

“Anweisung” — “Aanwyzing” — “Unterricht”

Three previously unknown early forms of Gerhard Tersteegen’s *Anweisung zum rechten Verstand und nützlichen Gebrauch der Heiligen Schrift* (A guide to the right understanding and profitable use of Holy Scripture), dated 1731 to 1734¹

Johannes Burkardt

1. Kurtz- und gründlicher Unterricht von der H. Schrift (1734)

When on 5 October 1842 the curate of the southern Westphalian town of Berleburg (now Bad Berleburg), Wilhelm Winckel (1804-1876)², came across a compendium of Pietist matter, the volume he held in his hands was a little treasure that has lost none of its value since, even now, over 170 years later. Winckel sold the slender book, which binds together eight pious tractates of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to the synod of nearby Wittgenstein in 1861 (he had since risen to the office of superintendent), together with other Pietist writings, thus establishing the kernel of the still-extant Synodal Library of the Ecclesiastical District (*Kirchenkreis*) of Wittgenstein.³

¹ A slightly different version of this article first appeared in German in *Jahrbuch für Westfälische Kirchengeschichte*, 111 (2015), 57-77. Thanks to Alexander Thomson (Dordrecht) for the translation!

² On Friedrich Wilhelm Winckel, cf. Friedrich Wilhelm Bauks, *Die evangelischen Pfarrer in Westfalen von der Reformationszeit bis 1945* (Beiträge zur Westfälischen Kirchengeschichte 4), Bielefeld 1980, no. 6989; Heinz-Willi Homrighausen, ‘Friedrich Wilhelm Winckel zum 200. Geburtstag’, in: *Gemeindebrief*, publication of the Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Bad Berleburg, October-November 2004 issue, 25-26; Konrad Fuchs, ‘Winckel (Winkel), Friedrich Wilhelm Heinrich’, in: Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz (ed.), *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 25, Hamm (Westf.) 2005, cols. 1519-20 (with much-abridged bibliography and a few more wide-ranging references to literature).

³ On the origins of the Synodal Library, cf. *Protokolle der Kreissynode* (prints) for 1861, p. 7, and 1862, p. 3. Mention there is only made of the annals of the inspirational congregation covering 22 years. The fact that the book under discussion here was one of these publications is clear from Winckel’s handwritten entry on the cover leaf, according to which the volume was catalogued as No. 32 in the Synodal Library on 2 October 1861.

The resulting quarto volume, bound in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century and preserved in quite decent condition apart from some missing pages and heavily water-stained quires, is housed to this day at the aforementioned library, catalogued under the shelfmark S 15. It contains the following titles:

1. Geistliche FAMA, mitbringend einige neuere Nachrichten von Göttlichen Wegen, Führungen, Erweckungen und Gerichten. XVII. Stück, 1735. [*Spiritual Fame, imparting some recent news about godly ways, leadings, awakenings and judgements; seventeenth part, no place mentioned (presumably Berleburg), 1735*]
2. Kurtze Betrachtungen Von der Nutzbarkeit des lieben Creutzes (...). Vorgetragen von Johanna Eleonora Petersen, Berleburg 1717. [*Brief meditations on the efficacy of the dear cross (...) presented by Johanna Eleonora Petersen, Berleburg 1717*]
3. [Bekäntnüss eines unpartheyischen Christen wegen des einigen seeligmachenden Glaubens unter allen Religionen und Völckern auff Erden: oder Beantwortung der Frage Ob die ungetauften Juden und Heiden weil sie nicht gestehen daß Christus der Sohn Gottes sey noch in ihrem Glauben können seelig werden / jedermänniglich (...) aufgesetzt und an taggegeben (...) durch Paul Kaym; (...) nebst Joachim Betkii (...) ans Licht gebracht, Wesel 1646.]⁴ [*Confession of an impartial Christian regarding the only saving faith among all religions and peoples of the earth: or an answer to the question of whether unbaptised Jews and pagans (can be saved), for they do not confess Christ to be the Son of God, nor can they be saved in their (own) religion (...) / written in an everyman style and published (...) by Paul Kaym, (...) besides being brought to light by Joachim Betcius (...), Wesel 1646*]
4. A & Ω Des berühmten Hoherleuchteten Gottes-Gelehrten Joachim Betkii, 1. Rechtmäßiger PIETISMUS und helleleuchtender Religions-Spiegel (...). 2. Bekäntnüs von Der Christen Glauben Anno 1585 zu Constantinopel in Latein vorgestellt (...), Wesel-Duisburg-Frankfurt 1692. [*The A to Z of the renowned, highly-enlightened divine Joachim Betcius: first, of right PIETISM and a bright-shining mirror of religion (...); second, a creed of the Christian faith drawn up in Latin at Constantinople in 1585 (...) Wesel/Duisburg/Frankfurt 1692*]

⁴ The title page and first four pages of the work have been lost.

5. Prophezeyungen und Erklärung vieler in der Heil[igen] Schrifft enthaltenen Prophezeyungen: vorgetragen durch einen Auszug aus denen sämtlichen Schrifftten der Madame Jeane Marie Bouviere de la Mothe GUION., 1747. [*Propheisyings and elucidation of many of the prophecies contained in Holy Scripture; presented as an extract from the complete works of Madame Jean(n)e-Marie Bouvière de la Mothe GUION, no place mentioned, 1747 (very probably translated and published by Johann Friedrich von Fleischbein*⁵)]
6. Kurtz- und gründlicher Unterricht von der H[eiligen] Schrifft. (...), Diez 1734. [*A brief and thorough instruction in Holy Scripture (...), Diez, 1734*]
7. [Ein Ernstlicher Ruff in Christlicher Liebe an alles Volck sich zu dem Geist Christi in ihnen zu bekehren (...) von]⁶ Benjamin Holme, 1744. [*A serious call in Christian love to the whole people to be converted to the Spirit of Christ within them (...) by] Benjamin Holme, no place given, 1744*]
8. Göttlicher EXTRACT, So auff Befehl Des grossen GÖttes, Schöpfers Himmels und der Erden, Auß Doct[or] JOHANN TAULERI Schriften gezogen (...) [*A godly extract, drawn from the writings of Dr. Johann[es] Tauler at the command of the great LORD, Creator of heaven and earth (...)*] [the publisher is given in the preface as Johann Tennhardt; bundled together with this from page 117, with continuous page numbering:] Extract aus H[errn]n Joh[ann] Arnds wahren Christenthum, wie wir GÖtt oder das Wort durch Einkehrung des stillen Sabbaths in uns suchen und finden sollen (...), o.O. 1710. [*Extract from Mr. Joh(ann) Arnd's True Christianity: how we are to seek and find the LORD or the Word within us through the meditation of the quiet Sabbath*]

Out of this illustrious and arbitrarily-composed bouquet of Pietist literature, we shall concentrate here on the writing listed at 6 above. Its full title is:

⁵ On this, cf. Michael Knieriem and Johannes Burkardt, *Die Gesellschaft der Kindheit-Jesu-Genossen auf Schloß Hayn. Aus dem Nachlaß des von Fleischbein und Korrespondenzen von de Marsay, Prueschenk von Lindenhofen und Tersteegen 1734-1742 (...)*, Hanover 2002, 69, footnote 46.

⁶ The title page and first 32 pages of the work have been lost.



Kurtz- und gründlicher Unterricht von der H[eiligen] Schrift. Wie solche anzusehen und zu betrachten, durch was Mittel zum wahren Verstand derselben zu gelangen, auch der Weeg zur ewigen Glückseligkeit darinnen zu finden sey, Nebst noch einigen darzu erforderlichen Lehren und Erinnerungen, Allen sothane Glückseligkeit suchenden Seelen zum besten aufgesetzt und zum Druck befördert, Dietz / Gedruckt bey Johann David Müller, Hoch-Fürstl[ich] Nassau Dietzischer hoff-Buchdr[ucker], 1734.

[A brief and thorough instruction in Holy Scripture: how to regard and consider it, by what means to arrive at a true understanding of the same, and also that the way to eternal bliss is to be found therein, besides some doctrines and reminders conducive thereto; for all such bliss-seeking souls drawn up and conveyed to the press, Dietz / Printed by Johann David Müller, court printer by princely appointment to Nassau-Diez, 1734]

Ev. Kirchenkreis Wittgenstein,
Synodalbibliothek S 15.

The edition is unfortunately lacking pp. 49 and 50; pp. 61-62 are torn through from top to

bottom, with only the inner halves preserved; and p. 63 is missing completely. The very short closing prayer of the work begins on the final paragraph of p. 62. Comparison with later extant versions of the text (of which more anon) allows us to conclude that p. 63 must have been the last page of the work, and hence that no substantial text has been lost from it.

As to the work's authorship, we are put on the trail of Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1769) early on by the initials that stand at the foot of the introduction, "G.T.St.". This Pietist lay pastor and writer of the Lower Rhine, who was responsible for the seeding of Catholic-mystic thought in the Pietist and Reformed intellectual heritage of the eighteenth century,

is largely known for his poems and hymns, which continue to be appreciated today.⁷

A closer look at the text confirms our initial suspicion, indicating that we have to do with a previously unconsidered early variant of what Winfried Zeller has called “a theologically considered treatise fundamental to Tersteegen’s understanding of Scripture”,⁸ which from 1735 began to be disseminated as the first “treatment” (*Verhandlung*) within *Weg der Wahrheit* [The way of truth].⁹ In later editions of *Weg der Wahrheit*, this treatise appeared as the first “item” (*Stück*) and bore the title *Anweisung zum rechten Verstand und nützlichen Gebrauch der Heil[igen] Schrift* [A guide to the right understanding and profitable use of Holy Scripture].¹⁰ The differences between the text as found in the little Berleburg book of 1734 and that found in the following year’s first edition of *Weg der Wahrheit* are only slight.

In the work’s preface, which also features (with light variations) in the 1735 edition of *Weg der Wahrheit*, Tersteegen writes that the present treatise is an amplification, with added introduction, of a foreword that he had been commissioned to write for a German Bible:

Diese kurtze Vorstellung von der heiligen Schrifft, welche jetzt mit einigen Vermehrungen ans Licht kommt, ist ohnlängst als eine Vorrede zu einer teutschen Bibel aufgesetzt, und bekannt gemacht worden. (...) Da nun aber diese Schrifft auch weiter bekannt und gesucht worden, wie sie dann im verwichenen Jahre in Holländischer Sprache gedruckt, auch weil keine Exemplaria mehr vorhanden, zur anderen Edition daselbst Anstalt gemacht

⁷ On Tersteegen, cf. Cornelis Pieter van Andel, *Gerhard Tersteegen. Leben und Werk – sein Platz in der Kirchengeschichte*, Neukirchen 1973, 95-96; Johann Friedrich Gerhard Goeters, ‘Der reformierte Pietismus in Bremen und am Niederrhein im 18. Jahrhundert’, in: Martin Brecht and Klaus Deppermann (eds.), *Der Pietismus im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Geschichte des Pietismus, vol. 2), Göttingen 1995, 390-10.

⁸ Winfried Zeller, ‘Die Bibel als Quelle der Frömmigkeit bei Gerhard Tersteegen’, in: Kurt Aland (ed.), *Pietismus und Bibel* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus 9), Witten 1970, 176.

⁹ [Gerhard Tersteegen], *Weg der Wahrheit Die da ist nach der Gottseligkeit, In zweyen Verhandlungen: Deren die Erste vorstellet, wie Wir die H[eilige] Schrifft, Nach Gottes Absicht ansehen, recht verstehen, und nützlich gebrauchen sollen (...)*, Solingen, Johann Schmitz, 1735, facsimile, ed. Ulrich Bister, Herborn 2001. On the writing as such, cf. the commentary on the edition made according to the fourth printing of 1768 by Dietrich Meyer (ed.), *Gerhard Tersteegen. Ich bete an die Macht der Liebe. Eine Auswahl aus seinen Werken*, Giessen/Basel 1997, 67-111.

¹⁰ Given here according to the fourth edition, Solingen, Johann Schmitz, 1768.

wird, und nun auch von verschiedenen begehret worden, selbige gleichfals in teutscher Sprache aparte heraus zu geben: Als hat der Autor die Hand der göttlichen Vorsehung darinn erkennen, und selbiger beydes sich selbst und diese Blätter überlassen müssen, mit demüthiger Hoffnung und Bitte, daß GOTT sie mit seinem Seegen begleiten und allen Mangel, durch seine Gnade und Salbung, in den Hertzen der Leser reichlich ersetzen wolle.¹¹

[This brief presentation of Holy Scripture, which now sees the light of day with a few additions, was recently written as the foreword to a German Bible and published. (...) Now, however, in order to make this writing better known and consulted than it was when printed in Dutch in the year past, and also because there were no more copies available and preparations have even been begun for a second edition, and now it is being desired by many that the same also be published separately in German, so the author has recognised the hand of divine providence in this and has been compelled to entrust both himself and the present pages thereto, with the humble hope and prayer that the LORD would be pleased to accompany it with His blessing and richly to amend its every lack in the hearts of the readers, by His grace and unction.]

