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3. The liberation of Baltic peasants from feudal servitude. At the end of 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries, Moravian laymen came to Estonia and Latvia and worked among the rural population which was still largely in feudal servitude. They were helped by the fact that some of the Baltic noblemen had attended Moravian boarding schools in Germany and favoured the expansion of their communities.

The Moravians brought their characteristics of simplified theology, pastoral guidance, worship, music, and song with them, and their forms of piety proved to be outstandingly suited to the national character of these Baltic people. The educational contribution made by the Moravians helped to make them self-confident and independent. As in the case of slavery in America, the Moravians never elaborated a theory of education for liberation and independence. In many respects, Zinzendorf and the Moravians were as conservative as the Lutherans and did not revolt against the social and economic *status quo*, but they had already achieved important social and economic changes in their own community. Nobleman, peasant, scholar and labourer were equals in the congregation and also in the life of the settlement. Long before the French Revolution, the Moravians had broken through the middle wall that separated the social classes. External disparity had largely been submerged by spiritual equality. Labourers from the beginning had been leaders in the congregation and members of the nobility and other persons of high rank had willingly submitted to their leadership.

The education which some of the Baltic noblemen had received in Moravian boarding schools helped them to adopt a less severe attitude towards the peasant serfs. The Moravians taught obedience to the authorities but at the same time they led these serfs to spiritual and social emancipation. They helped to develop various trades among the Estonians and Latvians, and this in turn sharpened their intellect, their behaviour and their sense of responsibility. By means of voluntary gifts, the Baltic Moravians built chapels which were outstanding examples of national architecture. These chapels became symbols of their potentiality in p. 102 national self-assertion and independence. Spiritual and social self-improvement went hand in hand in such a way that the Moravian Church became the first nationalist movement among Estonians.

I am sure that many more examples could be told of how the Moravian Church in the 17th century laid the basis for social reform, but here we must stop and put the question: Can the cases related above be considered a fulfilment of the saying of our Lord: 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and all these things shall be added unto you'?

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Professor van der Linde is Professor of Missiology at the State University of Utrecht, and a leading authority on the history of the Moravian movement. p. 103

Christian Spirituality

An Article Review

by ROBERT M. YULE

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In this slightly abridged review article on recent writings of Christian spirituality, the author analyses the 'sanctification gap' of contemporary Protestantism. He encourages fellow evangelicals to recover the best of Catholic spirituality and to experiment in the use of structured patterns of prayer for private or corporate use in order to sustain and enrich the demands of the Christian ministry. These suggestions will rouse suspicion in the minds of many evangelicals, especially those belonging to the Free Church tradition, and more so as the author leads us through the writings of those Roman Catholic, Anglo-Catholic, neo-Orthodox, Liberal and Orthodox Christians who have sought to know and experience God. Few evangelicals have ventured into the paths suggested by many of these writers. For those of settled Biblical conviction this article will prove provocative and perhaps open new vistas for the spiritually barren caught up in the activism of pastoral teaching and administrative ministries.
Editor.

I. CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT SPIRITUALITY

THE BEST comprehensive survey of the subject is the three-volume work of the Catholic writer, Louis Bouyer, *A History of Christian Spirituality* (Burns & Oates, 1963–9).[1] Volume I deals with *The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers*, Volume 2, written in conjunction with Dom Jean Leclercq and P. 104 Dom Francois Vandenbroucke, reviews *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages*, and Volume 3 discusses *Orthodox Spirituality, and Protestant and Anglican Spirituality*. The provocative thesis of the third volume is that Protestantism, though formally separated from the Catholic Church, has always returned to the great tradition of Catholic spirituality when faced with the pastoral need to develop a spirituality of its own; and conversely, that when Protestantism has been strongly anti-Catholic in theological attitude, it has generally shown itself to be incapable of developing an adequate theology of the spiritual life at all.

