of institutional life, where the imperative to prevent disorder – and therefore sin – made prevention a spiritual as well as medical necessity.

The fragility of order: contestation and everyday realities

Importantly, Part II has shown that health governance at Die Franckeschen Anstalten was not a seamless exercise of power. Practices were continuously negotiated, contested, and occasionally resisted – by pupils, preceptors, staff, and even the inspectors. Children learned

to manipulate motion and purgation practices in their own favour; dietary standards continuously fell below the expected level; motion classes were skipped or forgotten; preceptors neglected instruction or relaxed surveillance; and even some inspectors allowed activities such as playing even though this was against institution policy. Down to the bone, sinful conduct constantly occurred in secret, particularly in places where the technologies of strict scheduling and surveillance broke down. Yet, even in this constant breakdown of practices, the leaders constantly sought to reimplement order. These dynamics show that Die Franckeschen Anstalten was not a perfectly ordered disciplinary machine, but a site of ongoing struggle over how to align theological and medical ideals as they collided with everyday realities.

To sum up, Part I and Part II have demonstrated that the leadership developed medical-theological rationalities of the healthy soul and body and that they consciously sought to cultivate a pastoral-dietetical topography within the institution – a comprehensive system where bodies, spaces, and behaviours were to be meticulously governed according to intertwined theological and medical norms. Even as resistance and breakdown of practices continually occurred, the institution's leadership repeatedly sought to reaffirm this regime. In this sense, the institution stands as a key site in the historical emergence of biopower and biopolitical interventions – by installing a biopastoral regime in which the salvation of the soul and the improvement of society was pursued through the minute regulation of the organism and its environment.

This study has repositioned Halle Pietism within the genealogy of biopower. By analysing how theological, medical, and pedagogical rationalities intersected, I have shown that governance of the body and the care of the soul operated as mutually reinforcing strategies – shaping subjects for both earthly conduct and eternal salvation. This perspective challenges the established narrative of biopower as a predominantly secular phenomenon and opens up new avenues for studying the 18th-century formation of health governance. These findings not only illustrate the internal logic of Halle Pietism but raise broader questions about how such regimes of governance relate to the emerging political and administrative rationalities of the 18th-century state. In the following section, I will discuss how the practices at Die Franckeschen Anstalten position the institution within the broader context of early police institutions and medical policing.

Die Franckeschen Anstalten and the emergence of medical policing: Towards an early Police Institution?

The empirical findings presented in this dissertation have demonstrated that Die Franckeschen Anstalten developed a systematic regime of health governance where theological and medical rationalities merged into daily practices. In this final discussion, I argue that these findings invite a reinterpretation of the institution as an early police

institution — a site where spiritual, bodily, and administrative forms of governance were experimentally combined in ways that shaped both religious and state-led health policies in 18th-century Prussia. Rather than viewing Die Franckeschen Anstalten merely as a philanthropic, educational, or theological project, I suggest it must also be understood within the broader history of 18th-century governance, particularly in relation to the emergence of police institutions and medical policing.

In 18th-century cameralist and police theory, health, education, labour, space, and morality were all understood as domains of governance essential for fostering a productive, obedient, and secure population. This implied that the population should be protected from disorder, danger, or instability, ensuring that individuals were not a threat to social and political harmony. Police in this context did not refer to law enforcement but to the comprehensive management of an ordered society. As Michel Foucault emphasised in *Security, Territory, Population*, 18th-century police meant the “calculated management of life” contributing both to individual happiness and to state strength.⁹²¹ Similarly, in *Discipline and Punish* Foucault highlighted how police institutions operated through diffuse disciplinary mechanisms – routine surveillance, normalisation of behaviour, and corrective techniques forming a “micro-physics of power” that reached into details of everyday life.⁹²² While Foucault introduced the concept of biopower to theorise the process of authorities working on the biological features of the population, the medical police and police institutions were a concrete example of the enactment of such power. In the Foucauldian notion of police institutions, the police are used in a broad sense of public welfare and order, and a police institution can be understood as an institution attempting to develop technologies through which the environment and the conduct and moral of the population is regulated. Historically, such police institutions emerged in various forms across Prussia, including correction houses, workhouses, and general policing commissions. Institutions like *Generalpolizeikommission* (1713), *Potsdam Garnisonsschule* (1722) and the Spandau Workhouse (1744) exemplified the practical application of “the administration of life”: institutions designed not primarily for repression but for the regulation of behaviour and morals.