Significant here is the reference — which did not find its way into the later versions of the text — to a Dutch edition that came out in the “year past” (*im verwichenen Jahre*). This passage allows for a direct link to be made between the 1734 edition and a letter of Tersteegen’s to the Pietist-minded Karl Sigismund Prueschenk von Lindenhofen (c. 1686-1744), Marshal of the Court for the Castellany of Kirchberg, who resided at Hachenburg. In this letter of 24 August 1734, Tersteegen goes into a little more detail as he recounts the same textual history as before:

Das tractätgen Von Lesung der H[eiligen] schrifft sende dan auf begehren hierbey, mit einem kurtzen vorbericht u[nd] einigen vermehrungen, der l[iebe]

¹¹ *Kurtz- und gründlicher Unterricht*, Diez, Johann David Müller, 1734, 3. Cf. the same passage in the 1735 edition of *Weg der Wahrheit*, p. 1-2; the words differing from the 1734 edition are here given in italics and announce that the work has been *newly* printed in Dutch and that the print run has sold out):

„Diese kurtze Vorstellung von der heiligen Schrifft, welche jetzt mit einigen Vermehrungen ans Licht kommt, ist ohnlängst als eine Vorrede zu einer teutschen Bibel aufgesetzt, und bekannt gemacht worden. (...) Da nun aber diese Schrifft auch weiter bekannt und gesucht worden, wie sie dann *neulich* auch in Holländischer Sprache gedruckt ist, *und die Exemplaria abgegangen*; wie dann nun auch von verschiedenen begehret worden, selbige gleichfals in teutscher Sprache aparte herauß zu geben: als hat der Autor die Hand der Göttlichen Vorsehung darinn erkennen, und selbiger beydes sich selbst und diese Blätter überlassen müssen, mit demüthiger Hoffnung und Bitte, daß GOTT sie mit seinem Seegen begleiten und allen Mangel, durch seine Gnade und Salbung, in den Hertzen der Leser reichlich ersetzen wolle.“

br[uder] kann nach gefallen darüber disponiren, nur daß mein Name dabey nicht gemeldet werde. ich hab diese verhandlung nur als eine Vorrede zu einer bibel geschrieben, auf veranlassung; im vorigen jahr ist sie (nebst noch einer andern verhandlung Von der Wahren Gottseligkeit, welche auch als eine vorrede zum Handbüchlein der Gottseligkeit geschrieben (...) in Gröningen mit approbation der prediger (...) holländisch gedruckt. In Vriesland aber machten sich die prediger und andere darwieder auf, und der widerspruch machte, daß in einer vornehmen statt selbigen landes in zeit von 14 tagen eine grosse menge exemplarien abgiengen, und ein frommer prediger deßwegen in unruh kam, alles aber ohne mein wissen; jetzt wollen sie es daselbst zum andern mahl drucken; mich wunderte daß solch eine kleine schrift so viel lärmens machte.¹²

[I hereby send at the dear brother's request the little tractate On the Reading of Holy Scripture with a brief foreword and a few additions, which he is free to dispose of as he sees fit, provided only that my name not be mentioned in connection with it. I wrote this treatise simply as the introduction to a Bible, as a commission; it was printed (...) in Dutch last year in Groningen with the clergy's approval (together with one other treatise, On True Piety, likewise written as the foreword to a piety manual). However, in Frisia, the clergy and others came out against it, and this opposition ensured that a large number of copies was sold in a certain major city of that province within a fortnight, to the consternation of a pious preacher — all this without my knowledge; and now, they even want to reprint it. I am amazed that such a little work could cause such a great stir.]

Identifying and locating the texts that Tersteegen mentions — the foreword to the Bible and its Dutch translation — is a task that has long given researchers headaches; now, however, it has proved possible to track them both down. They are described in the two following sections.

2. Anweisung Zum rechten Verstand und nützlichen Gebrauch der H. Schrift (1731)

Long have researchers sought in vain to identify the edition of the Bible whose foreword was penned by Tersteegen. Confirmation was never

¹² Cited here according to the most recent edition: Gustav Adolf Benrath (ed.), *Gerhard Tersteegen. Briefe*, vol. 1, (Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus, Abt. [Section] V: *Gerhard Tersteegens Werke*, vol. 7/1), Giessen/Göttingen 2008, no. 119, 249-250. As has happened elsewhere, the editor has not taken into account the most recent literature and editions of sources: the same passage of text is also found in print in Knieriem / Burkardt (as per footnote 5), no. 2, on pp. 112-113. That reference already stated the title of 1734. On the shortcomings in the commentary of the Benrath edition, cf. also the recension of Veronika Albrecht-Birkner in: *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 37 (2011), 277-286, here 278 (footnote 4), 282.

found for the hypothesis weighed up in older research (and in itself a rather obvious assumption) that it might have been the 1730 New Testament edition by Johann Henrich Reitz published at Berleburg.¹³ Solving this puzzle has taken prolonged investigations, as part of which, in the final months of the quest, nearly 100 Bibles with publication years lying between 1724 and 1734 were considered. The trail finally led right to the immediate environs of Tersteegen: to a pair of Pietist-minded men in the book trade, namely bookseller Johann Georg Böttiger¹⁴ and publisher Johann van der Smissen,¹⁵ and their 1731 Bible edition. Both Smissen and Böttiger were members of the Gerhard Tersteegen social circle and had begun issuing his writings copiously to the market in the late 1720s.¹⁶ Around 1730, Böttiger was well on his way to becoming the prime salesman of Tersteegen books.¹⁷ A copy of this rare¹⁸ Bible that bears the foreword in question was tracked down in Amsterdam. It bears the following title:

BIBLIA, Das ist / Die gantze Heilige Schrifft Alten und Neuen Testaments / Teutsch / D. Martin Luthers / Mit Kurtzem Innhalt eines jeden Capitels / und angezeigten richtigen Concordantzien oder gleichen Schrifft=Stellen / Benebenst Der Anweisung aller Sonn= und Fest=Tags Evangelien und Epistel / und Unterscheidung der Biblischen Sprüchen / so zum Haupt=Zweck dienen / Aufs neue nützlich zugerichtet und mit besonderen Fleisse ausgefertigt. Franckfurt am Mayn / Verlegts Johann Georg Böttiger / Buchhändler in Duißburg / Und Johann vander Smissen / Buchhändler in Düsseldorf. 1731.¹⁹
[Bible; that is, the whole Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament in D(r.) Martin Luther's German, with short summaries of each chapter and

¹³ On this, cf. the commentary of Meyer, *Gerhard Tersteegen*.

¹⁴ Böttiger (d. 1753) started out as a printer-bookseller in Elberfeld. In 1722, he became university printer at Duisburg. Cf. Peter Jürgen Mennenöh, *Duisburg in der Geschichte des niederrheinischen Buchhandels bis zum Ende der alten Duisburger Universität (1818)* (Duisburger Forschungen, Beiheft [Supplementary Volume] 13), Duisburg 1970, 109-11, 161-64, 208. This is augmented by a sketch of his life in Horst Neeb, *Gerhard Tersteegen und die Familien Schmitz in Solingen* (Schriften des Archivs der Evangelischen Kirche im Rheinland 11), Düsseldorf 1997, 199-200.

¹⁵ Van der Smissen (d. prior to 1774) was a bookseller in Düsseldorf, Elberfeld and Mülheim an der Ruhr. A sketch of his life is provided in Neeb, *Gerhard Tersteegen und die Familien Schmitz*, 228.

¹⁶ Mennenöh, *Duisburg*, 162; on pp. 314-19 of the index of titles sold by the Duisburg bookseller, nos. 225, 232, 234, 247, 249, 251 and 259.

¹⁷ Mennenöh, *Duisburg*, 110.

¹⁸ Not even known to Mennenöh!

¹⁹ Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Bijzondere Collecties UBvU: XP.09706.

indications of true concordances or comparable Scriptures; besides a listing of all Sunday and festival-day Gospel and Epistle readings and a discrimination of the Biblical proverbs; newly reappointed for usefulness to serve the main purpose, and edited with particular care; Frankfurt am Main; published by Johann Georg Böttinger, bookseller at Duisburg, and Johann van der Smissen, bookseller at Düsseldorf, 1731]

The foreword, which covers pp. 3 to 32, bears a title that will sound familiar to us by now: *Anweisung Zum rechten Verstand und nützlichen Gebrauch der H[eiligen] Schrift* [A guide to the right understanding and profitable use of Holy Scripture], which Tersteegen at first, for the 1734 Diez edition, decided to change, only to revert to that title in later print runs of *Weg der Wahrheit*.²⁰ Comparing the 1731 Bible foreword with later editions of the *Anweisung*, one finds that their similarities are overwhelming. Precise analysis will follow, so here we confine ourselves to identifying only the key difference: the tally of sections within the four chapters is formally different. Unlike in the *Unterricht* of 1734 and *Weg der Wahrheit* of 1735, here these sections are numbered consecutively through the whole piece. The first section of Chapter 2 is thus numbered 10 in the 1731 publication, whereas in the *Unterricht* and later publications it is numbered 1.²¹

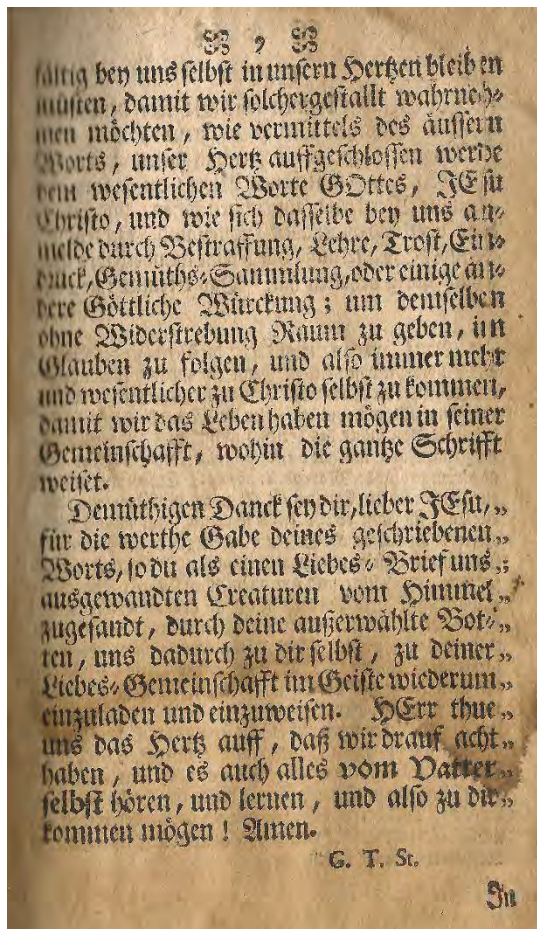


Title page of the Bible edition of 1731, containing Tersteegen's foreword. Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Bijzondere Collecties UBvU: XP.09706).

²⁰ *Weg der Wahrheit* (...), Solingen 1735 (cf. footnote 9), second edition Solingen 1750, third edition Solingen 1753, fourth edition Solingen 1768. All editions published by Johann Schmitz.

²¹ For this, cf. the table in the appendix below.

More telling than these are the differences in content. As Tersteegen wrote to Prueschenk, the 1734 edition has changes, largely additions, to the content. We are now in a position to work out what these changes were. The major novelty in the 1734 edition was its introduction, which has already been quoted from above. In 1731, the *Anweisung* came out without any introductory section. At least 14 further suppletions can be discerned in the 1734 version, the first five of them taking the form of extra footnotes, the remaining nine appearing as new paragraphs, sentences or clauses. These serve to elucidate or deepen the thrust of the text, or are citations from theological literature. For example, added to the seventh section of Chapter 4 is a quotation from Luther on Psalm 85.²² The additions are most plentifully found in Chapter 4, which is where the reader is given specific pointers on how he ought to read the Bible. Central to this chapter now is a completely new fifth section, containing the admonition not to trust to one's own understanding or strength in matters of religion but rather to give oneself over passively to the Holy Spirit's leading.²³ The volume of the text as a whole is bulked by only a few pages by these additions. At the very end of the foreword, we



Kurtz- und gründlichem Unterricht (1734):
Prayer at the end of the foreword (page 9)
and Tersteegen's initials (Ev. Kirchenkreis
Wittgenstein, Synodallbibliothek S 15).

²² *Unterricht*, 58.

²³ *Unterricht*, 56.

finally see the initials known to us from so many other publications, “G.T.St.”, which the author himself preferred to interpret not as Gerhard Tersteegen but as *Genuinæ Theologiæ Studiosus*, “A keen student of true divinity”.²⁴

At this stage, the next question one is keen to resolve is who commissioned Tersteegen to write this foreword. The 1731 Bible edition itself cannot resolve this for us, nor can any other sources currently known. However, if we bear in mind that this Bible was the product of Tersteegen’s Pietist social circle, it would be reasonable for us to assume one of the prominent adherents of that circle was responsible: the Duisburg Lutheran pastor Johann Christoph Henke, who was personally and theologically close not only to Tersteegen but also to the family of the bookseller-publisher Johann Georg Böttiger.²⁵ Granted, it remains to be seen whether that suspicion can be confirmed.

3. *Aanwyzing* (1733)

Tersteegen’s references to a joint edition of *Kurtz- und gründlichen Unterricht* with a writing entitled *Von der Wahren Gottseligkeit* [On true piety], and the information given in the letter to Prueschenk that the place of publication was Groningen, also allow the bibliographic identification of the Dutch version of the tractate, which appeared without the author’s knowledge. It is evident that the work referred to by Tersteegen as *Von der Wahren Gottseligkeit* is his foreword, dated 21 May 1726, to the 1727 publication (also undertaken by Böttiger) of the German translation of Jean de Labadie’s *Manuel de piété*²⁶. Later on, under the title *Kurtze Abhandlung von dem Wesen und Nutzen der wahren Gottseligkeit* [A brief treatment of the nature and benefit of true piety], it enjoyed further

²⁴ Cf. Tersteegen’s letter to Johann Christoph Henke of 31 December 1731. Benrath, *Briefe*, no. 56, quotation on p. 167.