Allowing for a measure of over-simplification, one has to admit that there is a good deal of truth in Fr. Bouyer's thesis. There are, of course, those striking examples which corroborate his first contention exactly, like those men, from John Henry Newman to Bouyer himself, whose search for a deeper understanding of the spiritual life has led them from Protestantism into the Catholic Church. But the truth of Fr. Bouyer's argument is not limited to such personal instances; it tends to be corroborated by Anglicanism in general, for here we see the deep Catholicity of what English Protestantism has produced in the way of an authentic spirituality. Martin Thornton's *English Spirituality: An Outline of Ascetical Theology according to the English Pastoral Tradition* (S.P.C.K., 1963) is an excellent introduction to Anglican spirituality, tracing its Catholic heritage and development from St. Augustine to the present day. Some of the same ground is also covered by the Catholic historian David Knowles, in *The English Mystical Tradition* (Burns & Oates, 1961). Linking the many different expressions of faith which make up the Anglo-Catholic tradition is an emphasis on personal devotion and spiritual direction within the context of the life and worship of the Church.

These comments are not meant to imply that there is no such thing as a genuine Protestant spirituality outside Anglo-Catholicism. Indeed there is, but it often lacks a living tradition and a coherent expression amid the secularity of the modern world. Protestant writers have produced some excellent books about particular aspects of the

[1] Unless otherwise indicated, the place of publication of books referred to is London.

Christian life in today's world—those by Baelz and Ellul are especially good[2]—but there is still, regrettably, p. 105 no comprehensive survey of non-Anglican Protestant spirituality by a Protestant writer, comparable with those of Bouyer and Thornton. This is itself symptomatic of the absence of serious Protestant interest in the subject. A comprehensive survey of Protestant spirituality is desperately needed, but I doubt if it will be forthcoming so long as our theological colleges are not providing courses in the history and practice of Christian spirituality, and so long as a cloud of academic prejudice tends to deter people from the sympathetic study of English Puritanism, continental Pietism, and more recent Revivalism and Evangelicalism. Meanwhile, the reader who is interested to find out more must go directly to specialist studies, of which R. S. Wallace's *Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life* (Edinburgh & London, Oliver & Boyd, 1959), E. F. Stoeffler's *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden, Brill, 1965) and A. C. Outler's *John Wesley* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1964) are good examples. My suspicion is that if a history of Protestant spirituality comes to be written, it will tend to support Fr. Bouyer's thesis in relation to non-Anglican Protestantism as well. Certainly, one who reads the great Protestant spiritual writers—especially men like Samuel Rutherford, Richard Baxter, and John Wesley—cannot fail to be impressed by their wide knowledge of the fathers of undivided Christendom and the Catholic mystics of the Middle Ages.

Fr. Bouyer's second contention, on the other hand, finds rather depressing confirmation in the mainstreams of 20th century Protestant thought: theologians as diverse as Harnack and Herrmann, Barth, Brunner, and Bultmann, Aulen and Nygren, Ebeling and Moltmann, are all agreed about one thing—that mysticism (or the possibility of immediate experience of God) is an essentially pagan element in Christianity, which must be rejected at all costs as inconsistent with justification by faith.[3] This lamentable misunderstanding has its source in the anti-mystical stance adopted by the p. 106 old Ritschlian theology. In particular, Albrecht Ritschl's own Geschichte des Pietismus (3 vols, 1880–6) has had an enormous influence on subsequent continental theology, predisposing the attitudes of three generations of scholars—even those who (like Barth) had in other respects broken with liberal Protestantism—against a sympathetic understanding of pietist spirituality. In theory, Protestantism will have nothing to do with justification by works; yet, a great deal of modern Protestant thought leaps straight from doctrine to action without the mediation of God's grace acquired through prayer. We

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[2] P. Baelz, *Prayer and Providence* (S.C.M. Press, 1968), J. Ellul, *Prayer and Modern Man* (New York: Seabury, 1970).

[3] Harnack's view that mysticism was a pagan intrusion which accompanied the 'hellenising' of early Christianity colours his entire treatment of Christian spirituality: see *History of Dogma* (London, 1897–9), especially Vol. III, pp. 163–78, Vol. IV, pp. 276–83, Vol. VI, pp. 10–15, 97–108. For the views of the other theologians mentioned, see W. Herrmann, *The Communion of the Christian with God* (London, 1895), pp. 17–46; E. Brunner, *Die Mystik und das Wort* (Tubingen, 1928); R. Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word* (London, 1958), pp. 41f, 111f; G. Aulen, *The Faith of the Christian Church* (Philadelphia, 1948), pp. 50–2; A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros* (London, 1932–9), especially Pt. I, pp. 158–82, Pt. II, pp. 208–30, 298–300, 355f, 415–19, 430–3, 444–6; G. Ebeling, *Word and Faith* (London, 1963), pp. 32–7; J. Moltmann, *Theology of Hope* (London, 1967), pp. 154–65.