The specific category of medical police – referring to the systematic regulation of physical health by state or semi-public institutions – is traditionally associated with the latter half of the 18th century. The monumental *System einer vollständigen medizinischen Polizei* by Johann Peter Frank (published between 1779-1819) is often cited as a founding text of this tradition. It addressed urban regulation, food safety, hygiene, and dietetical education as state concerns. However, other contemporary works on medical policing, such as Wilhelm Baumer’s *Fundamenta politicae medicae* (1777), was inspired by Halle Pietism and outlined a comprehensive system of medical governance covering disease prevention, nutrition,

⁹²¹ Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France 1977-78* ed. by Michel Senellart. (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2007), 313

⁹²² Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 139.

hygiene, childbirth, and even suicide all regulated by state-sanctioned medical authorities.⁹²³ This points to an overlooked Pietist influence on medical policing in the second half of the 18th century. Furthermore, are there indications that such ideas were not confined to the second half of the century and had circulated among early cameralist thinkers: just recall von Seckendorff's *Der Christen Stat*, which contained prescriptions for medical policing as early as the mid-17th century.⁹²⁴ While the possible influence of early cameralists thoughts on medical policing, Halle Pietism and the late 18th century is underexplored in research, the early interest in medical policing among thinkers like von Seckendorff and the Halle Pietists, suggests an overlooked Pietist influence on the development of the medical police in the second part of the 18th century, an area that warrants further research.

These framings of police institutions and the medical police provide the backdrop for understanding why the case of Die Franckeschen Anstalten matters as a central site for the development of health policing. While the emergence of medical police is often narrated as a story of secular state-building in the late 18th century, the findings of this dissertation suggest a different perspective. Rather than emerging solely within state bureaucracies, key elements of health governance were first enacted within hybrid religious-educational institutions like Die Franckeschen Anstalten – places where the theological ambition, pedagogical reform, and administrative rationalities intersected. This makes the relationship between the Halle Pietists and the Prussian sovereigns an essential part of the story.

The Halle Pietists, the Hohenzollern, and the policing of health

This dissertation has argued that the emergence of large-scale health initiatives aimed at governing the population's health cannot be understood as solely a secular state-driven process. Instead, I have shown that religious actors – particularly the Halle Pietists – played a formative role in shaping strategies for governing healthy bodies and society in the early 18th century.

However, while the Halle Pietists did not directly derive their authority from a sovereign or bureaucratic apparatus, nor did their institution operate as a direct extension of the state administration, their projects were inseparable from the support and interests of the Hohenzollern rulers. As Benjamin Marsche has argued, it is neither possible nor historically accurate to draw a sharp distinction between the Prussian sovereigns and the Halle Pietists. They were deeply embedded in the same networks of reform-minded elites: cameralistic thinkers, physicians, court officials, and educational planners, and the Hohenzollern saw the Halle Pietists as useful allies in their efforts centralise power. From its inception, Die

⁹²³ Maren Lorentz, *Menschenzucht. Frühe Ideen und Strategien 1500-1870*. (Düsseldorf: Wallstein, 2018), 101.

⁹²⁴ Maren Lorentz, *Menschenzucht. Frühe Ideen und Strategien 1500-1870*. (Wallstein: Düsseldorf, 2018), 97, 100.

Franckeschen Anstalten was formally annexed to the University of Halle, placing it under direct royal protection and beyond the jurisdiction of Francke's local opponents. Several studies have documented how Francke and likeminded colleagues took control over the theological faculty⁹²⁵ and how the various institutions contributed both personnel and pedagogical models to the expanding Prussian state apparatus.⁹²⁶ In this sense, although the Pietists advanced their own explicitly religious agenda of educating true Christians, their initiatives were deeply entangled with Hohenzollern state-building – especially in education, military formation, and bureaucratic discipline.⁹²⁷

This entanglement complicates drawing any simple dichotomy between church and state at the end of the 17th century. It also raises important questions about the origins of biopolitical governance and whether this can be said to have happened outside what can be considered the state. Rather, it seems like emerging forms of biopolitical control were shaped by religious actors operating within broader networks of state and reform interests. The biopedagogical regime in Halle, I suggest, was part of a wider matrix of reform to which religious authorities contributed decisively by developing strategies that would later become associated with state-led health governance and policing.