²⁵ Henke and his wife were godparents to several of Böttiger’s children. Cf. Mennenöh, *Duisburg*, 110 and 197. On Henke (1700-1780), cf. Jochen Gruch, *Die evangelischen Pfarrerinnen und Pfarrer im Rheinland von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Schriftenreihe des Vereins für Rheinische Kirchengeschichte 175), vol. 2, Bonn 2013, no. 5106 on p. 339.

²⁶ Jean de Labadie, *Hand-Büchlein der wahren Gottseligkeit*, trans. Gerhard Tersteegen, Frankfurt/Leipzig, s.n., 1727. Facsimile edition by the Verein für Rheinische Kirchengeschichte, vol. 3, Cologne/Bonn 1997.

dissemination as the third section of *Weg der Wahrheit*. The Groningen combined edition, traced at Maastricht University Library, bears the title:

AANWYZING TOT HET REGTE VERSTANT EN 'T NUTTELYK GEBRUYK DER H. SCHRIFT; WAARAGTER BYGEVOEGT IS EENE KORTE BESCHRYVING VAN DE AARDT EN 'T WEZEN DER WARE GODZALIGHEYT. 1733 gedrukt zu Groningen von Jacobus Sipkes.²⁷
[A guide to the right understanding and the beneficial use of Holy Scripture, to which is appended a short description of the nature and essence of true piety; 1733, printed at Groningen by Jacobus Sipkes]

Comparison with the Bible foreword of 1731 indicates that what we have here is a verbatim translation of the German original into Dutch. To give an impression of the literalness of the rendering, we cite here the first lines (which are identical between German editions) of the German editions of 1731-1735 and the Dutch version of 1733:

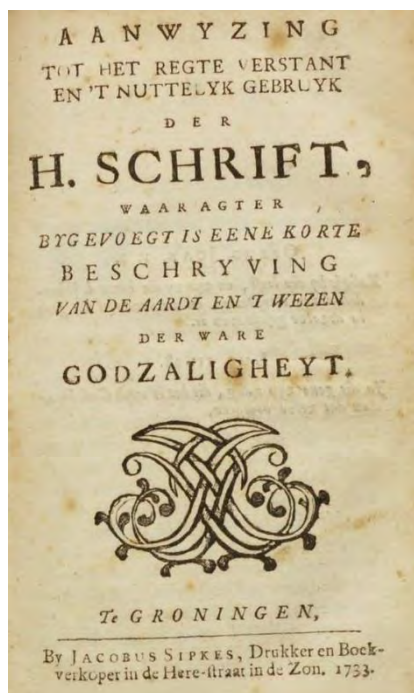
| Anweisung (1731), p. 3, identical on all points with Unterricht (1734), p. 10, and with Weg der Wahrheit (1735), pp. 8-9 | AANWYZING (1733), p. 1 |
|---|---|
| IN Ewigkeit können wirs Gotte, dem unendlich-gütigen Menschen-Freund, nicht gnugsam verdancken, daß er uns dieses unschätzbare Kleinod, sein geschriebenes Wort, durch seine auserwählte Werckzeuge aufzeichnen lassen, und biß daher, über und wider alles Dichten und Trachten des Reichs der Finsternüß, durch seine wunderbahre Vorsehung übrig behalten hat. | In Eeuwigheyt kunnen wy God, dien oneyndelyk goedertierenen Vriend der menschen, niet genoeg daar voor danken, dat hy ons dit onwaardeerlyk Kleynoodt, zyn geschrevene Woordt, door zyne uytverkoorne Werktuuygen heeft laten optekenen, en dat hy het zelve tot nu toe, tegen alle Posing en Onderneming van het Ryk der Duysternisse, door zyne wonderbaarlyke Voorzienigheyt heeft behouden en en bewaart. |

[We should never be able in eternity to thank God, that endlessly good Friend of Man, sufficiently for having caused this priceless treasure of His written Word to be composed by His elect instruments, and for His having since maintained them until this hour by His wonderful providence, in spite of every attempt and scheme of the kingdom of darkness.]

²⁷ Universiteitsbibliotheek Maastricht, MU 1216 G 17.

The Groningen edition distinguishes itself from its precursor German editions not merely typologically with its more careful setting and more appealing layout, but also in terms of content. One of the features it boasts is an extensive table of contents, covering several pages, allowing the reader to look up passages with ease. The German editions have nothing comparable.

The Dutch foreword is substantially shorter than the German, restricting itself to the remark that heed has been paid to the desire of Dutch speakers to make both texts available in their mother tongue,²⁸ and the remark that in this version, the text in some places cites a more recent Dutch Bible translation, in contrast to the High German Luther Bible used by the author.²⁹ The manner in which this foreword speaks of the translation and of the actual author allows us to conclude that the hypothesis voiced in recent literature that Tersteegen himself might have translated his text into the Dutch language (referred to at



Title page of the Dutch translation of Tersteegen's *Anweisung* (1733) (Universiteitsbibliotheek Maastricht, MU 1216 G 17).

²⁸ "Dewyl nu verscheydene Vrienden eene merkelyke Begeerte hadden, dat dezelve in de nederduytse Spraak mogten overgezet worden, zo hebben wy zulks (...) willig op ons genomen (...)." [*Since various friends had a pronounced desire that it might be translated into the Low German [i.e. Dutch] language, we have willingly (...) taken this upon ourselves (...).*] AANWYZING, introduction, unnumbered [first] page.

²⁹ "Voorts heb ik aan den Lezer nog te erinnern, dat onzen Auteur zig in 't aanhalen der Schriftuurplaatsen meest van Lutheri Overzettinge in 't Hogduyts heeft bedient: waar voor wy in 't vertaalen op eenige Plaatsen de nieuwe Overzettinge wel heben in plaats gestelt, maar egter niet altyd [...]." [*Besides, I ought to point out to the reader that our author mostly used Luther's High German translation in citing places of Scripture, for which in the translation we have in some places used the new translation instead, but in fact not always*], AANWYZING, introduction, unnumbered [second] page. The "new translation" meant here is the Statenvertaling of 1637: *BIBLIA, Dat is: De gantsche H. Schrifture, vervattende alle de Conijcke Boecken des Ouden en des Nieuwen Testaments (...)*, Leiden, Paulus Aertsz. van Ravensteyn, 1637.

the time as ‘Low German’) is not borne out after all. Witness the words in the introduction stating that the two works were composed by “one of our dear friends” (*eene onzer lieve Vrienden*)³⁰ and the remark “so we willingly took it [*i.e. the translation*] [...] upon us” (*zo hebben wy zulks [...] willig op ons genomen*), which even allow of the interpretation that several translators might have been involved. Besides this, the end of the introduction makes mention of “our author” (*onzen Auteur*), making it altogether improbable that Tersteegen is referring in these lines to himself.

Clues as to who might be responsible for the translation and publication are again elusive in this case. Since Tersteegen’s discourse with like-minded persons at Rijnsburg near Leiden, where a lively industry of translation of spiritual works was kept up and where Tersteegen spent some time in summer 1733,³¹ was particularly intensive at this time, we may venture onto the ice of speculation by voicing the suspicion that we should seek the identity of our translator in the wake of Otto Homfeld, that venerable adherent of Pierre Poiret’s.³²

The text inherently, and also its division into sections, largely corresponds to the 1731 source-edition. In a few places, the translator of the *Aanwyzing* has supplied extra footnotes giving Biblical references. At one point, the translation is abridged by half a page:³³ it seems Tersteegen’s interpretation of the Pentecostal events did not meet with the Dutch translator’s approval. What Tersteegen had written was that Peter and the other apostles proceeded to speak quite as normal in their native language and that the work of the Holy Ghost had been to cause their audience to hear them in their respective mother tongues: “Then it is evident that this was what the divine miracle of that moment consisted of, and not that the apostles produced fifteen to twenty foreign languages

³⁰ *AANWYZING*, introduction, unnumbered [first] page.

³¹ “vorigen Sommer bin etl[iche] tage mit vergnügen da gewesen.” [*I stayed there with pleasure for some days last summer.*]. Tersteegen to Prueschenk, 11 May 1734. Benrath, *Briefe*, no. 115 on p. 245.

³² The contemporary accounts, largely calibrated to the timescales of the Dutch correspondence, cannot shed any more light on this aspect for us. Cf. Cornelis Pieter van Andel, *Gerhard Tersteegen. Briefe in niederländischer Sprache* (Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus 8), Göttingen 1982. The outspoken criticism of Tersteegen in the Netherlands referred to by Van Andel did not arise until nearly a full decade later. Cf. Van Andel, *Gerhard Tersteegen*, 95-96.

³³ *AANWYZING*, Section III.30 on p. 35.

one after the other in such rapid succession" (*Dan es ist offenbar, daß damals eben hierin das Göttliche Wunder bestunde, nicht aber, daß die Apostel funfzehn biß zwanzig fremde Sprachen, in so kurtzer Zeit, nach einander geredet hätten*)³⁴. In fact, Tersteegen himself appears to have been of the opinion that he had gone too far in this passage; but rather than leaving the offending lines out of later editions entirely, as the Dutchman did, he replaced them with some remarks, drawing upon the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon* 16, about the convenience to the Israelites of the manna sent by God in the wilderness, whose taste one should not object to as long as it did the job of nourishing.³⁵

4. On the historical context of editions of Tersteegen

Two hitherto unknown Tersteegen productions have thus now been substantiated: the foreword to the Bible published in 1731 by Böttiger and van der Smissen, and its Dutch translation of two years later. We have also introduced another, largely disregarded version of the same text, namely the *Unterricht* of 1734, and have been able to place it in its historical and textual-history context. Our find of the *Aanwyzing* of 1731 has also thrown up important documentation of the early Dutch reception of Tersteegen's writings, a reception which in the literature is not seldom regarded as having commenced rather later, at the close of the 1730s.³⁶ What is compelling about this discovery is that besides this text, we also possess, in the letter to Prueschenk, Tersteegen's own account of the to-do that his tractate set in motion in the Netherlands, which together with the foreword to the edition of de Labadie we are able to account among the foundational titles for Gerhard Tersteegen's theology. What we are still lacking is augmentation from entries in Dutch archives and annals. Genuine will Tersteegen's surprise have been at these developments, the more so since he did not set much store by the extent of Pietist groupings in the United Provinces: "[Pietism] is completely dead among the Lutherans; among the Reformed, one finds here and there a great deal of excitement and revivalism, but sadly these are sectarian types [...] In

³⁴ *Anweisung* (1731), Section III.30 on p. 23.

³⁵ *Unterricht*, Chap. III, Section 5 on p. 46.

³⁶ Cf. Van Andel, *Gerhard Tersteegen*, 97-99. It would seem that Van Andel underestimates the significance of Poiret's followership in Otto Homfeld's social circle at Rijnsburg.

Noord-Holland and in Groningen, and in some other parts of the Netherlands, there are various smatterings of intimate dear souls" (*Bey den lutheranern daselbst ists gar todt, bey den reformierten [...] findet man hin und wieder viele rührung und erweckung, sind aber jämmerlich sectirisch [...]. In Northolland und Gröningen, wie auch an andern orten in Holland, leben hin und wieder verschiedene innige Liebe Seelen [...]*), as he wrote to Prueschenk in May 1734.³⁷ Similar judgements are expressed in a letter of his to Prueschenk of August that year.³⁸ Moreover, both passages are similar, in tone, style and (apart from a few turns of phrase) in their account of the Dutch nodes, to what is mentioned in the copious stock-taking of what he calls the "revival movements of these times" (*Erweckungs-Wegen dieser Zeiten*) in Part 10 of his *Geistliche Fama* of 1733.³⁹ Tersteegen explicitly refers Prueschenk to the latter in his May 1734 letter.⁴⁰ We may also with certainty regard Gerhard Tersteegen as the author of these lines, which *Fama* tells us were written by a "good and trusty friend by the Dutch border" (*guten und bewährten Freund an den holländischen Grentzen*), who was "recently inside" the Netherlands (*der vor kurzem drinnen gewesen*).⁴¹

That Tersteegen's surprisal at the vehemence of the reactions provoked in Frisia by his little work was genuine is also proven by his request to Prueschenk to preserve his anonymity. It seems that this had not been a major concern of his when the Bible edition and Johann David Müller's publication of the German-language offprint came out in 1731; otherwise, Tersteegen would not have furnished both of these texts with

³⁷ Tersteegen to Prueschenk, 11 May 1734, in: Benrath, *Briefe*, no. 115, quotation on pp. 244-45.

³⁸ Tersteegen to Preuschen, 24 August 1734, in: Benrath, *Briefe*, 119. On the circumstances in the Netherlands, cf. p. 251.