Barth's attitude was at first coloured by the views at Harnack and Herrmann, his theological teachers. Thus in his earlier writings he rejected mysticism along with Pietism and Rationliasm, as part of the immanentism of modern Europaen culture (*Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1972, pp. 93–100, 113–23, 132–4) and as an intermediate step to modern atheism (*Church Dogmatics*, I.2, pp. 318–25). But in his later writings, when he began to formulate his own understanding of sanctification and the Christian life, his attitude became more discerning and constructive.

suffer, in the words of another writer, from a 'sanctification gap'[4]—a gap between faith and works, theology and ethics, resulting from a lack of clear pastoral instruction on how to bring the whole of one's life in the world into progressive conformity with the will of God.

The sanctification gap is now manifesting itself in the fragmentation of contemporary Protestantism. Twentieth century Protestant theology has tended to become intellectualistic, an exercise for academics. As a result, theology, thus discredited, is rejected altogether in favour of secular activism. And now, in the radicalising of secular Christianity, we are witnessing the emergence of a new Pelagianism, a political activism which is unregulated by any belief in God whatever. The next step, which some with due consistency are already taking, is to baptise this activism in the waters of a current ideology which is not Christian at all. It is Marx, not the Beatles, who is now more popular than Jesus Christ. p. 107

II. THE REDISCOVERY OF COMMUNITY

The charismatic movement is perhaps a sign that the Holy Spirit is doing something to fill the sanctification gap. The movement has not yet produced any major writings on Christian spirituality. But it is leading people to a new dimension of meaning in personal prayer, and to an exciting discovery of authentic Christian community in the context of the local church. The experience of the members of the Episcopal Church of the Redeemer in Houston, Texas, is characteristic of what is happening in many places. Michael Harper, in *A New Way of Living* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1973), gives a rather journalistic account of this church's phoenix-like rebirth from the ashes of Episcopalian ritualism and inner-city stagnation into a community of costly apostolic sharing and joyful worship. And Graham Pulkingham's book *Gathered for Power* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1973) is a simple yet moving account of his own pilgrimage from the suffering and despair of a failed activist to become the Spirit-filled pastor through whose ministry much of this church's rejuvenation was made possible. The note of humiliation and weakness, not always present in critical assessments of the charismatic movement, should not be overlooked; the power of God was disclosed to Pulkingham in the earthenware pot of acknowledged spiritual bankruptcy.

I think it is significant that some of the best books on Christian spirituality to have come out of 20th century Protestantism were originally written in the context of community life and addressed to Christians living in community. Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *The Cost of Discipleship* (complete edition, S.C.M. Press, 1959) and *Life Together* (S.C.M. Press, 1954) were both written between 1935 and 1939, when Bonhoeffer was head of the illegal seminary of the 'Confessing Church' at Finkenwalde, in Nazi Germany. We should remember that community living was a form of theological education without precedent in modern German Protestantism: these books were addressed to the exigencies of a new pastoral situation. Similarly, the growth of the Taize Community since the Second World War has introduced a now dimension of Christian experience into the life of the Protestant Churches in France, The writings of Roger Schutz, the community's founder-prior, contain much that is of value. The best known and most readily obtainable p. 108 is *This Day Belongs to God* (Faith Press, 1961). Schutz's colleague, Max Thurian, sub-prior of the community, is known mainly for his writings on the theology of worship, but people who are hard pressed will find his book *Modern Man and Spiritual Life* (Lutterworth, 1963) a helpful introduction to the discipline of prayer. *The Rule of Taize* (Les

[4] Cf. Richard Levelace's article, 'The Sanctification Gap', *Theology Today*, XXIX, (4 January 1973), pp. 363–9.

Presses de Taize) is also worth perusing: it breathes the robust, matter-of-fact spirituality that has made this community such a force in the renewal of continental Protestantism and ecumenical endeavour.

