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Recovering the Missionary Memory: Russian Evangelicals in Search of an Appropriate Missiology

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Evangelisation und Mission in den Ländern der ehemaligen Sowjet Union hat ihre Dynamik verloren. Liefen noch vor einer Dekade Massen von Menschen in die evangelistischen Veranstaltungen der Evangelikalen, so sind es heute nur vereinzelte Menschen, die man mühsam dafür gewinnt, in einen entsprechenden Gottesdienst mitzukommen. Kritisch denkende russischsprachige Evangelikale sind der Meinung, dass der Rückgang des Interesses der Bevölkerung am Evangelium vor allem auf das Fehlen einer adäquaten indigenen Missiologie zurückzuführen ist. Nahezu

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RÉSUMÉ

L'évangélisation et la mission dans les pays de l'ex-Union-Soviétique a perdu de sa dynamique. Il y a une dizaine d'années, les gens se pressaient en foules aux réunions d'évangélisation organisées par les évangéliques. Aujourd'hui, il est devenu difficile de persuader quelques individus à assister à de telles rencontres. Les évangéliques russophones qui analysent cette situation pensent que l'affaiblissement de l'intérêt des populations pour l'Évangile est dû principalement à l'absence d'une réflexion missionnaire adéquate. La plupart des efforts missionnaires se sont inspirés des idées et

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SUMMARY

Evangelism and mission in the countries of the former Soviet Union have lost their momentum. While about a decade ago masses of people flocked into evangelistic meetings organized by Evangelicals, nowadays only a few individuals can with difficulty be persuaded to join such a service. Critically minded, Russian speaking Evangelicals maintain that the decreased interest of the population in the Gospel is mainly due to the lack of an adequate indigenous missiology. Almost all missionary

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alle missionarischen Bemühungen orientieren sich an westlichen Vorstellungen und Methoden. Dabei weist die Geschichte des ostslavischen Protestantismus faszinierende eigene Entwicklungen auf, die angewandt auf die missionarische Praxis im postsovietischen Raum, durchaus Potenzial aufweisen, neues Leben in die erlahmende Missionsarbeit der Evangelikalen zu hauchen. Das missionarische Denken der Väter des ostslavischen Protestantismus Ivan S. Prokhanov und Ivan E. Voronaev wird an dieser Stelle als potenzielle Quelle und wichtigen Baustein einer einheimischen ostslavischen Missiologie bedacht.

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méthodes occidentales. En même temps, l'histoire du protestantisme slave oriental fait apparaître qu'il s'est grandement développé d'une manière qui lui est propre. L'application des mêmes principes à la pratique missionnaire dans les régions autrefois slaves est certainement susceptible d'insuffler un nouveau souffle à l'activité missionnaire locale des évangéliques. Les idées missionnaires des pères du protestantisme slave oriental, Ivan S. Prokhanov et Ivan E. Voronaev pourraient constituer, dans ce contexte, une source prometteuse et un fondement important pour élaborer une missiologie slave orientale adaptée à ces populations.

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efforts are based on Western ideas and methods. All the same, the history of Eastern Slavic Protestantism demonstrates its own fascinating development which, when applied to the missionary practice in the post-Slavic area, certainly has the potential to breathe new life into the waning missionary work of the Evangelicals. In this situation, the missionary philosophy of the fathers of Eastern Slavic Protestantism, Ivan S. Prokhanov and Ivan E. Voronaev, is considered a potential source and important foundation of an indigenous East Slavic missiology.

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1. The need for an appropriate missiology

Mission in post-Soviet countries is slowing down;¹ the growing excitement of the 1990s is gone. Some hundreds of thousands of Evangelicals have left the Commonwealth of Independent State (CIS) for the West. The Evangelical churches which they left behind have proved inadequate for the task of mission. Catherine Wanner, who studied the situation in Ukrainian Churches, emphasizes the disinterest and inability of these churches to bring their missionary activity into relationship with the socio-cultural situation of the people around them.² Ever more Evangelicals are becoming aware of the urgent need for change. The quest for what Charles Kraft called ‘appropriate Christianity’³ has started, and with it comes a growing awareness of the need for an appropriate missiology. Michael Cherenkov, a Russian Baptist missiologist, states that the Slavic Evangelical churches have not yet formulated their own missiological paradigm.⁴ That does not mean that Russian Evangelicals have no access to missiological literature – the opposite is the case. During the past twenty years an impressive library of books and articles has been published in Russian. But almost all of these are translations of Western origins.⁵ A number of courses in missiology are offered in Bible schools and seminaries as well as online.⁶ Here too, however, the models and curricula are Western.⁷

This staggering development raises questions about the dominance of Western missiological theory. Russian mission leaders seem to be developing a clearer understanding of the mixed blessing of Western missionary assistance and the obvious dependency of Russian mission on Western support.⁸ As a result of this Western influence the Russian Evangelical Church is not in a fit state to do evangelism, the leader of the Russian Baptist Mission Agency, Ruvim Voloshin, claims.⁹ It is high time for them to develop their own Russian, or at least Slavic, missiology.

The proponents of an independent missionary theory point to recent developments in the Russian Orthodox Church. In contrast to the Evangelicals in the country, the Russian Orthodox Church has published only a few books on missiology which depend on Western models, among which Vladimir Fiodorov’s book *Provoslavnaia Missia Segodnia (Orthodox Mission Today)*¹⁰ is the most adapted version, since most of it simply contains the translation of Jacob Stamulis’s doctoral dissertation on the mission of the Orthodox Churches.¹¹

(Stamulis is an American Evangelical.) Most of the newer publications do not negate the creative dialogue with other missiological approaches, but seek a close relationship to their own tradition and theology. With *Missiologia*, edited by Alexandr Ginkel, the Russian Orthodox Church produced its very first textbook of missiology.¹² Its authors underline the fact that a genuinely Orthodox missiology will only be possible if the church recovers the best stories of its own missionary history. They write: ‘What the Christians of our countries need is a healing of memory by collecting our own history from torn-apart pieces into one whole.’¹³ Sure enough, *Missiologia* and other publications of Orthodox authors have not yet reached this self-set goal.¹⁴ The crisis of Orthodox mission theory is not yet overcome, as Andrey Kuraev rightly underlines,¹⁵ but the direction seems properly chosen.