³⁹ 'Einige Umstände von Erweckungs-Wegen dieser Zeiten, zur Prüfung und Entscheidung was Gottes, Natur-Welt- und Satans-wercke und Geschäfte sind in solchen Geistes-Haußhaltungen' in: *Geistliche FAMA, mitbringend Einige Neuere Nachrichten von göttlichen Erweckungen, Gerichten, Führungen, Wege, Wercken. Zehendes Stück (...)*, Sarden [=Berleburg] 1733, 9-132. The account of the Netherlands is interspersed through pp. 34 to 37. Presumably, these are fragments of that account of the Dutch situation which Tersteegen had sent Johann Samuel Carl, the editor of *Fama*, in late 1732 or early 1733. On this, cf. Tersteegen's letter to Countess Hedwig Sophie zu Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg of 27 February 1733 in Benrath, *Briefe*, no. 88. For the letter to Carl, see p. 208.

⁴⁰ Tersteegen to Prueschenk, 11 May 1734, in: Benrath, *Briefe*, no. 115 on p. 244.

⁴¹ 'Umstände von Erweckungs-Wegen', 34.

his initials, which those in the know were well aware even by that early date was a sure sign that the authorship could be traced back to him. It seems, therefore, that Tersteegen initially underestimated the tension in the Dutch theological atmosphere, especially the frictions between Pietists and orthodoxy in the Province of Groningen,⁴² and that he had no thought that his unassuming thoughts about how to read the Bible could possibly give rise to factionalism, any more than his translation of de Labadie's dictums could.

Tersteegen's connection to Böttiger and van der Smissen, the publisher and bookseller of the Lower Rhine, is not a new find. What is a new discovery, however, is his link with the secluded little printer's shop of Johann David Müller, in which the *Unterricht* was laid to press in 1734. The tie that bound them all was without doubt their friendship with Karl Sigismund von Prueschenk, whom Müller had come to know when in Hachenburg. We see that Müller's printing press, even before his appointment as court printer to Nassau-Diez on 22 September 1733,⁴³ bore another title, one likewise accorded by Hachenburg: that of "Court Printer to the High Count of Sayn-Hachenburg" (*Hoch-gräfflich sayn-Hachenburgische Hoff-Buchdruckerei*).⁴⁴ Yet, clearly, Prueschenk also

⁴² Cf. Johannes van den Berg, 'Die Frömmigkeitsbestrebungen in den Niederlanden', in: Brecht and Deppermann (eds.), *Der Pietismus im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, 542-87. On Groningen (albeit with no mention of the upheavals about Tersteegen), cf. pp. 562-69. My thanks to Dr. Rolf van der Woude (of Haren, Groningen, The Netherlands) for the pointer that Tersteegen probably catalysed a clash between orthodoxy and Pietism in the Oldambt-Westerwolde presbytery of Eastern Groningen, or a debate on anti-Pietist writings by Rev. Theodorus der Thuyen and/or Pietist-inclined writings by Johan Esweiler in and around Groningen. Nevertheless, Tersteegen's name does not appear to have come up much in the Netherlands in this context.

⁴³ Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden, Abt. [Section] 171, no. Z 2141 (Beamtenkartei [Official Cartography]); cf. also Abt. [Section] 171, no. D 977 (Bestallung zum Hofbuchdrucker [Court Printer Appointment(s)]) and Abt. [Section] 173, no. 2066 (Privileg als Hofbuchdrucker in Diez [Privileges as Court Printer in Diez]). All that is known of Müller are a few other publications besides the titles given in the footnote below; for instance, he is known to have produced an edition of the Heidelberg Catechism and a Reformed hymnbook (*Gesangbuch*). On this, cf. Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden, Abt. [Section] 171, no. P 21b.

⁴⁴ In 1728, for example, Schüler, a Hachenburg teacher-preacher, had Müller print an edition of a little catechism. In 1729, Müller printed *Lebendige Harmonie des inn- und äußeren Worts Gottes? oder „Geistreiche Andachten“*, written in 1655 by Burggraf [Count] Wolf Kraft von Kirchberg. Cf. Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden, Abt. [Section] 130 II, no. 7827. As regards the background to the data given here, it seems that Paisley's

commissioned the *Unterricht* edition, the proof for this being supplied by Tersteegen's letter to the former as already cited. There, continuing from the lines quoted above, he writes:

Hoffe dennoch Gott werde sie ferner mit einigem segnen begleiten, nach seinem wolgefallen, worzu es ihm geopfert seye! Der I[iebe] br[uder] wird es schon sehen, was im drucken muß Inseriret, und was als eine Anmerckung unten an muß gesetzt werden; Wollen sie die 4. Abtheilungen als so viele Capittel lassen setzen, könnte auch eben eins seyn. Sollten etwa am ende einige blätter ledig bleiben, könnten selbige nach gefallen mit beygelegter reim-Betrachtung über den 25 psalm angefüllet werden.⁴⁵

[Please God, may it (i.e. the treatise) nevertheless, according to His good pleasure, be accompanied by some blessing, to which end let it be offered up to Him! The dear brother will readily be able to see what has to be laid out in the type and what will have to be placed underneath as a note; you may wish to set the four parts of it as so many chapters, but they could just as well form a single one. If perhaps some pages are left blank at the end, they could be filled with the enclosed meditation in verse upon the 25th Psalm.]

Tersteegen's hope of blessing and his following remarks do not refer just to some tractate that he sent Prueschenk, but to the then not yet typeset manuscript, with notes and additions, of his earlier Bible foreword. This is proven by his remark to Prueschenk that he was not fussed (*könnte auch eben eins seyn*) as to whether or not the work's four sections be set as chapters in their own right. In 1731 and again in 1733, the text's four sections had been denoted merely by four Roman numerals (I., II., III., IV.). In his lines of introduction to the *Unterricht* of 1734, and later once again in *Weg der Wahrheit*, Tersteegen describes these, as he does in his letter to Prueschenk, as "sections" (*Abtheilungen*). In the ensuing text proper, however, they are actually denoted by the Latin abbreviation for chapters ("Cap. I", etc.). Hence, the letter to Prueschenk is none other than the author's accompanying note packaged with the master copy of *Kurtz- und gründlichen Unterricht von der H. Schrift* for Müller to make up for press.

assertion that Müller was a printer at Grüningen until 1735 and then at Diez until 1753, is in need of correction: David Paisey, *Deutsche Buchdrucker, Buchhändler und Verleger*, Wiesbaden 1988, 182. Nothing in the municipal archives of either Diez or Hachenburg makes any mention of Müller.

⁴⁵ Tersteegen to Prueschenk, 24 August 1734.

5. Conclusions

While we have been able to answer a few research questions, we now find ourselves confronted by a row of newly-arising questions. What does this work have to do with the very similar title found in a 1743 book catalogue? Have we to do with a publisher's error, or should we look into the matter more closely and continue searching?⁴⁶ Hitherto untraceable has been the Dutch edition of the *Aanwyzing*, about whose preparation Tersteegen wrote in 1734.⁴⁷ Perhaps it never saw the light of day at all, owing to the Frisian uproar?

The little finds presented here, which are intended to form the basis of an exact edition of the text in the *Edition Pietismustexte* series in 2017, illustrate how slight has been the degree to which we have exhausted the sources, even in the case of an otherwise so thoroughly-researched figure as Gerhard Tersteegen. Even finds at the level of detail could still help us a little along our way in this regard. What Johann Friedrich Gerhard Goeters noted in 1994 has lost none of its currency:

Es gehört zu den Unbegreiflichkeiten der Tersteegenforschung, daß bisher niemand ernsthaft den Versuch unternommen hat, Tersteegens literarisches Werk in seiner Genesis historisch exakt, in seiner geistlichen Zweckbestimmung jeweils konkret und in seiner Gesamtheit nach seinem Charakter zu beschreiben und zu würdigen. Es fehlt eine historisch, literarisch und theologisch gründliche Bibliographie.⁴⁸

[One of the incomprehensible things about Tersteegen research is that to date, no-one has seriously undertaken an attempt to describe and evaluate Tersteegen's literary output with historical exactitude in its genesis, in the specific intended spiritual purpose of each work, and in its entirety as to character. We are lacking an historically, literarily and theologically comprehensive bibliography.]

⁴⁶ Johannes van Abkoude, *Naam Register Of verzaameling van Nederduytsche Boeken, Die zedert de Jaaren 1640 tot 1741 zyn uytgekomen (...)*, Leiden, PUBLISHER, 1743, states the following title for the work: *Aanwysing tot het Regt gebruyk der H. Schrift, waar by gevoegt is een Beschryving van den aardt en 't wezen der waare Godzaligheyd*, and states the publication data as Groningen 1733 by P[ieter] Bandsma.

⁴⁷ Meyer, *Gerhard Tersteegen*, footnote 3 on 67, refers to the Dutch edition entitled *Weg der Waarheyd*, which appeared at Amsterdam in 1754. There, the treatise bears the title *Aanwyzing tot het regte verstant en 't nuttelyk gebruyk der H. Schrift*.

⁴⁸ Johann Friedrich Gerhard Goeters, *Stand und Aufgaben der Tersteegenforschung. Referat vor dem Landeskirchlichen Ausschuß für Rheinische Kirchengeschichte in Trier*, 31 August 1994, handwritten manuscript, Landeskirchliches Archiv Düsseldorf, 7 NL 015 Nachlass [Legacy of] J.F.G. Goeters, no. 83 on p. 15.

Summary

This contribution presents two previously-unknown early versions of the German Reformed Pietist Gerhard Tersteegen's *Anweisung zum rechten Verstand und nützlichen Gebrauch der heiligen Schrift* (*A guide to the right understanding and profitable use of Holy Scripture*). The first is the German original version, which was published in 1731 as preface to a Luther Bible; the other is its earliest Dutch translation, which is mentioned in that preface. This Dutch translation appeared at Groningen in 1733 as *AANWYZING TOT HET REGTE VERSTANT EN 'T NUTTELYK GEBRUYK DER H. SCHRIFT*. In addition, it has been possible to establish that the same German text was published again as a separate print at Diez in 1734, this time with another title: *Kurtz- und gründlicher Unterricht von der H. Schrift* (*A brief and thorough instruction in Holy Scripture*). From the correspondence between Tersteegen and the Pietist Karl Sigismund Prueschenk von Lindenhoven in 1732, it can be concluded that Prueschenk was the instigator of this edition. Finally, we see that the remarks in the tenth section of *Geistliche Fama* (*Spiritual Fame*) of 1733 about the situation of the godly in the Netherlands were probably written by Tersteegen.

Dr. Johannes Burkardt

Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen Abteilung Ostwestfalen-Lippe (National Archives

North Rhine-Westphalia Section East-Westphalia-Lippe), Detmold

J.Burkardt@t-online.de

Appendix: Harmony of the sequence of sections in the three publications

| <i>Biblia</i> (1731) | <i>AANWYZING</i> (1733) | <i>Unterricht</i> (1734) | <i>Weg der Wahrheit</i> (1735) |
|--|--|--|--|
| — | “Aan den Lezer. Heylzoekende Lezer” [introduction] (2 unnumbered pages) | “Wahrheit-liebender Leser!” [introduction] (pp. 3-9, with initials “G.T.St” on p. 9) | “Wahrheit-liebender Leser!” [introduction] (pp. 1-8, with initials “G.T.St” on p. 8) |
| — | “Korte Inhoudt.” [table of contents] (4 unnumbered pages) | — | — |
| “Anweisung zum rechten Verstand und nützlichen Gebrauch der H. Schriftt.” I.1 (p. 3) | I.1 (pp. 1-2) | “Cap. I” 1 (pp. 10-11) | “Das I. Capitel. Gebührende Hochachtung, so wir gegen die H. Schriftt zu hegen schuldig: und wie wir dieselbe anzusehen |