III. ORTHODOX SPIRITUALITY

Perhaps the greatest contribution to the enrichment of our understanding of Christian spirituality in the 20th century has come from the Eastern Orthodox Church. In particular, the members of the Russian Orthodox emigration have done a great deal to communicate the riches of Orthodox spirituality to Western Christians since the Revolution of 1917. The Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, founded in 1927 and linking the Anglican and Orthodox Churches, has been both an expression and a vehicle of this interaction between East and West; its twice-yearly journal *Sobornost* contains many worthwhile articles on theology and spirituality, usually of a very practical nature. I have no doubt that if clergy were to subscribe to it and ponder its articles, they would find not only much food for personal reflection but the inspiration for many sermons as well.

Eastern Orthodoxy has an unbroken spiritual tradition stretching back through the Byzantine mystics to the desert Fathers and the New Testament. Many of the most widely used spiritual and ascetic writings from this tradition were brought together into a single collection, known as the *Philokalia*, at the end of the 18th century, for the use of monks on Mt. Athos, the historic centre of Orthodox monasticism. Selections from the Russian version of this work have recently been translated and published in the West by E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer, in two self-contained volumes, *Writings from the Philokalia on Prayer of the Heart* (Faber, 1951), and *Early Fathers from the Philokalia* (Faber, 1954). Another recently translated work also draws on this great heritage of Orthodox spiritual writing—*The Art of Prayer: An Orthodox* p. 109 *Anthology*, compiled by Igumen Chariton of the monastery at Valamo in Finland (Faber, 1966). It is one of the best books I know on prayer. All these writers emphasise the need to acquire a continual recollection of the presence of God, even in the midst of other activity, by means of the practice of interior prayer of the heart. It is recommended as a way of life for all people, not just a spiritual elite: the anonymous author of *The Way of a Pilgrim* (S.P.C.K., 1972) was an unlettered Russian peasant in the 19th century who strove, by following the teachings of the *Philokalia*, to put into practice St. Paul's injunction to 'pray without ceasing'. This book and its sequel, *The Pilgrim Continues his Way* (S.P.C.K., 1973), are rather reminiscent of the *Fioretti* of St. Francis; they show the disarmingly simple, if somewhat idiosyncratic, attempts of one man to live the hard sayings of the Gospel.

The members of the Russian emigration have not been mere traditionalists, content just to translate works of Orthodox spirituality; they have often been really able spiritual advisers in their own right. Best known and best loved is undoubtedly the Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Church in Britain, Archbishop Anthony Bloom. His book *School for Prayer* (Darren, Longman & Todd, 1970) has had an astonishingly wide readership, as can be seen from the number of reprintings it has gone through already. Its special merit is the way in which it relates prayer and suffering, and it is written with that same spiritual intensity and insight that those who have met the author personally will have experienced. The content of some of Bloom's other books tends to overlap: I would recommend *Living Prayer* (Darren, Longman & Todd, 1966) and *God and Man* (Darton, Longman & Todd, 1971) as being not only the best but also the least repetitive of these. Bloom's teacher in Paris was the great Russian Orthodox theologian Vladimir Lossky, whose book *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (James Clarke, 1957) is not only a superb work of theology and an excellent introduction to Orthodox thought, but a model

of how theology and spirituality should be integrally related in Christian experience. There is no sanctification gap here. A contrast with the West is that Orthodox sprituality does not suffer from the rather morbid quality that has sometimes characterized Catholic and Puritan devotion: it is full of the joy of the risen Lord. A recent book which exemplifies this is *The Joy of Freedom: Eastern* p. 110 *Worship and Modern Man* (Lutterworth, 1967), by the Indian Orthodox theologian Paul Verghese.

IV. RESOURCES FOR MINISTRY

The ministry is a demanding occupation; it requires deep spiritual resources to sustain and enrich it. Such resources can only be acquired through prayer, yet there is today probably no part of a minister's life that is less cultivated for want of practical guidance or more quickly abandoned lot lack of time than this. How can we sustain a regular discipline of prayer, so that our ministry might be a genuine work of God and not just a feverish round of well-intentioned but rather fruitless activity? Most clergy find this a problem, whatever Church they belong to. However, I think the difficulty is aggravated for ministers in the Presbyterian and Free Church traditions by the attitudes of suspicion or even hostility that have come to surround the use of prepared forms as an aid to personal or corporate prayer[5]. As a result, many ministers struggle fitfully to make free prayer regular and meaningful; others, findings this too onerous and unrewarding, give up praying altogether (some, in the long run, give up the ministry as well).