The Orthodox approach names the issues. An appropriate Evangelical missiology in Eastern Europe in general and Russia in particular will not only have to look back to the revelation in the Holy Scriptures to establish a proper biblical theology of mission, but also ‘collect its own mission-historical memory’ in order to define a missiological theory for today. Peter Penner is right when he states: ‘In order to understand the present and prepare for the future, we need to look at the past history of mission in the FSU [Former Soviet Union].’¹⁶ And this will have to include the whole of Christian mission, in all branches of the Christian Church – Evangelical as well as Orthodox and Roman Catholic, Lutheran or Reformed. An appropriate missiology is the product of a continuous conversation between Scripture, a discerning community of believers and the socio-political context in which mission is being done. This conversation is imbedded in history and its varied developments. Leaving out the historical background of a scriptural understanding, of community development and cultural change will lead to the adoption of foreign ideas which are in principle unable to touch the heart of a given people. An appropriate Evangelical missiology for the Slavic world must therefore recover its historic mission memory. This article will consider the potential.

2. Evangelical mission to the Slavs – an indigenous movement

Evangelical mission to the Slavs goes back to Western¹⁷ as well as Eastern sources.¹⁸ For centuries Russia has invited migrants to settle in the

country. Many of them were Protestants and some, the German Mennonites for instance, were Bible-believing Evangelicals. Their role in the establishment of a genuine Eastern European Evangelical movement has been well researched and established.¹⁹ But the unprecedented success of the Evangelicals in Russia is predominantly the result of developments within the context itself. Renewal movements inside the Russian Orthodox Church such as Clysty, Pryguny, Molokan, Tolstovcy and others entered into a missionary conversation with Western Evangelical migrants and became the main pool from which the young Evangelical movement drew its members.²⁰

Baptist, the periodical of the Russian Baptist Union, reported about Molokan groups in the Baku region who in 1908 practised believers' baptism similar to the Baptist praxis between 1840 and 1850 out of their own convictions which they had won by reading the Bible.²¹ A certain Wasilij Sotnikov brought this teaching to the Volga region where he baptised a number of Molokans in the Prišib. This Molokan group was known as 'wathering Molokan'. The baptism of the Molokan Nikita Ivanovi Voronin by the Baptist pastor Martin Kalweit on 20th August, 1867, in Tiflis (Tbilisi) is officially the birthday of the Baptist movement in Russia.²² Voronin, who later became the pastor of the Tiflis Baptist church, predominantly evangelised his own Molokan people.²³ The Molokan root of the Baptist movement in Russia is obvious. A similar development is reported about the work of the first Pentecostal missionaries of the Smorodin branch, the so-called 'Evangelical Christians in the apostolic spirit'.²⁴ Their mission was exceptionally successful wherever they approached members of the Orthodox renewal movements.²⁵

Mission and evangelism in Russia and the Ukraine is in the first place an indigenous story²⁶ and it is, as Kuznetsova justly says, a 'multifaceted movement'²⁷ with its own unprecedented originality, tracing its origins back to Eastern as well as Western sources.²⁸ And it is the Eastern source which provides the crucial conditions that allow the movement to flourish.²⁹ The majority of the Evangelical leadership in nineteenth-century Russia came from Molokan background, for instance; Ivan Prokhanov is only one example.³⁰ Prokhanov was, in all respects, the *spiritus rector* of the Evangelical revival in the Soviet Union in the first decades of the twentieth century.

If the way towards an appropriate missiology presumes the recovery of missionary memory,

then this memory will have to include a careful analysis of the Western as well as the Eastern sources of Evangelical mission history in Russia and the CIS. It is often frightening to see how little the contemporary Evangelical mission leadership is aware of the missionary theory and practice of their forefathers. Ruvim Voloshin, a Baptist mission leader, for instance, describes the faith of 'our forefathers' as 'bogoborcheski bolshevism', a militantly driven God-bolshevism.³¹ It would be hard to be more negative than that. History, however, proves Voloshin and like-minded people wrong. The Evangelical mission in Russia and in the early years of the Soviet Union was not a copy of Western protestant missiological models; the opposite seems to be the case. Any historian of mission will discover many elements of an indigenous movement with its own original settings and beliefs.

3. The great void – a church without missiology

The negative reception of their own missionary history by Russian-speaking Evangelical churches seems to derive its momentum from the immediate Soviet past. The church under state pressure, a continuously persecuted church, was unable to debate or develop its own missionary theology. Heinrich Klassen, who has carefully analysed most publications of the Evangelical Christian Baptists of the Soviet period,³² comes to the conclusion that little to nothing has been written on classical mission theology. The literature reveals a deep void regarding such issues in official publications like *Bratski Vestnik*³³ or in underground literature.³⁴ Klassen concludes: 'It appears that evangelical churches in the Soviet Union did not have time and energy for theological treatises on the subject of missions.'³⁵ Leonnard Frank, who analysed the literature of the Pentecostal churches over the same period, comes to a similar conclusion.³⁶

The absence of mission theology, however, does not mean that there has been no missionary praxis. Even at times of severe persecution the church was witnessing to its faith, but most cases through its alternative lifestyle rather than through strategic evangelism. This was repeatedly noticed by atheist authors. Klassen summarises his findings as follows:

The largest missionary power was perceived to lie in healthy Christian families. The family

had to be influenced, to be changed and to be retrained in order to stop the missionary message. The communist government certified that the Christians had an active missionary commitment. In the atheists' view, mission was not understood as proclamation *expressis verbis* in the first place, but as living a changed life.³⁷

This is generally true for all Evangelicals in the USSR including the Pentecostals. Their phenomenal growth is less due to mission and evangelism than to winning other people over, as Leonard Frank proves.³⁸ Harsh persecution has not stopped the Evangelicals from being generally mission-minded. Nikol'skaia quotes atheist observers who complain that the 'persecuted, wherever they had been banned to, developed their missionary activity and managed to turn some of the citizens into adherents of their faith'.³⁹

With the change of religious policy during Gorbachev's perestroika and the growing missionary access of Western mission agencies, the absence of a written theology of mission was soon interpreted as missionary ignorance. The result was a rapid orientation towards Western concepts and a tendency to negate the missionary history of their own tradition. And Western missionary forces simply overran the Eastern church, offering help as far as the eye could see.⁴⁰

Overcoming the crisis of Evangelical missiology in the CIS by means of recovering the missionary memory of the Church will only be possible by going past the Soviet story. The Orthodox fore-runners look into the centuries of their history, and rightly so. Evangelicals working towards an appropriate missiology will have to examine the history of mission in their countries in general, but primarily the constitutive decades. For the Evangelicals we may consider the period between 1870 and 1930 as such a time. Walter W. Sawatsky has even suggested calling this period of sixty years the Golden Age for East Slavic Evangelicals.⁴¹

It is, of course, impossible to describe the totality of such a proposed research project in an article like this. It will take time to carefully examine our own history and we shall not accept shortcuts in research. Here I will only provide examples of the potential of such a venture by concentrating on two foundational leaders of the Evangelical movement and their theologies of mission: Ivan S. Prokhanov for the Evangelical Christian Baptist Churches and Ivan E. Voronaev for the Pentecostal Christians of Evangelical Faith.