While the reciprocal flow of ideas and practices of health governance between the Halle Pietists and Prussian state apparatus remains an area for future research, several indications suggest that governance of physical and spiritual health was an actively discussed topic within these reformist networks. Correspondence between Francke and patrons such as von Canstein, along with the formulation of medical policing by thinkers such as von Seckendorff, Leibniz, and Wolff suggests that early protestant reformers were already engaged with concepts of health governance as a moral and spiritual duty. In this light, von Seckendorff's writings – especially *Der Christen Stat* – offer compelling, though largely unexplored parallels with the health governance enacted at Die Franckeschen Anstalten, indicating that within the broader intellectual milieu of the Halle Pietists governance of health was emerging as a significant theological, political, and pedagogical concern.

⁹²⁵ Benjamin Marschke 'Lutheran Jesuits': Halle Pietist Communication Networks at the Court of Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia." *The Covenant Quarterly* 65:4 (November 2006), 19-20; Benjamin Marschke, "Pietism and Politics in Prussia and Beyond" in *A Companion to German Pietism* ed. Douglas Schantz (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 499; Martin Brecht, "August Hermann Francke und der Hallische Pietismus," in *Geschichte des Pietismus, Bd. 1: Der Pietismus des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Martin Brecht (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 454, 478-479.

⁹²⁶ Richard Gawthrop, *Pietism and the making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution. Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), see also: Benjamin Marschke, "Pietism and Politics in Prussia and Beyond" in *A Companion to German Pietism 1660-1800* ed. Douglas Schantz, (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 480-483; James Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the eighteenth-century origins of compulsory schooling in Prussia and Austria*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 23-59.

⁹²⁷ Richard Gawthrop, *Pietism and the making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 129, 225-226, 233-237; Curt Jany, *Geschichte der Königlich Preussischen Armee bis zum Jahre 1807* (Berlin: K. Siegesmund, 1928), 723, 734.

While this dissertation has focused on the Halle Pietist milieu, it is important to recognise that the concern for governing the soul through pedagogical intervention was not unique to this context. Daniel Tröhler, in his studies of late 18th-century educational thought in England and France, has shown how Enlightenment reformers linked the dangers of an emerging commercial society to the risk of moral corruption. They feared that commercial life would erode the ideal of the virtuous citizen, creating a “danger zone” between societal change and civic virtue. Their solution was the deliberate modification of the soul – the cultivation of inner strength and moral resilience through education.⁹²⁸ Although Tröhler’s research focuses on a later period, his findings highlight a persistent governance logic: the belief that shaping the inner life of individuals – the soul – was a necessary means of ensuring social and political order. This broader logic also extended beyond Protestant contexts. The Jesuit order, for example, implemented strict regimes of scientific exploration, bodily discipline, moral education, and health-related practices within their colleges, missions, and spiritual exercises.⁹²⁹ While systematic studies on Jesuit construction of health governance remain limited, research on their pedagogical and missionary activities suggest that bodily care, control of appetite, rest, and even hygiene were seen as integral to spiritual formation and community order. This reflects a wider concern for governing health and soul across confessional boundaries. In the context of Halle Pietism, this logic extended directly to physical health governance. The management of bodily desires, physical habits, and humoral balance was not merely about maintaining physical health but was integral to shaping morally upright Christian subjects. In this sense, policing health served as a concrete expression of a broader imperative to govern the soul – a theme that resonates far beyond the Halle context and invites further comparative research into 18th-century strategies of moral, bodily, and health governance.

So, in order to describe what makes Die Franckeschen Anstalten unique, I return to the central argument wherein I propose that Die Franckeschen Anstalten functioned as an early police institution – not in the sense of a law enforcement body, but as a laboratory for population governance. The institution began to embody and enact principles that we see described by von Seckendorff and other police theorists, and which later theorists like Foucault identified as key to the management of populations and the cultivation of disciplined bodies. What makes the Halle case particularly significant is that, unlike many

⁹²⁸ Daniel Tröhler, “Educationalisation of Social Problems and the Education of the Modern World” in *Encyclopedia of Educational Philosophy and Theory* ed. Michael A. Peters, (Springer, 2016)

⁹²⁹ Cosimo Casalini, “Rise, Character, and Development of Jesuit Education.” In *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, edited by Ines G. Županov, 523–541. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019; Paul F. Grendler, “The Culture of the Jesuit Teacher 1548–1773,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3, no. 1 (2016): 17–46, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00301002>; Steven J. Harris, “Mapping Jesuit Science: The Role of Travel in the Geography of Knowledge,” in *Science in Context* 3, no. 3 (1990): *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O’Malley et al., 65–83; Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jon Igelmó Jofré, “Early Jesuit Visions of Education,” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education*, published 30 January, 2024, accessed 25 July, 2025, <https://oxfordre.com/education/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.001.0001/acrefore-9780190264093-e-1941>.

contemporary reformist circles that discussed governance in theoretical terms, the Halle Pietists – thanks to their privileged position within the networks of sovereign power – were able to institutionalise these rationalities in a concrete, lasting form. Through the support of the Hohenzollern and their integration with the University of Halle, court, and administrative circles, the Halle Pietists were able to translate their ideals of soul governance and health discipline into actual practices exercised over a defined population within a controlled institutional setting.