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| | | | haben.” [Chapter 1: The befitting high regard that we ought to nurse for Holy Scripture; and how we are to regard this same.] 1 (pp. 8-9) |
| I.2 (p. 3) | I.2 (pp. 2-3) | I.2 (p. 11) | I.2 (pp. 9-10) |
| I.3 (pp. 3-4) | I.3 (p. 3) | I.3 (pp. 11-12) | I.3 (pp. 10-11) |
| I.4 (p. 4) | I.4 (pp. 3-4) | I.4 (pp. 12-13) | I.4 (pp. 11-12) |
| I.5 (pp. 4-5) | I.5 (pp. 4-5) | I.5 (pp. 13-14) | I.5 (pp. 12-13) |
| I.6 (p. 5) | I.6 (pp. 5-6) | I.6 (p. 15) | I.6 (pp. 14-15) |
| I.7 (p. 6) | I.7 (pp. 6-7) | I.7 (pp. 16-17) | I.7 (pp. 15-16) |
| I.8 (pp. 6-7) | I.8 (pp. 7-8) | I.8 (p. 17) | I.8 (pp. 16-17) |
| I.9 (p. 7) | I.9 (pp. 8-9) | I.9 (pp. 17-19) | I.9 (pp. 17-18) |
| II.10 (p. 8) | II.10 (pp. 9-10) | “Cap. II” 1 (pp. 19-22) | “Das II. Capitel. Nöthiger, allgemeiner und ohnfelbarer Weg zur Erleuchtung, und zum wharen Verstand der H. Schrift zu gelangen.” [Chapter 2: The needful, general and infallible path to enlightenment and to arriving at the right understanding of Holy Scripture.] 1 (pp. 18-22) |
| II.11 (pp. 8-9) | II.11 (pp. 10-11) | II.2 (pp. 22-23) | II.2 (pp. 22-23) |
| II.12 (pp. 9-10) | II.12 (pp. 11-13) | II.3 (pp. 23-24) | II.3 (pp. 23-25) |
| II.13 (pp. 10-11) | II.13 (pp. 13-14) | II.4 (pp. 24-26) | II.4 (pp. 25-26) |
| II.14 (p. 11) | II.14 (p. 15) | II.5 (pp. 26-27) | II.5 (pp. 26-27) |
| II.15 (pp. 11-12) | II.15 (pp. 15-17) | II.6 (pp. 27-28) | II.6 (pp. 27-29) |
| II.16 (pp. 12-13) | II.16 (pp. 17-18) | II.7 (pp. 28-30) | II.7 (pp. 29-31) |
| II.17 (pp. 13-14) | II.17 (pp. 18-19) | II.8 (pp. 30-31) | II.8 (pp. 31-32) |
| II.18 (p. 14) | II.18 (pp. 19-20) | II.9 (pp. 31-32) | II.9 (pp. 32-33) |
| II.19 (p. 14) | II.19 (pp. 20-21) | II.10 (p. 32) | II.10 (p. 33) |
| II.20 (pp. 15-16) | II.20 (pp. 21-23) | II.11 (pp. 32-34) | II.11 (pp. 33-35) |
| II.21 (p. 16) | II.21 (pp. 23-24) | II.12 (pp. 34-35) | II.12 (pp. 35-36) |
| II.22 (pp. 16-17) | II.22 (pp. 24-25) | II.13 (pp. 35-36) | II.13 (pp. 36-38) |
| II.23 (pp. 17-18) | II.23 (pp. 25-27) | II.14 (pp. 36-38) | II.14 (pp. 38-39) |
| II.24 (pp. 18-19) | II.24 (pp. 27-28) | II.15 (pp. 38-39) | II.15 (pp. 39-41) |
| II.25 (p. 19) | II.25 (pp. 28-29) | II.16 (pp. 39-40) | II.16 (pp. 41-42) |
| II.26 (p. 20) | II.26 (pp. 29-31) | II.17 (pp. 40-41) | II.17 (pp. 42-43) |
| — | — | II.18 (pp. 41-42) | II.18 (pp. 43-45) |
| III.27 (p. 21) | III.27 (p. 31) | “Cap. III” 1 (pp. 42-43) | “Das III. Capitel. Auflösung dreyer Fragen: (1) Ob und woher es komme etc.” |

| | | | |
|---|--------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| | | | <i>[Chapter 3: The solution to three questions: (1) whether and why it is that (...)]</i> 1 (p. 45) |
| III.28 (pp. 21-22) | III.28 (pp. 31-33) | III.2 (pp. 43-44) | III.2 (pp. 45-47) |
| III.29 (pp. 22-23) | III.29 (pp. 33-34) | III.3 (pp. 44-45) | III.3 (pp. 47-48) |
| III.30 (p. 23) | III.30 (pp. 34-35) | III.4 (pp. 45-46) | III.4 (pp. 48-49) |
| III.31 (p. 24) | III.31 (pp. 35-36) | III.5 (pp. 46-48) | III.5 (pp. 49-51) |
| III.32 (pp. 24-26) | III.32 (pp. 36-39) | III.6 (pp. 48-? ⁴⁹) | III.6 (pp. 51-53) |
| — | — | III.7 (pp. ? ⁵⁰ -52) | III.7 (pp. 53-55) |
| IV.33 (pp. 26-27) | IV.33 (pp. 39-40) | “Cap. IV” 1 (pp. 52-53) | „Das IV. Capitel. Unterricht zum nützlichen Gebrauch der heiligen Schrift.“ <i>[Chapter 4: Instruction on the beneficial use of Holy Scripture]</i> 1 (pp. 55-57) |
| IV.34 (p. 27) | IV.34 (pp. 40-41) | IV.2 (pp. 53-54) | IV.2 (pp. 57-58) |
| IV.35 (pp. 27-28) | IV.35 (pp. 41-42) | IV.3 (pp. 54-55) | IV.3 (pp. 58-59) |
| IV.36 (p. 28) | IV.36 (pp. 42-43) | IV.4 (pp. 55-56) | IV.4 (pp. 59-60) |
| — | — | IV.5 (pp. 56-57) | IV.5 (pp. 60-61) |
| IV.37 (pp. 28-29) | IV.37 (p. 43) | IV.6 (p. 57) | IV.6 (p. 61) |
| IV.38 (p. 29) | IV.38 (pp. 43-44) | IV.7 (pp. 57-58) | IV.7 (pp. 61-62) |
| IV.39 (p. 29) | IV.39 (p. 44) | IV.8 (pp. 58-59) | IV.8 (pp. 62-63) |
| IV.40 (pp. 29-30) | IV.40 (pp. 44-45) | IV.9 (p. 59) | IV.9 (p. 63) |
| IV.41 (p. 30) | IV.41 (pp. 45-46) | IV.10 (pp. 59-60) | IV.10 (pp. 63-64) |
| IV.42 (pp. 30-31) | IV.42 (pp. 46-48) | IV.11 (pp. 60-62) | IV.11 (pp. 64-66) |
| IV.43 (pp. 31-32, with the initials “G.T.St.” at the foot of p. 32) | IV.43 (pp. 48-49) | IV.12 (pp. 62-? ⁵¹) | IV.12 (pp. 66-68) |

⁴⁹ Pp. 49-50 have been lost.

⁵⁰ Pp. 49-50 have been lost.

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Jonathan Edwards' *spiritualis*

Towards a reconstruction of his theology of spirituality

Willem van Vlastuin

Introduction

There can be no doubt that spirituality was central to the life of Jonathan Edwards. In their recent book on Edwards, already a standard work, M.J. McClymond and G.R. McDermott call spirituality a key concept of Edwards'.¹ As they put it, "He was a man of intense spiritual experience, who devoted immense effort to giving spiritual instruction to others, and who has been regarded as a model and paragon of Christian piety for some two hundred and fifty years." Edwards' celebrated biographer George Marsden argues that for Edwards, "piety preceded intellect".² Nor is this a lightly-made claim, given that Edwards engaged his intellect his whole life long to arrive at clarity of understanding on various matters. Evidently, all this thinking of his was undertaken in a spiritual light. Or, put otherwise, Edwards' theology cannot be decoupled from his person and his spiritual attitude.³

Since this observation of McClymond, McDermott and Marsden's is congruent with the insights of other researchers, it is compelling to undertake a further enquiry into Edwards' spirituality. In doing so, it is vital to bear in mind that Edwards' spirituality developed in interaction with his Puritan tradition. J.E. Smith's study of Edwards' sources for his *Religious Affections* demonstrates that he was familiar with Pietist writers from both the old England and New England.⁴ It is evident that his

¹ M.J. McClymond and G.R. Dermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, Oxford 2012, 60.

² G.M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life*, New Haven, Conn. 2003, 330. McClymond argues that for Edwards, regeneration has epistemological implications for our understanding of reality: *Encounters with God: An Approach to the Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, Oxford 1998, 111.

³ "This implies that to do theology means being a theological person, not merely using theological tools", P. Sheldrake, *Spirituality and Theology: Christian Living and the Doctrine of God*, London 2004, 22.

⁴ J.E. Smith, 'Editor's Introduction', in: *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, New Haven 1957- (hereinafter 'WJE'), 2:52-73 (vol. 2, pages 52-73).

grandfather and clerical predecessor Solomon Stoddard (1643-1729) had a major role in his formation, not least because Edwards refers copiously to Stoddard's works. Yet the greatest number of references made by Edwards is not to him but to Thomas Shepard (1605-1649), and in particular to his *The Parable of the Ten Virgins*. Jonathan Edwards also refers in *Religious Affections* to five works by the Puritan John Flavel (1630-1691); three by the Puritan John Preston (1587-1628); one by William Perkins (1558-1602); and once cites *Cases of Conscience* by William Ames (1576-1633). Edwards was familiar with John Owen's (1616-1683) writings on the work of the Holy Spirit, and equally with *The Bruised Reede and the Smoaking Flax* by Richard Sibbes (1577-1635). Other Puritan writers cited by Edwards are Anthony Burgess (1600-1663) and Samuel Rutherford (1600-1661). It is remarkable that Edwards makes no more than cursory references to John Calvin (1509-1564). Smith explains this as being due to the slightness of the explicit attention that Calvin pays to spiritual experience. In this regard, it ought also to be noted that Edwards refers to the Cambridge Platonist John Smith (1618-1652), the philologist Theophilus Gale (1628-1678), the Biblical scholar Jeremiah Jones (1693-1724), the scholastic theologian François Turretin (1623-1687), and his own contemporary Philip Doddridge (1702-1751). Thus Edwards' sources for *Religious Affections* alone demonstrate the breadth of his intellectual focus.⁵ The concomitant consideration that his independence of thought is widely acknowledged underlines the necessity of seeing Edwards not merely in relation to others but rather as primarily investigating his own theological framework.⁶

While McClymond and McDermott have given us the first comprehensive overview of Edwards' spirituality, we still lack a *theology* of Edwards' spirituality. In a sense, one could argue that for Edwards, all theology was spiritual theology; on the other hand, however, spiritual theology does not amount to a theology of spirituality.⁷ Given the

⁵ Cf. D.F. Coffin, 'A Select Bibliography of Jonathan Edwards' Reading', in: J.H. Gerstner, *The Rational Biblical Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, Orlando, Fla. 1993, vol. 3, 605-67.

⁶ For recognition of Edwards as an independent thinker, cf. Smith, 'Editor's Introduction', 1; W.H. Kimnach, 'Editor's Introduction', in: WJE 10:73 and WJE 25:17; H.S. Stout, 'Editor's Introduction', in: WJE 13:39; S.J. Stein, 'Editor's Introduction', in: WJE 24:4. Stout calls him the "greatest religious thinker" on revival: WJE 22:449.

⁷ Sheldrake considers the distinction between spiritual theology and a theology of spirituality in *Spirituality and Theology*, 83-95. As this article concentrates on research into the theological structure of, and underlying theological framework of, Edwards'

centrality of spirituality to Edwards, and given also the interest shown in spirituality in our day, we are justified in calling this a lacuna in the research on Edwards. This study aims to fill that gap by enquiring into the theology of Edwards' spirituality and making an initial contribution to the development of this theological understanding. As Edwards himself did not leave a purpose-written account of the theological aspects of his spirituality, this present undertaking should be viewed primarily as an effort to develop a reconstruction of the theology of Edwards' spirituality and as a piece of constructive theological-historical research.

This reconstruction has to be distinguished from two other current approaches in Edwards' research. On the one hand the search for the theology of Edwards' spirituality has to be distinguished from the interest in his pietism in the strict sense, which refers to the inner experience of the heart in conversion, repentance, affection and mysticism.⁸ This means that spirituality is more than inner experience, because it has to do with relations outside one's self. On the other hand the search for Edwards' spirituality cannot be identified with the current meta-research into Edwards' spiritual theology of participation and Trinitarian theology,⁹

spirituality, we ought here to speak of a theology of spirituality. For the complexity of the concept of spirituality, see S.M. Schneiders, 'Christian Spirituality: Definition, Methods and Types', in: P. Sheldrake (ed.), *The New Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, Louisville 2013, 1-6. In the same volume Ph. Endean wrote about the relationship between theology and spirituality, 74-79.

⁸ A recent study in this area is D.S. Whitney, *Finding God in Solitude: The Personal Piety of Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) and Its Influence on His Pastoral Ministry*, New York 2014. A great deal of his study is dedicated to pietistic practises such as Bible reading, prayer, diary-keeping, resolutions, fasting, solitude and worship. See for this practices also the second part of K.C. Strobel, *Formed for the Glory of God: Learning from the Spiritual Practices of Jonathan Edwards*, Downers Grove, IL 2013.

⁹ Recent studies in this area are W.R. Hastings, *Jonathan Edwards and the Life of God: Toward an Evangelical Theology of Participation*, Minneapolis, MN 2015; S.K. Tan, *Fullness Received and Returned: Trinity and Participation in Jonathan Edwards*, Minneapolis, MN 2014; K.C. Strobel, *Jonathan Edwards's Theology: A Reinterpretation*, Edinburgh 2013; K.C. Strobel, 'Jonathan Edwards and the Polemics of Theosis', in: *Harvard Theological Review*, 105 (2012), 259-79; B. Withrow, *Becoming Divine: Jonathan Edwards's Incarnational Spirituality Within the Christian Tradition*, Eugene, OR 2011. Hastings puts his own study in the context of looking for an "overarching motif or meta-thematic center for the theology of Jonathan Edwards", 1. Strobel calls his concept a "top-down" interpretation of Edwards' theology, 145, 225. The research in this article does not aim to produce a total interpretation of Edwards' theology, but seeks only to clarify the dimensions of his spirituality in its networks.

although obviously there are interfaces, because spirituality is especially focused on the character of the relationship. The purpose of this article is to survey Edwards from the perspective of his spirituality as such, not only because this spirituality was important for Edwards, but also because it is an independent academic discipline with its own methodology.¹⁰

The research underpinning this article uses some known aspects of Edwards' spirituality, such as the Christological, participatory, pneumatological and anthropological aspects, as these are expected to be important and representative in Edwards; this is not to suggest that these aspects are all that is needed to describe Edwards' complete theology of spirituality. The provisional design of this research leads one to the following research question: How can some known aspects of Edwards' spirituality be used as building parts for the reconstruction of his theology of spirituality?