4. Evangelical mission theory in the writings of the foundational fathers

The Evangelical story in Russia and the Soviet Union is, first and foremost, a story of mission, claims Walter Sawatsky.⁴² And this story is to a great extent the personal story of some extraordinary men and women whose lives are well documented. They are its foundational fathers.⁴³ Let us examine two of them, Ivan Prokhanov for the Baptist wing of the Soviet Evangelicals and Ivan Voronaev of the Pentecostal wing.

4.1. Ivan S. Prokhanov

The formation of the Evangelical mission movement in Russia and the Soviet Union is in every respect related to the work of Ivan Stepanovich Prokhanov (1869-1935). Prokhanov wrote extensively on different mission issues so that an analysis of his writings allows for a detailed reconstruction on his theology of mission. I presume that Ivan Prokhanov is the most important Evangelical name that an appropriate Evangelical missiology will have to recover; modern historians such as Bachinin urgently ask even the Russian church as a whole to study Prokhanov's insights, valuing them as crucial for Russia's search for a future.⁴⁴

Prokhanov's *vita* has been published in his own autobiography⁴⁵ as well as in a number of monographs,⁴⁶ the most extensive of which is the work of Wilhelm Kahle.⁴⁷ He was born into and socialised in a Molokan family, baptised in a Baptist church, educated in a leading Russian university, the Technological Institute of St. Petersburg, and a student of theology at the Baptist College in Bristol and the Congregational Hampstead New College, England, as well as at the Faculty of Protestant Theology at the University of Sorbonne in Paris and the famous Faculty of Theology at the Berlin Humboldt University. He took classes with the world famous historian of mission, Adolf Harnack, and was deeply interested in the reformation of the Russian Orthodox Church. Due to all this, Prokhanov ideally represents the type of east-west Evangelical who drew intensely from both sides of the theological divide. He calls Martin Luther and Charles Spurgeon his spiritual and theological fathers, but even more so Jan Hus, the Czech reformer. He was so influenced by the Hussite movement that he asked for his ordination by the Hussite brethren in 1924 in order to establish a link between the Hussites and the 'Russian reformation'.

Prokhanov shared this excitement for Hus with many Russian intellectuals of the nineteenth century. In Hus they saw a Slavic reformation voice pleading not only for religious but also for a social and political reformation in his country.⁴⁸ Hus was an important figure of identification especially among the Slavophiles, even in Orthodox circles.⁴⁹ Prokhanov looked up to him from his youngest years on, as he wrote to his friend, Professor Marcinkovsky: ‘The life of Jan Hus, this fighter for the Gospel, already fascinated me in my young years.’⁵⁰ And this excitement stayed with him throughout his life. Prokhanov’s missiology certainly does not reside with Protestant models only; in his search for an appropriate missiology, he turns to the Czech renewal movement of the Hussites.⁵¹

Prokhanov’s excitement for Hus contrasts to his experience with Western European Protestants. He studied theology under Harnack and Otto Pfleiderer in Berlin,⁵² read much Protestant theology and became very sceptical towards a theology which (in his view) ‘generates unbeliefs’ and a church which separates itself from its historical roots in Orthodoxy and Catholicism.⁵³ Prokhanov admits, however, that his theological knowledge is limited and uncompleted, due to the shortness of his studies and his insufficient knowledge of German and French.⁵⁴ His interest in closer relationships to the historical European Protestant churches grew, however, after he left the Baptist World Alliance, disillusioned by the American Baptist support for the Evangelical Christian movement in Russia. In 1931 Jakob Kroecker, the director of the mission union ‘Light in the East’, reported that Prokhanov had asked him to help establish formal relationships with the Churches of the Reformation.⁵⁵

An article does not offer enough space to examine Prokhanov’s theology of mission in depth; some characteristic insights may encourage more elaborate studies in the future. How did Prokhanov view mission?

1. Mission is not simply a task of the Church, but rather a divine gift to the Church.⁵⁶ It is God, the triune God, who is deeply concerned with the state of his world. He is the creator of the Church; he is the prime agent of transformation and renewal of people and their cultures. It is his spirit who motivates for mission, his Son who lays the foundation for mission and his love which moves his strong hand towards the needy world.⁵⁷

2. Mission requires a deep understanding of

the centrality of love in Christ, which determines the foundation of true Christian spirituality and the missionary power of the Church. In a letter to V.A. Pashkov, Prokhanov reflects on his experience with the theological diversity of Western theologians and resumes that only the love of Christ can be the source of strength and life for the Church.⁵⁸ Prokhanov states that for him the teachings of Christ represent the only way to a complete renewal of the individual as well as the society and the whole of humanity.⁵⁹

3. The mission of God is clearly correlated to educating the people in God’s word and will. When the Church does not preach the gospel and promote the reading of God’s word, the nation, even a Christian nation, loses its moral and spiritual strength and cultural vitality.⁶⁰ The preaching of the gospel is central to the mission of the Church.⁶¹

4. Mission in an Orthodox country like Russia, according to Prokhanov’s perspective, is first of all the reform and revival of the nation. This clearly includes all believers, all members of the body of Christ, men and women. A gender separation in the leadership of the Evangelical Christian Church is not acceptable. In ‘The Evangelical Call’ they ask the Orthodox Church for an inclusive policy on the role of women in the church and its mission.⁶²

5. Mission as reformation means moving towards the people, to those in need. In his autobiography, Prokhanov reports a personal dream which defined his theology to a great extent. In this dream he saw Jesus returning to the earth and throwing gold coins at the people. As he started to collect them, they immediately passed him and flew on to the poor and needy.⁶³ For Prokhanov this dream became a lesson for life – his life was now for ever devoted to the people in need.

6. Mission as reformation of a nation becoming a nationwide movement is what Prokhanov aims for.⁶⁴ It is a task for all believers in the country, including the members of the Orthodox State Church. And every Orthodox believer, especially clergy, who turns to the Lord, becomes a living testimony for the reformation-in-process.⁶⁵ Prokhanov repeatedly invited Orthodox fellow Christians to join forces in winning Russia back for Christ. In *Bratski Listok* he replies to his critic, the Orthodox missionary Bogolyubov: ‘Christians should not quarrel with each other in front of unbelieving Russia. We should work hand in hand in the ministry of preaching living in Christ and

morally renewing our motherland. We invite you cordially to do so.⁶⁶ In 1922 Prokhanov and the leadership of the Union of the Evangelical Christians formulated the famous ‘Evangelical Call’,⁶⁷ inviting all orthodox believers to participate in a spiritual reformation of Russia. In 1928 another nationwide appeal was launched in what Prokhanov called ‘Resurrection call’, inviting all Christians to participate in a holistic renewal of faith and culture in Russia.⁶⁸ This document is also ecumenical in spirit, but, as Puzynin rightly comments, it less directly targets the Russian Orthodox Church.⁶⁹ Prokhanov seems to lose hope of seeing the Russian Orthodox Church reformed. Mission is an ecumenical venture of God. It is not done in a spirit of sectarianism. Prokhanov states:

The Free Evangelical Church in Russia has nothing to do with a sect. It exists in the spirit of ecumenicity. It is typical for a sect to claim salvation through belonging to the sect only. The Free Evangelical Church does not accept such a narrow view.⁷⁰

For Prokhanov salvation is offered even in those churches ‘which may not be properly organised’.⁷¹ The Evangelical Christians will seek immediate cooperation with all bodies of Christian faith which are interested in the mission of transformation.⁷²

7. Mission presupposes unity among Christians. Prokhanov spent most of his energy trying to unite the different renewal movements in his country and he strongly believed in the transformative power of Christian unity. In an article written in *Bratski Listok*, he states:

The Evangelical movement aims towards renewal of all religious life of the Russian people. If the movement is to fulfil its task, all its branches will have to unite. If they do not unite, however, they will dry out and turn into separate sects and die spiritually. When they unite, they become strong and will effectively influence the reform of all religious life of the Russian people.⁷³

8. Mission as reformation, says Prokhanov, will never copy the church in other countries, but lead people in the nation to renewal and revival.⁷⁴ It presupposes contextualisation. Mission must be done in a way that is understandable in the people’s language.⁷⁵ It will be carried out among the people by spiritually renewed individuals from the people itself. Mission as reformation of a nation does not come from importing Western theologi-

cal convictions and it is not an organised venture of the official state church, but rather a movement from below, a movement of people led by individual Christians.⁷⁶ Prokhanov compares his own Evangelical Christian movement to the time of the apostles. Here too, the movement of God started with the lower classes of society, reaching the whole of society through revival.⁷⁷

9. Mission is God’s holistic venture. Prokhanov writes:

We steadily believe that Christianity is not just word, but also works, not just teaching, but also a transformed life. Therefore the Evangelical movement in Russia must express itself not only in preaching, but also in the creation of new forms of socio-economic life.⁷⁸

In his programmatic article on ‘The New or Evangelical Life’, published in *Christianin*, Prokhanov mentions a number of areas of individual and social, educational and economic life of a people which in his view will have to be transformed by the gospel.⁷⁹ He claims the transformation of people’s lives, the cities and villages of Russia as the historic task for the mission of believers.⁸⁰ He wants to see at least half of all members of the Russian Academy of Science as coming from the Evangelical Christians.⁸¹ Christians will have to be the better citizens of Russia, who produce better economic results⁸² and organise their economic structures in a gospel manner, so that they become instruments of transformation. He even made plans for a new Gospel city, a project which never started due to the beginning Stalinist repressions.⁸³ But mission as an act of social transformation can never be a result of a social revolution, but rather of a ‘spiritual revolution’ carried out in a spirit of love and social care, motivated by God himself.⁸⁴ Mission introduces justice into all practical relationships between people⁸⁵ because Jesus has made justice possible.

10. The mission of the Russian Evangelical Church does not limit itself to its own country, but rather accepts the universal task to become an example and witness of renewal to the global church, especially the Protestant churches of the West, inviting them to return to the apostolic spirit of the original Christianity.⁸⁶ Soon after the revolution and the new freedom of speech and religious activity, Prokhanov and his Evangelical Christians sent missionaries not only to a number of non-Russian peoples inside of Russia, but also to India and China.⁸⁷

4.2. Ivan Efimovich Voronaev

The second founding father of the Eastern Slavic Evangelicals is the founder of the Slavic Pentecostal movement, Ivan Efimovich Voronaev (1885-1937). It was his work and writings which formed and defined the movement theologically. Voronaev was born in the Orenburg region on April 16, 1885. He converted to Christ in 1908 and almost immediately started to preach the gospel in the Baptist churches of Irkutsk und Krasnoyarsk. Persecution forced him to leave Russia in 1911; via China he moved to the USA where he served as pastor of a Russian speaking church in San Francisco.⁸⁸ Between 1912 and 1915, Voronaev studied theology at the Berkeley Theological Seminary while still serving his Baptist church as pastor and evangelist in Los Angeles (1913-1916) and then in Seattle (1916-1917), where he met Ernest Williams, one of the prominent leaders of the Assemblies of God. Williams introduced him to Pentecostal theology and praxis.⁸⁹ In 1917 Voronaev moved to New York where he pastored a Russian Baptist church until 1919, the year in which he and twenty other members of the Baptist church experienced the baptism with the Spirit and received the gift of speaking in tongues. On July 1, 1919, they founded the first Russian Pentecostal church in New York.⁹⁰ A number of other church plants in the USA followed. In the midst of this exciting mission, Voronaev received a call from God to return to Russia. A year after founding the Pentecostal church in New York, on July 15, 1920, Voronaev and two other families, the Saplyšnych and Koltovi, left for Constantinople in Turkey, heading for Odessa.⁹¹ On August 12, 1921, he returned to Soviet Russia as a missionary, after he personally sensed a clear prophetic call from the Lord.⁹² In less than ten years he organised and led a missionary movement, which reached 25,000 members in 400 churches by the year 1930, the year of his imprisonment.⁹³ Voronaev was killed by the Bolsheviks in 1937.

How did Voronaev view mission? He received his theological education in the USA and he followed the classic Pentecostal teachings of the American Pentecostals. How did this affect his theology of mission? Was he different to Prokhanov, the Westerniser among the Evangelical fathers? Voronaev left us no written missiology; he merely wrote some articles. Others reflected on his ministry and teaching – enough at least to propose a direction of thought. A number of crucial insights

shed light on his praxis and the theory beyond, and we will consider some.

1. Mission in Voronaev's conception is God's mission. The triune God is the initiator and main actor of mission; it is he who calls and sends people into mission.⁹⁴ He is the redeemer in Jesus, the Christ; the Spirit of God is the 'initiator, motivator and supervisor of world mission'.⁹⁵ Without a deeper theological discussion Voronaev lays a trinitarian foundation of mission, something that was unusual in Western Protestant thinking of his time.

2. Involvement in God's mission presupposes a personal call of God and a personal relationship. Voronaev himself returned to his home country in times of distress, leaving the safe haven of the USA. Prayer as an immediate conversation between God and his sent one is the most important ministry in effective mission. In one of his articles on prayer Voronaev writes:

Take time for prayer. I do not know of any other habit, which brings more blessing into the life of a Christian than the morning prayer. Am I ready to pay the price to develop such a habit, which is so closely connected with victory and a fruitful spiritual life?⁹⁶

For Voronaev mission and personal spirituality are interwoven; it is the changed life of a person which becomes an agent of change. It is the person personally touched by God who is able to touch the lives of others. Only Spirit-led mission is worthy to be called mission. And the Spirit leads his messengers to the people in the world.