Ministers who are dissatisfied with the barren or spasmodic nature of their personal prayer, or who desire an aid to perseverance in periods of spiritual aridity, would be greatly helped, I believe, by using a more structured pattern of prayer, like one of the various contemporary versions of the daily office that are now available. There is a good deal to be said for using the office. It gives the direction and purpose, variety and balance, which is so often lacking in unstructured prayer It introduces an element of objective praise into personal prayer; it provides a substratum of prayer for each day's activity in the world, thus helping to sanctify the day in reality, not just in imagination; and it links all who use it with the prayer of the Church in a real, though hidden, community of p. 111 worship. The Taize Community led the way in revising the traditional daily office for modern use, and in re-establishing it as an acceptable form of prayer in the Reformed tradition. The fruit of its research is available in *The Taize Office* (Faith Press, 1966). More recently the Joint Liturgical Group in Britain, comprising representatives of the Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregational, and Methodist Churches, has published a book entitled *The Daily Office*, edited by R. C. D. Jasper (S.P.C.K. & Epworth, 1968). It is more austere than the Taize form, though it is also more simple to use. This volume includes an excellent introductory essay on the nature of the office and its place in the life of the Church, written by Stephen Winward, better known for his work with Scripture Union and his book on prayer in the 'Teach Yourself' series. The Joint Liturgical Group's Lectionary covers the whole of the New Testament once a year and nearly all of the Old Testament once every two years; there are three readings each day, two in the morning and one in the evening. For use as a second evening lesson or meditation, an interesting collection of spiritual readings has been prepared by Christopher Campling, drawn mainly

[5] In the case of Presbyterians this suspicion is not historically justified. For nearly a century after the Reformation daily morning and evening prayer continued to be held in most Scottish churches, using Knox's *Book of Common Order*, until the abandonment of this Prayer Book by the Westminster Assembly led to the cessation of daily services.

from contemporary Christian writers. It has recently been published in two volumes as *The Fourth Lesson in the Daily Office* (Darton, Longman & Todd, 1973f).

The idea of a collection of extra-Biblical spiritual readings for daily reflection is a good one, but Campling's selection, in my opinion, suffers from being too exclusively contemporary. It lacks the historical balance and richness of the magnificent new edition of the Roman Breviary which has been prepared under the authorisation of the Second Vatican Council for the use of all Catholic clergy. Entitled *The Divine Office: The Liturgy of the Hours according to the Roman Rite* (London, Sydney & Dublin: Collins, Dwyer & Talbot, 1974, £11.50 each), its three sumptuous volumes, totalling over six thousand pages, make our efforts in liturgical revision look almost dilettante in comparison. No new Protestant reform of worship will be able to ignore it. It is full of spiritual riches; a judicious blend of Scripture, psalms, prayer, hymns, poetry, and readings from the great patristic and medieval spiritual writers of the Church, all skilfully woven into the texture of the Christian year.

Finally, I shall say something about three books which I have p. 112 found very helpful in relation to particular aspects of the ministry. On the task and opportunity of Christian preaching, I know nothing better than Karl Barth's little volume *Prayer and Preaching*, with an introduction by James Stewart (S.C.M. Press, 1964). For depth of genuinely spiritual pastoral insight—as distinct from pastoral insights which are just an amalgam of perspective derived from other professions—*The Diary of a Russian Priest*, by Alexander Elchaninov (Faber, 1967) is unsurpassed. Elchaninov was a parish priest of the Russian Orthodox Church in France in the years between the two world wars; he writes with a penetrating simplicity that is the distinctive fruit of a lifetime of prayer and close observation of people. For clergy who overwork, or are in other ways prone to lose a sense of proportion in their ministry, there is a lot of shrewd as well as sanctified common sense in Charles Spurgeon's *Lectures to My Students* (1889), selections from which have recently been republished by Helmut Thielicke in his book *Encounter with Spurgeon* (James Clarke, 1964). 'A mouthful of sea air,' Spurgeon writes, 'or a stiff walk in the wind's face, would not give grace to the soul, but it would yield oxygen to the body, which is next best.'

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Johann Georg Hamann on Bible and Revelation

by HELGO LINDNER

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ANYONE who undertakes to examine thoroughly the problems of the historico-critical approach to the Bible will have to direct his attention time and again to that period in which the 'historical' and 'critical' work achieved a breakthrough at our universities. The