To respond to this research question, I first make an investigation of these four aspects of Edwards' spirituality. This focus has implications for the methodology; namely that it uses, first and foremost, the primary Edwards sources that were previously used to conduct the original research. The basic premise of this research is that of a qualitative approach, searching key-words in Edwards' oeuvre.¹¹ Taking second place to primary sources are the secondary studies on Edwards, which have been used as building-blocks inserted into the inherent framework to amplify the research issue of this essay. As a third and final element, combinations of both source-methods have also been used, with interaction occurring between primary sources and secondary literature. In this way, I develop the first contours of a reconstruction of Edwards' theology of spirituality.

¹⁰ Ph. Sheldrake (ed.), *The New Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, Louisville 2013, vii. D.B. Perrin clarifies the relationship between history, psychology, sociology, science, politics and theology in his research into Christian spirituality: *Studying Christian Spirituality*, New York 2007, 32-44.

¹¹ Footnotes provide quantification only. To obtain data, use was made of the search engine provided at www.edwards.yale.edu. It ought to be borne in mind regarding this search engine that its database also includes the texts of forewords and editorial notes. There could also be errors in the texts referred to. Moreover, apart from such formal errors, the search references might also be materially in error when nil returns were retrieved. Although this is a theoretical problem, it does highlight that the quantitative data obtained by this means cannot be sufficient grounds for drawing conclusions and can only be considered as an illustration of a qualitative argument.

The Christological dimension of Edwards' spirituality

By placing fellowship with Christ front and centre, Edwards stands quite deliberately in the Reformed theological tradition.¹² For Edwards, it is vital that union with Christ be the ground of the legal relationship between the sinner and God in justification.¹³ This means that ultimately, the principle regulating one's relationship with God, or the overall principle of theology, is not justification but fellowship with Christ,¹⁴ without losing justification as a hermeneutical key to understand the relationship between God and human being.¹⁵

As a consequence of this basic premise in Edwards' theology, spirituality for him is not primarily focused upon the gifts of Christ but upon the person of Christ. A key concept in Edwards' spirituality is the glory of Christ. Looking back upon the spiritual breakthrough in his own

¹² "And herein lies the mystery of the vital union that is between Christ and the soul of a believer, which orthodox divines speak so much of", WJE 21:195. One could maintain the term 'Christocentric' here without necessarily implying a *Zentraldogma*. R.A. Muller rightly criticises the latter understanding: 'A Note on "Christocentrism" and the Imprudent Use of Such Terminology', in: *Westminster Theological Journal*, 68 (2006), 253-60. A rediscovery of the role of this notion in the reformation is currently under way. Cf. J. Todd Billings, *Calvin, Participation, and the Gift: The Activity of Believers in Union with Christ*, Oxford 2008; J. Canlis, *Calvin's Ladder: A Spiritual Theology of Ascent and Ascension*, Grand Rapids 2010. For a contemporary treatment, see J. Todd Billings, *Union with Christ: Reframing Theology and Ministry for the Church*, Grand Rapids, Mich. 2011.

¹³ "What is real in the union between Christ and his people, is the foundation of what is legal": WJE 19:158. See also p. 448: "The foundation of persons' acceptance with God, is their union with Christ." See also A. Chamberlain, 'Editor's Introduction', in: WJE 18:17; S.H. Lee, 'Editor's Introduction', in: WJE 21:67.

¹⁴ Cf. Chamberlain, WJE 18:38. Knowing God is more important than reconciliation with God: W. van Vlastuin, *De Geest van opwekking. Een onderzoek naar de leer van de Heilige Geest in de opwekkingstheologie van Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758)*, Heerenveen 2001, 207.

¹⁵ For a current study on Edwards' doctrine of justification, see J. Moody (ed.), *Jonathan Edwards and Justification*, Wheaton, IL 2012.

life, Edwards speaks expressly of the glory of the person of Christ,¹⁶ and sermons of his also take this as their theme.¹⁷

The glory of Christ does not remain at a distance from the believer; rather, union with Christ takes place. The basis for this union between Christ and sinners is the Incarnation.¹⁸ Christ became a son of the church as mother, and a brother of believers. Accordingly, the Incarnation is the basis for the union of faith with Christ: a position that privileges the believer far above the position of the angels regarding Him.¹⁹ From this union with Christ, there blossoms a communion with Him.²⁰ It is important to note that this is an experiential category that entails an intuitive assurance all of its own.²¹

In this connection, Edwards speaks of the relationship between Bridegroom and bride.²² On the one hand, this relationship implies that the identity of the bride cannot be reduced to the individual believer;²³ there is, therefore, a pronounced social aspect to Edwards' spirituality. On the other hand, the interplay between Bridegroom and bride implies

¹⁶ "From about that time I began to have a new kind of apprehensions and ideas of Christ, and the work of redemption, and the glorious way of salvation by him. An inward, sweet sense of these things, at times, came into my heart; and my soul was led away in pleasant views and contemplations of them. And my mind was greatly engaged to spend my time in reading and meditating on Christ, on the beauty and excellency of his person, and the lovely way of salvation by free grace in him. I found no books so delightful to me, as those that treated of these subjects. Those words Cant. ii:1 used to be abundantly with me: "I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys"', WJE 16:793.

¹⁷ For example, 'Glorying in the Savior', WJE 14:458-470, and 'The Excellency of Christ', WJE 19:560-594.

¹⁸ WJE 11:111.

¹⁹ WJE 24:1140.

²⁰ WJE 18:247; 21:158.

²¹ Edwards describes from his own experience that union with Christ was 'sweet' for him: WJE 16:799. Cf. Chamberlain, WJE 18:23. On assurance, see Van Vlastuin, *De Geest van opwekking*, 149-52. From the interpretative framework of Barth's theology, Hastings judges that Edwards' theology hinders personal assurance, *Jonathan Edwards and the Life of God*, 377-437.

²² WJE 18:537. Cf. W.H. Kimnach, 'General Introduction', WJE 10:158.

²³ WJE 25:582, 584, 586. By the same token, in the absence of a conscious relationship with Christ, there cannot be any conscious relationship between believers either.

reciprocity:²⁴ Christ is active in the relationship through His Spirit, and the relationship cannot function without the active affection of the believer.²⁵

Reflecting this emphasis upon affective engagement with Christ is the fact that faith has an affective structure. When his attention turns to the bond with Christ, faith does come to be mentioned, because it is the role of faith to act as that bond with Christ. To clarify every point of contention between Arminian theology and his own, Edwards maintains a distinction here between natural and moral fitness.²⁶ While accepting the validity of natural fitness as a concept, since faith is excellently suited to forming the relationship with Christ, he rejects the notion of moral fitness, as there ought to be no suggestion that union with Christ is any kind of reward of faith.

In terms of the believer's relationship to Christ, however, faith is secondary, so much so that it rarely becomes a subject for consideration. Consequently, works of faith, trials of faith, assurance of faith, stages of faith and assaults upon faith are not sermon topics of Edwards'. Nor does faith, as such, feature to any extent in Edwards' well-known treatment of justification by faith.²⁷ In another sermon, one in which faith is an explicit theme, the place afforded to it is immediately tempered by the consideration that faith is seen here as an effect of God's love.²⁸ We may

²⁴ WJE 21:195; 25:584. "And answerably to this relation, there is a spirit to delight in each other's presence, and communion, and conversation; and they are wont freely to open their hearts, and reveal themselves to each other, and dwell with each other", WJE 19:446.

²⁵ WJE 19:448; 23:382. Cf. Lee, WJE 21:66.

²⁶ WJE 18, 243, 328, 498; 19:200-201, 220-22; 20:480-83. Cf. Lee, WJE 21:69, 77. In addition, S.H. Lee states that Edwards' emphasis on imputation sets him apart from Roman Catholic theology: WJE 21:73-75.

²⁷ This sermon may be found in WJE 19:143-242.

²⁸ It takes for its theme 'Saving Faith and Christian Obedience Arise from Godly Love': WJE 25:494-535. Cf. WJE 8:326. The treatise 'Concerning Faith' seeks to demonstrate that faith is concerned with an affective relationship: *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Edinburgh 1974, 2:578-96 (N.B.: this is a different edition to the one referred to by WJE). Quantitatively, too, much more attention is paid to love than to faith. There are 8,198 references to 'faith' returned by searching the corpus; 19,640 to 'love'; and a mere 508 to 'regeneration'.

conclude, then, that love constitutes the heart of Edwards' conception of faith.²⁹

From the perspective of the research question, this investigation provides the insight that the spiritual union with Christ by faith cannot be dismissed in any understanding of Edwards' theology of spirituality. Although the relationship with the person of Christ is decisive in Edwards' spirituality and quantitatively spoken faith and justification are of less interest, qualitatively these dimensions cannot be overlooked in any overview of Edwards' spirituality.

The participatory dimension of Edwards' spirituality

Union with Christ is the foundation for participation in the reality of Christ.³⁰ This is true first and foremost of Christ's goods. Union with Christ is not only the basis for the imputing of the righteousness of Christ but is also the grounds on which good works and their reward may be spoken of.³¹ It is because of the union with Christ that the good works of believers are of a higher order than the good works of Adam.³²

In the second place, union with Christ means participation in all Christ's riches.³³ Believers participate in Christ's reign over the sun and moon and angels, wear His glorious garments, and share in the victory over the devil through their relationship with Christ.³⁴ This means that every atom in space is governed for the benefit of the true saints. By taking this stance, Edwards is expressing his confession that Christ is the Mediator of the entire cosmos. What this entails for the church of Christ is that she confesses Christ in all aspects of earthly life. Yet this cosmic

²⁹ Cf. also P. Ramsey, 'Editor's Introduction', in: WJE 8:104. Edwards' spirituality is more a spirituality of experience than a spirituality of faith: Van Vlastuin, *De Geest van opwekking*, 207.

³⁰ WJE 18:247; 23:196. There is 'natural fitness' in the believer's sharing in Christ's goods through union with Him: WJE 18:543; 23:196.

³¹ Cf. Chamberlain, WJE 18:17.

³² Cf. Lee, WJE 21:85.

³³ Believers are entitled to the same blessings as Christ is: WJE 18:150. Believers share in the election, justification and glorification of Christ: WJE 18:418. A striking aspect of this is Edwards' inclusion of the election of Christ.

³⁴ WJE 13:183; 25:236. Edwards once preached on Revelation 12:1 with the title 'How the church of true saints by her union with Christ, is clothed in the sun [...]': from WJE 5:441.

dimension of Christ's work does not mean that all the cosmos will ultimately share in full salvation. Indeed, in this regard, Edwards writes of the coming destruction of the earth.³⁵

It is from this union with Christ that salvific history acquires its significance. S.J. Stein notes that union with Christ implies that His children participate in His suffering and His glory.³⁶ However, it is debatable whether the first of these aspects can be stated so baldly, because it is not a factor with a very explicit function in Edwards' oeuvre. For Edwards, participation in the active obedience of Christ plays a much more explicit role.³⁷ What Edwards means by this is that what Christ's mind is set upon is also what Christians set their minds upon.

Thirdly, union with Christ brings about participation in Christ's glory. Through faith, there is now already a union with Christ, one which increases in quality when the believer dies.³⁸ What this means above all is that, at their death, the children of God participate in the glory of Christ.³⁹ Because union with Christ is not impinged by death, believers may look forward to the resurrection of their bodies.⁴⁰

Fourthly, union with Christ through faith also has bearings upon Christ's relationship to the Father; His sonship.⁴¹ To bring out the fundamental character of this reality, Edwards writes of it as the "great doctrine of Christianity".⁴² Through union with the Son, the redeemed sinner shares in His relationship of sonship to the Father. He rejoices in Christ's inheritance in God as Father.⁴³ Moreover, this delight is mutual, so that in Christ the Father rejoices in believers as His children and His

³⁵ WJE 14:532-533. For Edwards, the bodily resurrection has no direct effect upon union with Christ, but rather an indirect one: WJE 13:178-79.

³⁶ S.J. Stein, 'Editor's Introduction', WJE 5:52.

³⁷ WJE 10:570; 14:403; 16:289; 25:231. It is not because they are made as innocent as Adam that believers are saved, but because they are made to share in the active obedience of Christ: WJE 13:174. In this regard, Edwards speaks – with some qualifications attached to the phrase – of a "kind of participation".

³⁸ WJE 25:231.

³⁹ WJE 25:234. Edwards argues with some emphasis that participation in Christ involves not only His righteousness but also His glory: WJE 13:174. He also speaks of a participation in Christ's joy, happiness and life: WJE 13:181. Cf. WJE 22:350; 25:545.

⁴⁰ WJE 11:101.

⁴¹ WJE 13:174; 18:109; 21:448; 25:234. Edwards uses the verb 'ascend' to denote the saints' access to God: WJE 8:736; 18:110; 19:594.

⁴² WJE 13:174.

⁴³ WJE 20:455; 25:234.

children rejoice in the love of the Father for the Son, in which they share.⁴⁴ This fulness of delight is the joy of the Lord.

Edwards uses a special argument to outline the riches of this joy. In Christ as his Head, the Christian enjoys this delight in God.⁴⁵ This means that the capacity for enjoying God is much greater for the believer than for those who lack this fellowship with Christ. In a certain sense, one could say that the Christian shares in the Son's capacity to enjoy the Father.