3. The Church is God's prime missionary agent. It has no reason for existence except the mission of God. All members of the Church are called to mission; Voronaev states: 'You cannot be a Christian without being a missionary.'⁹⁷ The missionary Church follows the example of Christ⁹⁸ whose life was marked by mission, and consequently the Church of Christ has to be essentially mission-centred.

4. Mission in Voronaev's conception aims towards evangelism and conversion of people to God. The aim of all mission is conversion of sinners to God and as a result transformation of life in its totality.⁹⁹ Whatever the Church does, it has to lead people to Christ and to a fulfilled life in the Holy Spirit. The transformed individuals build the new people of God, the Church of the elect and redeemed. This leads to active church planting, which is seen as participation in God's divine

act.¹⁰⁰ The appointment of evangelists and church planters in the young movement clearly underlined this priority. At the first congress of the newly founded All-Ukrainian Union of Christians of the Evangelical Faith, of which Voronaev became the first president, thirty male and five female union evangelists were commissioned to foster evangelism in all of the USSR.¹⁰¹ More were sent in the next years.¹⁰²

5. It is fascinating to see how Voronaev developed his mission work. While evangelism and church planting formed the heart of what he understood to be the mission of God, he consciously combined evangelism with social responsibility, ensuring a culture of a caring community. Typical for him are his sermons concerning the economic situation in the country, in which he directly calls Christians to invest their lives in serving the hungry and the needy.¹⁰³ Under his leadership the young Pentecostalism in the Soviet Lands served the spiritual as well as material and social needs of the people. Characteristic is the decision of the Pentecostal churches in Western Ukraine, Belarus and Poland, stating: ‘Help needs to be given to poor people, who face famine, sickness, thievery and whose houses are burned down.’ In such cases the churches were asked to assist immediately and without any delay.¹⁰⁴ The material and social ministry to the needy of Voronaev’s newly established churches was, in the judgment of the Soviet historian Mel’nik, decisive for the growth of the Pentecostal churches.¹⁰⁵ Under Voronaev’s leadership Pentecostal churches offered the people around them effective assistance by helping them to run their everyday lives in difficult economic and political situations, incorporating them in what the Soviet historian Klibanov calls their own well established social ‘family net’.¹⁰⁶ It is this combination of social ministry and caring fellowship which determined their missionary success.¹⁰⁷ Mel’nik adds: ‘Every family with material need can count on help from a Pentecostal church.’¹⁰⁸ Although the Soviet regulations strictly prohibited any humanitarian aid by the church, Mel’nik nonetheless summarises:

The humanitarian help of Pentecostals has never ended despite all state prohibition. The diaconal ministry is the most effective evidence of the work of the Holy Spirit in a Pentecostal church.¹⁰⁹

6. In offering social help Voronaev and his followers directly combined human and divine inter-

vention. They counted on the miraculous work of the Holy Spirit in healing, wonders and signs.¹¹⁰ In fact prayer for divine healing became an integral part of Pentecostal services and mission work.¹¹¹ ‘The ministry of healing was considered as an empowerment of proclamation as well as non-verbal proclamation *par excellence*.’¹¹²

7. Voronaev strongly believed in mission as an organised and strategically executed venture. After summarising the missionary work of Voronaev, the Soviet historian Moskalenko states: ‘Voronaev motivated through conferences and trained some of his followers for mission in a relatively short period of time.’¹¹³ For him mission was obviously the first priority and he organised the mission work of his young church with a sharp vision and strategic competence.¹¹⁴ In *Evangelist* he wrote:

It is the responsibility of every member of the church to preach the gospel. And this preaching must be done with courage and in the power of the Holy Spirit.¹¹⁵

It is amazing to see how strategically he started his work, moving first to the most responsive people among the Molokan and Dukhoborzy. Through his ministry many Molokan und Dukhobor Christians accepted Pentecostal beliefs.¹¹⁶ Soon his church grew in number and allowed him to enter other strata of society.

8. Mission and evangelism presuppose a church trained for its task. Voronaev, himself theologically trained, working hard to establish a missionary training school but his vision could not be realised due to the political circumstances.¹¹⁷ Frank points to other tools of missionary training such as publications and congresses which Voronaev used extensively to establish a missionary culture as well as a missionary understanding in his churches.¹¹⁸

4.3. Recovering the missionary memory – towards an appropriate missiology

The East Slavic Evangelicals have not developed an adequate system of theological training¹¹⁹ and as a consequence they have no written missiology. This does not, however, in my opinion, mean that there were no missiological foundations undergirding their missionary praxis. We have examined the voices of two of the forefathers of East Slavic Protestantism. Their Evangelical Protestant missiological roots are evident. In his inspiring study, Puzynin assumes that there was especially an Anglo-Saxon revivalist influence in their work¹²⁰ but the forefathers, especially Prokhanov, go far

beyond the Protestant models on the following points:

1. A clear trinitarian foundation of the Church and its mission,¹²¹ which was in no way typical for the Evangelical missiology in the Protestant West of the time.
2. A society-transforming framework of missionary thinking, which Prokhanov calls reformation, which was absent in Pietistic and Anglo-Saxon revivalist groups.
3. Church-centred mission, unlike most of the Western faith missions of the period.
4. A clear sense of contextualisation and independence from imported models and a search for an indigenous way.
5. A pneumatological dimension, especially in Voronaev's teaching, but also in Prokhanov's idea of a 'spiritual revolution', which goes beyond the classic Western concepts of mission at the time.

Those and similar convictions reveal Eastern roots, which may have added to the enormous success of the Evangelicals during the golden years of their mission between 1917 and 1929. Reading the Slavic Evangelical fathers, I was constantly reminded of David Bosch's 'emerging postmodern paradigm of mission'.¹²² All but two of Bosch's thirteen elements of an emerging ecumenical paradigm¹²³ are present in the writings of the fathers. They too speak of mission as God's mission, of a Church with others, of mediating salvation, of acts of justice, evangelism and contextualisation, liberation and inculturation, of witness acts of hope for a nation. For the fathers mission was evidently a ministry of the whole people of God. To be sure, there was less talk about theology and less inter-religious dialogue, but this was a direct result of their unique setting.