Thus, the institution did not merely reflect or anticipate emerging police rationalities – it actively participated in their formation. Figures such as Johann Julius Hecker, who later came to play a central role in the Prussian educational reforms, developed their medical-pedagogical principles within the institutional setting of Halle. In this sense, Die Franckeschen Anstalten served as an experimental site for techniques of education and population management based in medical-theological and scientific argumentation that would later be scaled up and absorbed into state institutions, with help from individuals like Hecker.

This interpretation finds support in the work of Kelly Whitmer, who has shown how Die Franckeschen Anstalten functioned as a centre of experimental science, natural philosophy, and educational innovation. The Pietists' concern for salvation and moral formation did not exclude scientific inquiry – on the contrary, it motivated it. Scientific knowledge, including medicine, was embraced as a tool for reforming the fallen world and improving the human condition. The institutions in Halle thus participated actively in the formation of scientific rationalities, embedding Christian knowledge production within the emerging scientific discourses and practices. In this context, biopower did not develop despite religion but through it – as a fusion of pastoral concern with scientific aspiration that helped develop technologies for governing the inside of the Christian body.

To interpret Die Franckeschen Anstalten as an early police institution is not to claim that its leaders consciously sought to create a laboratory for population governance. Rather, it is to recognise how the institution functioned as such. Thus, while Die Franckeschen Anstalten was not founded as a police institution, it became a critical site where bodily, moral, and spatial regulation were developed and tested. The argument I advance is therefore not that biopower emerged outside the state but that it was born out of pastoral concerns for the soul merged with an interest in the natural sciences – concerns that motivated religious actors to establish institutions capable of governing both bodies and souls.

To sum up, this thesis contributes to the historiography of biopower and biopolitics by demonstrating how pastoral care and medical governance of the physical organism converged within early 18th-century religious institutions. It offers a previously overlooked example of systematic population governance that predates and anticipates later developments in state biopolitics. By reassessing the role of religion in the emergence of biopolitical governance, this study invites a rethinking of how we conceptualise the early modern origins of health regulation, educational reform, and population management.

While this study has focused on the specific case of Die Franckeschen Anstalten, it also points towards the need for further comparative research across confessional, regional, and

institutional contexts in the 17th and 18th centuries to assess how widely this fusion of pastoral care, medical governance, and state rationality applied.

In sum, this study has shown that the emergence of biopower and systematic health governance in the early 18th century was not confined to a secular medical gaze but was profoundly shaped by religious actors operating within reformist networks of power. Die Franckeschen Anstalten exemplifies how theological and medical concerns converged in a practical project of bodily and moral governance – one that both anticipated and contributed to the development of the medical police and police institutions. Far from being marginal to the history of biopolitics, the Pietist project in Halle demonstrates how pastoral power and biopower were intertwined forces in the 18th-century drive to optimise health, productivity, and social order.

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1701 - 1760

AFSt/W VII/I/11 : 1. Projekt von der Inspektion über die Knaben der Lateinischen Schule während ihrer Freistunde auf dem Hof der Schulordnung,

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AFSt/W VII/I/11 : 3 Instruktion für die Aufsichtskräfte bei den Spaziergängen der Schüler in der Lateinischen Schule.

AFSt/W VII/I/11 :4. Schulordnung für die Schüler der Lateinischen Schule von Johann Ludwig Wölffing.

AFSt/W VII/I/3 Vorschriften und Anordnungen für verschiedene Bereiche im Waisenhaus, laufzeit 1703 – 1766.

AFSt/W VIII/IX/1: (p. 57 in the folder no. 1, no. 2, no. 3.) My own title: The *Vesper* bread debate.

AFSt/W VIII/IX/1: 8. Brief von Polycarp Jordan an August Hermann Francke

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AFSt/W XX/III/3: 12. Speyseordnung Teil 2. 1722

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