Finally, these insights lead one to the understanding that the body of Christ not only receives the gifts of the holiness of God but also participates in the holiness of God Himself.⁴⁶ In this respect, Edwards refers to John 17:13 in order to substantiate his insight that the love of the Father and the Son is fulfilled in believers through the indwelling of the Spirit.⁴⁷ It is thus that there is a "kind of participation" in God Himself.⁴⁸

Within research into Edwards' theology, a compelling discussion is ongoing regarding the extent to which Edwards is concerned with *theosis*.⁴⁹ This is sometimes understood as a concept rooted in the theology of the Eastern Church, which regards II Peter 1:4 as grounds for speaking of Christians being made divine. The Orientals do distinguish here between the *essentia* (Greek: *ousia*) of God and the *energeia* of God: the Christian is said to share in the latter property of God but not in the former. This raises the question of whether, and in what way, Edwards has these views.

In the first place, we may observe that there is no direct Oriental influence upon Edwards, given that no Eastern theologians were found in his library. So, if these views are indeed present, then they must be original insights of Edwards'. Secondly, it appears that by the concept of

⁴⁴ WJE 13:174, 219; 18:109, 250. The search engine at www.edwards.yale.edu yields 3,379 mentions of 'joy', 2,143 of 'sweet' and 5,390 of 'happiness'. For the purposes of comparison, the word 'regeneration' yields 508 returns.

⁴⁵ WJE 20:455.

⁴⁶ WJE 21:195. Edwards also remarks that Christians participate in the divine and human qualities of Christ: WJE 8:730.

⁴⁷ See also WJE 21:195.

⁴⁸ WJE 2:208; 13:174; 17:208. The careful way in which Edwards speaks about participation is a reminder for current undertakings to construct a meta-concept of Edwards' theology as referred to in footnote 9.

⁴⁹ Compare W.R. Hastings evaluation of Edwards' *theosis*-concept, *Jonathan Edwards and the Life of God*, 291-315.

participation in the nature of God, Edwards sometimes means nothing more than the existence of a relationship with the Father and the Son.⁵⁰ Thirdly, Edwards maintains a distinction comparable to that of the Eastern Church: he calls the idea that redeemed sinners participate in the essence of God blasphemous,⁵¹ explaining that what Christians participate in is not the essence of God but His fulness, beauty and blessedness.⁵² They are a temple of God's Spirit and dwell in God. Fourthly, it can therefore be said that God communicates His own moral excellence with those who are in Christ.⁵³ The boldest step of Edwards is to state that God regards believers as 'part' of Himself.⁵⁴

This is how Edwards seeks to do justice to II Peter 1:4, a text that he cites with some frequency.⁵⁵ It is a text that underscores the qualitative distinction between un-regenerated and regenerated man.⁵⁶ He who is not born again, though he might possess many gifts of the Spirit, lacks the gift of the Spirit Himself.⁵⁷ It seems that for Edwards, participation in the nature of God occurs pneumatologically; namely, through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁸

This research makes clear that union with Christ is not a purpose in itself in Edwards' spirituality, but that mystical union is directed to participation in the life of Christ and so in the life of the triune God. At the same time it became clear that participation cannot be understood in a

⁵⁰ WJE 21:129.

⁵¹ WJE 2:203. In an 'Unpublished Letter on Assurance and Participation in the Divine Nature', WJE 8:636-640, 638-640, Edwards clarifies that "God's communicating his essence" has to do not with the essence of God but with the communicating of the holiness of the Spirit as a communicable divine quality. Cf. M.J. McClymond, 'Salvation as Divinization: Jonathan Edwards, Gregory Palamas and the Theological Uses of Neoplatonism', in: P. Helm and O. Crisp (eds.), *Jonathan Edwards Philosophical Theologian*, Aldershot 2003, 139-60; A. Morimoto, *Jonathan Edwards and the Catholic Vision of Salvation*, Pennsylvania 1995, 12-69.

⁵² WJE 13:462. Cf. S.R. Holmes, *God of Grace and God of Glory: An Account of the Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, Edinburgh 2000, 177-80. According to S.H. Lee, "souls relish of the supreme excellency of the divine nature": WJE 21:91.

⁵³ WJE 2:208; 17:208; 25:639.

⁵⁴ WJE 14:403.

⁵⁵ There are 24 explicit references to this text in Edwards' works. For Edwards, the text is paralleled by John 1:16, Eph. 3:18-19, Heb. 12:10, I John 1:3 and I John 4:16: WJE 25:639.

⁵⁶ WJE 21:156. Cf. Smith, WJE 2:25.

⁵⁷ WJE 8:158. Cf. Ramsey, WJE 8:67, 80.

⁵⁸ WJE 8:132-133, 158; 13:462 and 529; 14:403. Cf. Ramsey, WJE 8:461n4.

massive essential way, because Edwards carefully qualifies his concept of participation; one has to understand it pneumatologically.

The pneumatological dimension of Edwards' spirituality

The indwelling of the Holy Spirit is a key concept for Edwards; it unlocks to us his theology and spirituality.⁵⁹ Naturally, this statement needs to be qualified, for sins and unbelief persist in a Christian heart. Nevertheless, it is for Edwards essential to do theology from the premise of the Holy Spirit's residing in the heart. Various aspects of his theology are illuminated by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the heart.

In the first place, it is important that by the emphasising of indwelling, the spiritual life of the individual sinner is placed within the framework of God's great salvific plan. Edwards located the whole of theology within the great historical perspective of the acts of the triune God.⁶⁰ In this historical drama, the Son and the Spirit each perform their own works,⁶¹ and the importance accorded to history allows for plenty of attention to be paid to the work of the Spirit, since He applies salvation within time.

⁵⁹ John Owen, too, affords a prominent position to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit: *Works of John Owen*, Edinburgh 1988, vol. 11, 329-65, 330-33. Cf. B. Kay, *Trinitarian Spirituality: John Owen and the Doctrine of God in Western Devotion*, Milton Keynes 2007, 176-78. B.B. Warfield remarked: "The developed doctrine of the work of the Holy Spirit is an exclusively Reformation doctrine, and more particularly a Reformed doctrine, and more particularly a Puritan doctrine", in: A. Kuyper, *The Work of the Holy Spirit*, Grand Rapids, Mich. 1969, xxxiii. Here, again, Edwards goes a step further.

⁶⁰ On this, Edwards wrote: "I have had on my mind and heart [...] a great work, which I call *A History of the Work of Redemption*, a body of divinity in an entire new method, being thrown into the form of an history, considering the affair of Christian theology, as the whole of it, in each part, stands in reference to the great work of redemption by Jesus Christ", WJE 16:727-28. McClymond and McDermott see history as a "new organizing principle for theology": *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 17. H.S. Stout argues that Edwards made the place of systematic theology a relative one, favouring instead a "cosmic narrative": 'Edwards and Revival', in: G.R. McDermott (ed.), *Understanding Jonathan Edwards: An Introduction to America's Theologian*, Oxford 2009, 39.

⁶¹ S.H. Lee speaks of a "spatio-temporal extension of his innertrinitarian self-communication", in which the incarnation of the Son and the indwelling of the Spirit recapitulate their own intra-Trinitarian relations: WJE 21:99. Given the theological implications of this claim, further substantiation would be necessary for it to be accepted as proven.

We have already seen how union with Christ was basic for Edwards. In this section, it can be added that his entire perception of union with Christ is based on the Holy Spirit.⁶² This can be stipulated in three ways. First, the Spirit works faith in Christ; second, the disposition to believe comes prior to union with Christ and to the imputing of the righteousness of Christ,⁶³ so that it is the Spirit in the sinner that works towards Christ; third, the work of the Spirit is characterised by its immediacy.⁶⁴

Edwards appears to go yet one more step. For him, the importance of acts of the Spirit in the drama of history is bound up with the importance of the personhood of the Holy Spirit. When he makes clear that the Spirit is not merely a *principium* but “voluntary agent”,⁶⁵ he is being congruent with the broader contours of his theology. Unlike many other Reformed theologians, Edwards’ doctrine of the Holy Spirit is not subsumed by His salvific work⁶⁶ but rather he regards His work as opening up His personhood. The Spirit shows us in the drama of history who He is.⁶⁷

In the second place, this historical nature of the work of the Spirit is bound up with the eschatological character of His work.⁶⁸ The

⁶² WJE 24:1009, 1011. S.H. Lee remarks that by ‘grace’, Edwards means the Holy Spirit: WJE 21:40.

⁶³ WJE 13:528. The grace of the Holy Spirit precedes justification: Lee: WJE 21:75-76.

⁶⁴ WJE 19:681.

⁶⁵ WJE 18:529.

⁶⁶ It is therefore without justification that J.H. Gerstner in his edition of Edwards’ theology, while he does address the *ordo salutis*, does not make an issue at all of fellowship with Christ: *The Rational Biblical Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, Orlando, Fla. 1992, vol. 3. While the Westminster Confession gives extensive consideration to the terms ‘effectual calling’, ‘adoption’, ‘sanctification’, ‘repentance’ and ‘faith’, these are far less of a concern for Edwards. For a comparison between the Westminster Confession and Edwards regarding the structures of sanctification, see A.J. Beck and W. van Vlastuin, ‘Sanctification between Westminster and Northampton’, in: *Jonathan Edwards Studies*, 2 (2012), 3-27. The term ‘calling’ (including the instances in which it means ‘naming’) occurs 1,078 times in returns from the search engine at www.edwards.yale.edu; ‘adoption’ 157 times; ‘sanctification’ 281 times; ‘regeneration’ 508 times; ‘repentance’ 1,545 times; and ‘faith’ 8,198 times. For the purposes of comparison, the word ‘heart’ occurs 11,300 times.

⁶⁷ This can be worked up into personal characteristics of His work such as chastising, rewarding and answering: WJE 18:529.

⁶⁸ WJE 2:236-37. In Edwards’ understanding, the Fall consisted in the loss of the Holy Spirit: cf. Gerstner, *The Rational Biblical Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 2:316-22.

commonality is found in the concepts of ‘firstfruits’ and ‘earnest’ (pledge). Edwards sees the Holy Spirit’s activity in history as the first instalment of the achievement of God’s redemptive work that, through the thousand-year reign, will end in eternal fulfilment. Since the indwelling of the Spirit forms the central plank of Christian spirituality, one can say that spiritual life is a first stirring of heavenly life, and vice versa. While there is a difference in gradation between the spiritual life enjoyed presently and the heavenly future, the nature of them both is the same. There is, then, a distinction in degree but no distinction in principle between the Christian now and the Christian in the world to come.

What does this imply for the nature of the present and the coming spiritual life? Here, it is a material consideration that the Holy Spirit Himself is the sum of all blessings.⁶⁹ Christ suffered in order to obtain the Spirit for His people. Therefore, the Spirit is not only the One who applies salvation, but He *is* the salvation secured by Christ.⁷⁰ In receiving the Spirit, we receive the fulness of God’s beauty and the joy of Christ, for the Spirit – being Himself the fellowship between the Father and the Son – imparts Himself to us.⁷¹ This is a propensity of salvation; it concerns fellowship with God and participation in God.

The notion of participation in the nature of God adds a third propensity to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, namely the quality of spiritual life. Participation in the nature of God means that Christians share in the disposition of God.⁷² God’s dispositions are expressed primarily in His love.⁷³ Through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, the saints take on in their own hearts God’s predisposition to love, such that they think and act as God does.⁷⁴

The love of God in the heart is the secret of the Christian life. Here lies the theological reason why Edwards’ spirituality is informed by the positive process of the quickening of the new man much more than it is

⁶⁹ WJE 2:234-39; 21:189-90. Cf. Van Vlastuin, *De Geest van opwekking*, 275.

⁷⁰ WJE 13:466; 21:192. Cf. Lee, WJE 21:39; Holmes, *God of Grace and God of Glory*, 182.

⁷¹ WJE 2:201.

⁷² WJE 13:462. Because of his ‘conformity’ to God, a Christian may be called ‘divine’: WJE 21:194.

⁷³ WJE 21:122. Rom. 5:5 is a key verse in this connection: WJE 8:133.

⁷⁴ WJE 14:242.

by the negative aspect of the dying of the old man.⁷⁵ It is on the basis of the positive presence of the Spirit that battle is joined with the old nature and that a transformation takes place in the sinner.⁷⁶ Accordingly, this concept of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit provides a theological framework for discussing Christian virtues. These virtues, after all, are not attained through logical arguments but through the power of the indwelling Spirit.⁷⁷

It is because the Christian life is formed by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit that it becomes conceivable that this is a life that is indestructible. Trials and demonic antagonists may arise, but after any period of decline, recovery will always follow for the Christian, and the perseverance of the saints is guaranteed.⁷⁸ Yet this doctrine does not preclude man's responsibility, a responsibility which the believer chiefly meets through self-discipline and, in a certain sense, asceticism.⁷⁹

This paragraph leads one to conclude that Edwards' spirituality is, to an important extent, determined by his doctrine of the Spirit, including its eschatological dimension. The concept of the indwelling of the Spirit is the interpretative key for understanding spiritual life and the benefits of Christ. Moreover, this concept puts the Christian life firmly in the communion of the triune God.