Slavic Evangelicals may and should look back to their heritage. Too much missiology has been lost along the Soviet path. After years of persecution the Church has become ingrown; it is pre-occupied with internal affairs and the cultivation of otherness, separating itself from the people around them. The vast majority of the Evangelical churches have almost completely lost the holistic understanding of mission which their forefathers had. Issues are still being raised, but they are now internally focused. The Evangelicals may still care for the needy, but first and foremost for their own members; they may still expect God's Spirit to heal the sick, but in the first place the members of

their own churches.¹²⁴ During the last decade the missionary excitement of many Slavic Evangelical Churches has lost its momentum.¹²⁵ At the same time the Islamic da'wa has developed an enormous missionary energy. In the city of Moscow, for example, the Muslim population has grown 250 times in the last ten years.¹²⁶ It is time to regain the lost missionary dynamic of our fathers. Maybe Orthodox missiologists will point the right way.

As to the Russian Orthodox Church, the development of its recent mission theory goes back to the decision of the Episcopalian Sobor of the Church in 1994 to establish criteria for a Russian Orthodox missiology; a working group presented its results in 1995. On this basis the current text of the 'Conception of missionary activity of the Russian Orthodox Church' was finalised and passed by the Holy Synod.¹²⁷ In 2009 the first textbook on missiology from a Russian Orthodox perspective was finalised by the Mission Office of the church and published.¹²⁸ There are many questions that can be asked about the book, both from a scholarly and from a missiological perspective, as Andrey Kuraev, one of the authors, rightly states.¹²⁹ In his estimation, the textbook is an 'expression of the missiological poverty' of the Church.¹³⁰ The missionary statement of the Russian Orthodox Church sees mission as a movement of the Church towards the world, with the declared aim to change and renew the world according to the gospel of Jesus Christ.¹³¹ Modern day Russian Orthodox missiology derives from the missionary praxis of the Church Fathers, but especially from their own missionary history in the nineteenth century, here especially from the Altai and Japan missions.¹³²

To be sure, the Orthodox are still far away from the set goal of formulating an appropriate missiology for their context. But they have started. Without a doubt, the Evangelicals should now follow and they may do so in conversation with the Orthodox. The first possible step will obviously be to recover the missionary legacy of our own tradition.

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Endnotes

- 1 The available statistics show a clear tendency, which may have started at the end of the 1990s and continues until today. See Walter Sawatsky, 'Return of Mission and Evangelism in the CIS (1980s – Present). An Assessment' in Walter Sawatsky and Peter F. Penner (eds.), *Mission in the Former Soviet Union* (Schwarzenfeld: Neufeld Verlag, 2005) 110-111.
- 2 Catherine Wanner, 'Missionaries of Faith and Culture: Evangelical Encounters in Ukraine' in *Slavic Review* 63.4 (2004) 732-755; Catherine Wanner, 'Missionaries and Pluralism: How the Law Changed the Religious Landscape in Ukraine' in Larissa M.L. Zaleska Onyshkevych and Maria G. Rewakowicz (eds.), *Contemporary Ukraine on the Cultural Map of Europe* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2009).
- 3 Charles H. Kraft, *Appropriate Christianity* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2005) 4-5. See for concern Michail Cherenkov, 'Postsovetskie evangelskie cerkvi v posikach podchodiaschei missiologii: globalnye tendencii i mestnye realii' in <http://baptist.org.ru/articles/missions/382> [accessed 01.02.2013]; English translation: **Michael Cherenkov**, 'Global Missiological Trends and Local Realities Toward Appropriate Missiology for Post-Soviet Evangelicals: Global Missiological Trends and Local Realities' in March 1, 2012; Denis Shumilin, *Missiologia* (Donetsk: Donetzki Christianski Universităt) at www.shumilinitalia.org/missiolog..pdf [accessed 20.01.2013].
- 4 Cherenkov, 'Postsovetskie'.
- 5 John York, *Missiologia v vek Duchā*. Springfield: Life Publishers International, 2002); Harold Kurz, *Ocerki po missiologii* (Moskva: Narnia, 2002); A. Chacki and Jim Overton, *Missiologia: bibleiskiy, istoricheskiy, kulturny, strategicheskiy aspekty, Uchebnoe posobie* (Moskva: Duchovnoe vozrozhdenie, 2001); David J. Bosch, *Probrazovanie missii* (Moskva: Bibleiskaia kafedra, 2002).
- 6 See for instance Wes Bredenhof. 'Reformatskie veroispovedania I missia cerkvi' at www.reformed.org.ua/2/613/Bredenhof [accessed 25.01.2013].
- 7 The strong dependence on Western models is also caused by the strong presence of Western missionary forces in the CIS. It has been estimated that in 1996, 5,600 Western missionaries operated in the CIS: Peter F. Penner, 'Critical evaluation of recent development in the CIS' in Sawatsky and Penner, *Mission*, 127).
- 8 See for instance Ruvim Voloshin, 'Vozvedite ochi vashi i posmotrite na nivy kak oni pobeledi i pospeliki Zhatve' 3.12.2008 in <http://baptist.org.ru/articles/missions/> [accessed 01.02.2013].
- 9 Voloshin, 'Vozvedite ochi'.
- 10 Vladimir Fiodorov (ed.), *Pravoslavnaia missia segodnia* (St Petersburg: Apostolski Gorod, 1999).
- 11 Fiodorov (ed.), *Pravoslavnaia missia*, 91-291.
- 12 Alexandr Ginkel (ed.), *Missiologia*. 2-e ispravl. Izdanie (Belgorod: Belgorodskaia Duchvnaia Pravoslavnaia Seminaria, 2010) 8.
- 13 Ginkel (ed.), *Missiologia*. All translations from Russian and German in this essay are mine.
- 14 See for instance the textbook on missiology by V.M. Chernyshev, *Missiologia* (St Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo L'va Papy Rimskogo, 2010).
- 15 Andrey Kuraev, *Missionerski krizis pravoslavia* (Moskva: Nikea, 2010).
- 16 Peter F. Penner, 'Scripture, community and context in God's mission in the FSU' in Sawatsky and Penner, *Mission*, 23.
- 17 See for instance Waldemar Gutsche, *Westliche Quellen des Russischen Stundismus* (Kassel: Oncken, 1955) 10-68; Wilhelm Kahle, *Evangelische Christen in Rußland und der Sovietunion. Ivan Stepanovic Prochanov (1869-1935) und der Weg der Evangeliums Christen und Baptisten* (Kassel: Oncken, 1978) 38-79; Hans-Christian Dietrich, *Ursprünge und Anfänge des russischen Freikirchentums* (Erlangen: Martin-Luther Verlag, 1985) 215-216; Hans-Christian Dietrich, *Siedler, Sektierer und Stundisten. Die Entstehung des russischen Freikirchentums* (Holzgerlingen: Hänssler, 1997).
- 18 Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 90-104; Dietrich, *Ursprünge*, 155-156; Hans-Christian Dietrich, 'Russische Sekten' in H.D. Betz u.a. (Hrsg.) *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 4. Auflage, Band 7 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007) 686.
- 19 Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 38-89; Hans Kasdorf, *Flammen unauslöschlich* (Lage: Logos Verlag, 1991) 71-173.
- 20 Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 90-92. See also the article of Marina Sergeevna Karetnikova, an outstanding Russian historian in this regard: Marina S. Karetnikova, 'The missionary movement in Russia: The 19th and 20th centuries' in Sawatsky and Penner, *Mission*, 64-73.
- 21 In Vladimir Franchuk, *Probuždenie: ot centra Odessy do okrain Rossii* (Odessa: Simäks-print, 2011) 225.
- 22 See for example Dietrich, *Siedler*, 162.
- 23 Heinrich Löwen, *Russische Freikirchen. Die Geschichte der Evangeliums-Christen und Baptisten bis 1944* (Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 1995) 94-95; Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 180.
- 24 More about the different branches of Pentecostal churches in Tat'iana Nikol'skaja, *Russkij protestantizm i gosudarstvennaja vlast' v 1905-1991 gg.* (St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo evropejskogo universiteta, 2009) 77. Nikolaj Petrovich Smorodin (1875-1953), a former officer of the Russian army, founded the first Pentecostal church in Wyborg, close to St. Petersburg, in 1915 (Nicol'skaja,

- Russkij Protestantizm*, 77).
- 25 Vladimir Franchuk, *Prosla Rossija dozhdia u Gospoda* Tom 1 (Kiev: Svitankova Zorja, 2001) 326-329; Leonard Frank, *Gemeindewachstum der Pfingstgemeinden in der UdSSR im 20. Jahrhundert* (Unpublished MTh dissertation; Pretoria: UNISA, 2013) 51.
- 26 See for instance Walter Sawatsky, 'The centrality of mission and evangelism in the Slavic Evangelical story' in Sawatsky and Penner, *Mission*, 41.
- 27 Miriam R. Kuznetsova, *Early Russian Evangelicals (1874-1929). Historical background and hermeneutical tendencies based on I.V. Kargel's written heritage* (Unpublished PhD dissertation; Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2009) 16.
- 28 Kuznetsova, *Early Russian evangelicals*, 62.
- 29 Steve Durasoff, *The Russian Protestants: Evangelicals in the Soviet Union, 1944-1964* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1969) 25, points to the Orthodox renewal movements as the actual precondition of Protestantism in Russia.
- 30 Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 18-19.
- 31 Voloshin, 'Vozvedite otchi'.
- 32 See his doctoral dissertation: Heinrich Klassen, *Mission als Zeugnis – Zur missionarischen Existenz in der Sowjetunion nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Lage: Logos, 2001).
- 33 *Bratski Vestnik* is a publication of the All-Union of Evangelical-Christian Baptists.
- 34 Klassen, *Mission als Zeugnis*.
- 35 Heinrich Klassen, 'Mission as bearing witness – Immigrant witness in Germany' in *Mission Focus* 14 (2006) 167.
- 36 Frank, *Gemeindewachstum*, 95.
- 37 Klassen, 'Mission as bearing', 170.
- 38 Frank, *Gemeindewachstum*, 116.
- 39 Nikol'skaia, *Russkij Protestantizm*, 188.
- 40 See Michael Bourdeaux, *The Politics of Religion in Russia and the New States of Euroasia* (London: M.E. Sharpe, 1995) 117-118; Johannes Reimer, 'Mission in post-perestroika Russia' in *Missionalia* 24. Frank, *Gemeindewachstum* 18-39.
- 41 Sawatsky, 'Centrality of mission', 48.
- 42 Sawatsky, 'Centrality of mission', 40.
- 43 Johannes Reimer, 'Mission der Aussiedlergemeinden in Deutschland – was bremst den Aufbruch?' in *Evangelikale Missiologie* 25 (2009) 159; Frank, *Gemeindewachstum*, 151.
- 44 Vladislav Arkadieievich Bachinin, 'Proekt russkoi reformacii', in <http://kolokol.net/content/64-credo-/385-ivan-prohanov>.
- 45 Ivan S. Prokhanov, *In the Cauldron of Russia* (New York: John Felsberg, 1933).
- 46 Leonid Shenderovski, *Evangel'skie christiane. Vozrozhdenie evangel'skogo dvizhenija v istoricheskoi christianskoi cerkvi. Istoricheskie ocherk (XIX-XX vv.)* (Togosh: Print, 1986); V.A. Popov, *I.S. Prokhanov. Stranicy zhizni* (St. Petersburg: Biblia dlia vsekh, 1996).
- 47 Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 430-431.
- 48 Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 430.
- 49 Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 431.
- 50 Ivan S. Prokhanov in Vladimir Marcinkovski, *Zipiski veruyushogo. Iz istorii evangel'skogo dvizhenia v sovetskoj Rossii (1917-1923)* (St. Petersburg: Biblia dlia vsekh, 1994) 296.
- 51 Sawatsky, 'Centrality of mission', 41.
- 52 Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 437.
- 53 See the ecumenical orientation of Prokhanov in Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 439-440.
- 54 Ivan S. Prokhanov, *Cauldron*, 97, 102; see also Andrey P. Puzynin, *The Tradition of the Gospel Christians* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2011) 128-130.
- 55 Jakob Kroecker, 'Nachrichten' in *Dein Reich komme* 7 (1931) 204-205; Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 444.
- 56 Prokhanov, *Cauldron*, 131.
- 57 Ivan S. Prokhanov, *V kotle Rossii* (St. Petersburg: Biblia dlia vsekh, 1992) 40-41.
- 58 Letter of I.S. Prokhanov to V.A. Pashkov dated 17th May, 1998, VSEChB Archives, Moskva, quoted in Bachinin, 'Proekt russkoi reformacii'.
- 59 Prokhanov, *V kotle*, 76.
- 60 See the sharp analysis of the state of the Russian Orthodox Church in Prokhanov's autobiography: Prokhanov, *V kotle*, 20-21.
- 61 Prokhanov, *V kotle*, 83.
- 62 See *Evangel'ski klich*, 20 in <http://charismaticoc.narod.ru/business7.html> [accessed 01.02.2013].
- 63 Prokhanov, *V kotle*, 43-44.
- 64 An aim for which Prokhanov was permanently criticised, for example by his own Baptist fellow believers in Russia, see Dietrich, 'Russische Sekten', 121-122. More in Popov, *I.S. Prokhanov*, 87-88; Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 501-503; Puzynin, *Tradition*, 159-163.
- 65 Ivan S. Prokhanov, *Erfolge des Evangeliums in Rußland* (Wernigerode: LiO, 1929) 29-30.
- 66 *Bratski Listok* 12 (1908) 17-18, quoted in the translation of Puzynin, *Tradition*, 139.
- 67 See the full text in <http://charismaticoc.narod.ru/business7.html> [accessed 10.02.2013].
- 68 The text was published in *Evangel'skaia vera* 4 (1933) 10-17; see Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 542-544; Puzynin, *Tradition*, 163-164.
- 69 Puzynin, *Traditioni*, 165.
- 70 *Evangel'ski klich*, in Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 439.
- 71 Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 440.
- 72 Bachinin, 'Proekt russkoi reformacii'.
- 73 Ivan S. Prokhanov, 'Ob edinstve' in *Bratski Listok* 9 (1910) 19.
- 74 Ivan S. Prokhanov, *Atheism or the Gospel in Russia. Which?* (New York: John Felsberg, 1933) 128.
- 75 *Evangel'ski klich*, 24.
- 76 Prokhanov, *Atheism*, 126.

- 77 Prokhanov, *Atheism*, 130.
- 78 Ivan S. Prokhanov, *Evangel'skoie christianstvo i social'nyi vopros* (Petrograd. 1918) 12. See also Ivan S. Prokhanov, *A new Religious Reformation in Russia* (New York: Russia Evangelization Society, 1925) 4; Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 445-446.
- 79 Prokhanov, *Religious Reformation*, 26.]
- 80 Prokhanov, *Religious Reformation*, 26.
- 81 Prokhanov, *Erfolge des Evangeliums*, 38.
- 82 Ivan S. Prokhanov, *Triumph of the Gospel in the Heart of Russia* (New York: John Felsberg, 1928) 19.
- 83 See the detailed discussion of the socio-economic views of Prokhanov in Kahle, *Evangelische Christen*, 450-455; Popov, *Prokhanov*, 97-98, 133-148.
- 84 Prokhanov, *V kotle*, 40-41.
- 85 *Evangel'ski klich*, 26.
- 86 *Evangel'ski klich*, 131.
- 87 Bachinin.
- 88 Vladimir Franchuk, *Prosila Rossija doždja u Gospoda*. Tom 2 (Kiev: Svitankova, 2002) 8-10; Durasoff, *Russian Protestants*, 68.
- 89 Nikolai Usach and Vladimir Tkachenko, *Poslannik piatidesiatnicy. K istorii piatidesiatnicheskogo dvizhenija, Kniga 1* (Vinnica: Slovo Christianina, 2006) 91.
- 90 Durasoff, *Russian Protestants*, 52.
- 91 Usach and Tkachenko, *Poslannik*, 97-103; Franchuk, *Prosila Rossija 2*, 22.
- 92 Franchuk, *Prosila Rossija 2*, 21; Usach and Tkachenko, *Poslannik*, 98.
- 93 Vladimir Franchuk, *Prosila Rossija doždja u Gospoda*. Tom 1 (Kiev: Svitankova, 2001) 154.
- 94 Ivan Voronaev, 'O Boge' in *Evangelist 1* (1928) 15-16.
- 95 Ivan Voronaev, 'Kakuju silu imeet Duch Svjatoj' in *Evangelist 2* (1928) 7.
- 96 Ivan Voronaev, 'O Bozh'em uteshenii' in *Evangelist 2* (1928) 11.
- 97 Ivan Voronaev in *Evangelist 8* (1928) 22.
- 98 Usach and Tkachenko, *Poslannik*, 105; Frank, *Gemeindewachstum*, 98.
- 99 Ivan Voronaev in *Evangelist 1* (1928) 1.
- 100 Ivan Voronaev, 'O Cerkvi Christovoi' in *Evangelist 1* (1928) 6-7.
- 101 Franchuk, *Prosila Rossija 2*, 67-69; Usach and Tkachenko, *Poslannik*, 184-187.
- 102 In 1927 25 more Union evangelists began their ministry, see Franchuk, *Prosila Rossija 1*, 337-338.
- 103 Some of the sermons have been published in *Evangelist*, for instance Voronaev's sermon on the hunger in Odessa in *Evangelist 2* (1928) 15-17.
- 104 Franchuk, *Prosila Rossija 1*, 367.
- 105 Viktoria Mel'nik, *voliuicia sovremennogo piatidesjatnichestva* (L'vov: Viwa shkola, 1985) 46; see also Frank, *Gemeindewachstum*, 124-125.
- 106 Alexandr Klibanov, *Religioznoe sektantstvo i sovremennost* (Moskva: Nauka, 1969) 96.
- 107 See in this regard Klibanov, *Religioznoe sektantstvo*, 96.
- 108 Viktoria Mel'nik, *Molodiozh' v piatidesjatnichestve: poiski ideala* (L'vov: Svit, 1992) 102.
- 109 Mel'nik, *Molodiozh*, 143.
- 110 See for instance Voronaev on healing as part of the missionary calling of the church in *Evangelist 3-4* (1928) 1; 5 (1928) 20. Frank, *Gemeindewachstum*, 137-139 lists numerous articles in Pentecostal publications of the time, such as *Primiritel* and *Evangelist*, strongly supporting this observation.
- 111 Nikol'skaja, *Russkij protestantizm*, 68.
- 112 Frank, *Gemeindewachstum*, 139.
- 113 Aleksei Moskalenko, *Pjatidesjatniki* (Moskva: Politi eskaja literatura, 1973) 127.
- 114 See for instance Franchuk, *Prosila Rossija 2*, 67-69; Usach and Tkachenko, *Poslannik*, 184-187.
- 115 Voronaev, 'O cerkvi', 7.
- 116 Frank, *Gemeindewachstum*, 55.
- 117 Franchuk, *Probuzhdenie*, 382.
- 118 Voronaev, 'O Bozh'em uteshenii', 15; Frank, *Gemeindewachstum*, 94-95.
- 119 See the argument in Sawatsky, 'Centrality of mission', 52.
- 120 Puzynin, *Tradition*, 147.
- 121 Puzynin, *Tradition*, 147.
- 122 David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1991) 349-350.
- 123 Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 368-510.
- 124 Frank, *Gemeindewachstum*, 140-142, points to the fact that, despite the clear orientation of the Pentecostal churches in the USSR on healing, only very few reports on healing can be collected from the time after 1945.
- 125 Voloshin, 'Vozvedite ochi vashi'.
- 126 Voloshin, 'Vozvedite ochi vashi'.
- 127 Ginkel, *Missiologia*, 12-13. See the text *Koncepcia missionerskoi deiatelnosti Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Cerkvi* (Moskva: Missionerski otdel Rossiskoi Pravoslavnoi cerkvi, 2009).
- 128 Ginkel, *Missiologia*, 14.
- 129 Andrey Kuraev, *Миссиология. Учебное пособие. Издание Белгородской семинарии*, 2009, in <http://diak-kuraev.livejournal.com/41380.html> [accessed 2.02.2013].
- 130 Kuraev, *Миссиология*.
- 131 Ginkel, *Missiologia*, 10-11.
- 132 Ginkel, *Missiologia*, 12.