The anthropological dimension of Edwards' spirituality

In Edwards' approach, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit prompts the question of how this ought to be thought of as it relates to the human spirit, not least bearing in mind the background of the question of *theosis*. Well aware of this conundrum, Edwards emphasised that while it was not the case that the Christian acquired new "faculties", his existing capacities received a new "principle" or a new "foundation".⁸⁰ What he means by

⁷⁵ Mortification of sin is much more of a theme for divines such as John Owen: cf. Van Vlastuin, *De Geest van opwekking*, 88. It is an exception rather than the rule when Edwards remarks that God's glory implies sorrow: WJE 14:105.

⁷⁶ WJE 19:681. Cf. Smith, WJE 2:43.

⁷⁷ N. Pettit, 'Editor's Introduction', WJE 7:13. P. Ramsey writes of "infused righteousness": WJE 8:739.

⁷⁸ WJE 10:526; 18:529.

⁷⁹ Cf. McClymond and McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 62-68.

⁸⁰ WJE 17:192. The Spirit unites Himself with "the faculties of the soul, that he becomes a principle or spring of new nature and life": WJE 2:200. The Spirit acts as an "indwelling

this is that the Holy Spirit uses the capacities of the human soul as His instrument, and that in this process, while the believers' humanity is respected, nevertheless the power of the Holy Spirit is brought to bear.⁸¹ Seen this way, it is clear that participation in the divine nature does not imply any annihilation of human nature, but that on the contrary it brings about a restoration and fulfilment of the human. Nor did Edwards' opposition to Arminianism lead him to lose all anthropological interests.

Thus, our interest in the anthropological dimension is determined by pneumatological and theological issues. Fellowship with Christ is seen from the indwelling of the Holy Spirit⁸² and, given that the indwelling of the Holy Spirit manifests itself in His activities, Edwards' doctrine of the Holy Spirit prompts us to study what it is that occurs in the human soul when the Spirit comes.⁸³

We note the presence of the Holy Spirit above all in *Religious Affections*. It is in this study that Edwards makes clear that no true religion can exist without affections, for affection is decisive in one's relationship with God.⁸⁴ This means, in turn, that the degree of affection that a believer has will determine the power of the Spirit in his heart.⁸⁵ We see this clearly in David Brainerd's diary, where he painstakingly records the extent to which he was moved by the causes of the Kingdom of God⁸⁶ and by the needs of his fellow men.⁸⁷ For him, affection in the congregation

vital principle": WJE 20:411. Cf. WJE 13:462. See also Lee, WJE 21:41; C. Cherry, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards: A Reappraisal*, Bloomington, Ind. 1990 (reprint), 41, but see also 28-29, 30-31, 42-43; A. Morimoto, *Jonathan Edwards and the Catholic Vision of Salvation*, Pennsylvania 1995, 44, 46.

⁸¹ The Spirit "exercises human faculties": WJE 21:195. Human "faculties are sanctified and sweetened": WJE 11:111.

⁸² WJE 18:233.

⁸³ Smith, WJE 2:24. The word 'heart' is returned 11,300 times by the search engine at www.edwards.yale.edu; the word 'soul' 9,550 times. For the purposes of comparison, the word 'regeneration' occurs 580 times.

⁸⁴ A hard heart is a heart without affection: WJE 1:468. Words descriptive of experience are profuse in Edwards' oeuvre: 'sweet' delivers 2,143 hits; 'joy' 3,379; 'affection(s)' 3,826; 'happiness' 5,390; 'sense' 7,671; 'love' 19,640; as against 508 mentions of 'regeneration'.

⁸⁵ WJE 2:107, 112-14.

⁸⁶ WJE 7:181, 260, 348, 375, 434.

⁸⁷ WJE 7:241. He also sees mutual affective fellowship in the congregation: WJE 7:380. Cf. 12:254.

as an effect of preaching is an indication of the power of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁸ For through the Spirit, believers have “a new sense”, a “taste” of the reality of God.⁸⁹

This means that spiritual affection is a participation in God’s affection. Since the fullness of God dwells in the Holy Spirit⁹⁰, and the Spirit resides in believers’ hearts, this means that these human hearts come to share in the love and the joy that is in God.⁹¹ A certain direct, immediate knowledge of God⁹² arises, making the soul open up to Him as a flower and to rejoice in Him. One of the consequences is that the heart is filled with joy unspeakable and full of glory because of God.

And so it is that experience belongs to the essence of the Christian religion. This is bound up with a major anthropological insight of Edwards. In contrast to the Puritan tradition before him, Edwards places the understanding, will and affections not in hierarchical relation to each other but rather in such a way as to bring out the intrinsic unity of these capacities.⁹³ Where the Spirit has taken up residence in the soul, the understanding is enlightened, and the will – including the affective dimension of the soul – has its love for God set in motion.⁹⁴ Affection is the willing and delighted loving of something or someone.⁹⁵ If it is only

⁸⁸ WJE 7:191, 243, 302.

⁸⁹ McClymond addresses the issue of to what extent the ‘new sense’ is a kind of sixth sense: *Encounters with God*, 9-10. He also underlines that Edwards’ emphasis on the palpable presence of God cuts clean across the deism of his own day: 108, 110.

⁹⁰ “The fullness of God consists in the Holy Spirit”: WJE 37:cover. Also cited in P. Helm (ed.), *Treatise on Grace and Other Posthumously Published Writings*, Cambridge 1971, 65.

⁹¹ WJE 13:299, 462. It is revealing to consider this view of Edwards’ in the context of Article 2.1 of the Westminster Confession, which denies that God is subject to ‘passions’.

⁹² P.J. Nagy speaks of a “direct experiential relation to God”: *The Doctrine of Experience in the Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards*, New York 1968, 16. This direct knowledge of God also provides immediate assurance: WJE 14:75, 78; 17:414-15, 465.

⁹³ WJE 2:95-99, 272. R.A. Hutch writes of “a holistic view of the human personality”: ‘Edwards’ Analysis of Religious Experience’, in: *Journal of Psychology and Theology: An Evangelical Forum for the Integration of Psychology and Theology*, 6 (1978), 123-31, 125. With this in mind, it is rather one-sided for C. Schröder to describe Edwards’ theology as a “plea for the reasonableness of faith”: ‘Plädoijer für die Vernunft des Glaubens’, in: C. Schröder, *Glaubenswahrnehmung und Selbsterkenntnis. Jonathan Edwards’ theologia experimentalis*, Göttingen 1998, 48.

⁹⁴ Affection implies the focusing of the will: WJE 1:160; 4:299, 331. We exercise will insofar as we are ‘affected’: WJE 2:97.

⁹⁵ WJE 2:97.

the understanding that is enlightened, it must be that the person in question is not indwelt by the Spirit.⁹⁶ The same conclusion applies to a person whose heart is deeply moved but whose spiritual knowledge is conspicuous by its absence.⁹⁷ Emotion, then, is not the be-all and end-all of religion. Rather, religion consists in a “reasonable affection”, whereby one knows what and whom one loves.⁹⁸ In perceiving this, Edwards developed a theological-anthropological tool for speaking in a balanced manner about Christian spirituality and also for denoting the boundaries of Christian spirituality.

The content of Christian spirituality is replenished with affections, largely shaped by God’s “beauty” and “excellency”, which in their turn are both determined by the holiness of God, His most important characteristic.⁹⁹ The following personal testimony of Edwards’ is a striking illustration of his own views and is also key to describing his spirituality theologically:

The first instance, that I remember, of that sort of inward, sweet delight in God and divine things, that I have lived much in since, was on reading those words, 1 Tim. 1:17: Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory forever and ever. Amen. As I read the words, there came into my soul, and was as it were diffused through it, a sense of the glory of the Divine Being: a new sense, quite different from any thing I ever experienced before. Never any words of Scripture seemed to me as these words did. I thought with myself, how excellent a Being that was, and how happy I should be, if I might enjoy that God, and be rapt up to him in heaven; and be as it were swallowed up in him forever! I kept saying, and as it were singing, over these words of Scripture to myself; and went to pray to God that I might enjoy him; and prayed in a manner quite different from what I used to do, with a new sort

⁹⁶ This is true of dogmatic knowledge not involving the heart: WJE 2:104. This was where Edwards’ front lay against the revival criticism of Charles Chauncy, who, invoking the reasonableness of the Puritans, opposed the Great Awakening for its emphasis on the affective aspect of faith: C. Chauncy, *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New-England*, Boston 1742, 2-3.

⁹⁷ O.E. Winslow was mistaken in his impression that Edwards values feelings above the understanding: *Jonathan Edwards 1703-1758: A Biography*, New York 1941, 216. Likewise P. Miller, *Jonathan Edwards*, New York 1949, 184.

⁹⁸ WJE 2:107.

⁹⁹ Affection is a “grasp of the beauty of holiness”: Smith, WJE 2:30. ‘Beauty’ has 2,480 hits; ‘excellency’ 3,319; ‘light’ 9,240; ‘grace’ 11,634; ‘glory’ 12,011; ‘life’ 13,202; ‘holy’ or ‘holiness’ 13,997; as against 508 for ‘regeneration.’

of affection. But it never came into my thought, that there was anything spiritual, or of a saving nature in this.¹⁰⁰

Some key words are striking in this document. Edwards reports that he had a “sweet delight” in God. There is “a sense of the glory of the Divine Being, a new sense”. God has become “excellent” to him and he longs to “enjoy” Him. The corollary of this worship of God is the humility in the heart of the believer.

In addition, a certain paradox is encountered regarding the believer’s self. Edwards speaks, without further qualification, of “disinterested love”.¹⁰¹ What he means by this is that spiritual affection does not assert self-interest, is not focused upon personal salvation, is neither interested in spiritual processes within the believer’s own heart nor concentrates upon his own experience,¹⁰² but is entirely moulded by the glory of God. Thus, spiritual affection is extraverted, trained upon God. Still, however, participation in the joy of God also means that the believer experiences the most sublime happiness.¹⁰³

This means that the distinction between true and false religion can be very subtle. Powerful emotions may arise that are nevertheless not sanctified. Typically, these are emotions that busy themselves with the person’s own interest, lacking a concern for the glory of God.¹⁰⁴ People tend to make much of their own experience, whereas spiritual affection is characterised by an insatiable thirst for deeper knowledge of God’s glory.¹⁰⁵ The character of spiritual affections also implies that they are not “private”, but rather focused upon “being in general”.¹⁰⁶ This notion opens up to us a panoramic perspective on life in society and a great esteem for Creation.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ WJE 16:792-793. Cf. also the second hallmark of genuine affections: WJE 2:240-53.

¹⁰¹ WJE 3:144.

¹⁰² Cf. WJE 7:399.

¹⁰³ Cf. McClymond and McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 69.

¹⁰⁴ WJE 2:136, 149, 220, 242, 291; 8:264.

¹⁰⁵ WJE 2:317, 397.

¹⁰⁶ WJE 8:554, 556-57.

¹⁰⁷ G.R. McDermott paid attention to the significance of Edwards’ theology for life in society: *One Holy and Happy Society: The Public Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, Pennsylvania 1992; B.C. Lane looked at how Edwards’ theology shaped his experience of Creation: *Ravished by Beauty: The Surprising Legacy of Reformed Spirituality*, Oxford 2011, 70-200.

Affections are also effective in transforming human life. This is not easily noticed, as affection is an act of will. Edwards emphasises the unity of the various aspects of regeneration.¹⁰⁸ At its most profound, Christian regeneration is expressed as love; meekness, gratitude and love for one's neighbour are the concrete forms taken by the love in the believer's heart.

If we relate this paragraph to the research question, we can conclude that spirituality implies the fulfilment of the human life, because the deepest longings of the human heart are satisfied in participating in the triune God by the union with Christ and the indwelling of the Spirit. The indwelling of the Spirit qualifies the Christian life as a life of love in which human beings are involved in a holistic way.

Evaluation

This exploration of some of the theological structures of Edwards' spirituality leads one to the following conclusions and considerations.

First, this exploration enables us to confirm that the four aspects of Edwards' spirituality can be understood as four dimensions of his spirituality, namely the Christological, participatory, pneumatological and anthropological. We can conclude that Edwards' theology of spirituality is union-based, participatory-oriented, Spirit-filled and anthropologically characterized. It is evident that spiritual union with Christ is essential to any conception of Christian spirituality. This means that there is a distinction in very principle between spirituality as a general notion and Christian spirituality.

The foregoing research has also laid out how the sequence of spiritual union with Christ leading to participation in God in Christ cannot be reversed. What this entails is that only in union with Christ through faith is the glory of God beheld, and that only from union with Christ can one in a certain sense share in God's glory.

It has also become evident in the above that the participatory and the anthropological character of Edwards' spirituality do not constitute two mutually exclusive realms but rather reinforce each other. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit is the link between them because, for believers, the glory of God becomes a spiritual reality in the soul by the indwelling

¹⁰⁸ WJE 8:332.

of the Holy Spirit. In the Christian's soul, God and man come together, as it were. Expressed another way: from the soul, union with the Holy Spirit is practised and thus union with the triune God is practised too. One cannot, therefore, speak of an anthropological spirituality, as if spirituality were somehow determined by humans or revolved around human experience. What emerges in the human soul through the presence of the Holy Spirit is precisely an orientation towards the glory of God that is without us. However, one may ask whether one can speak of an anthroposensitive spirituality.¹⁰⁹ Because what Edwards is concerned about is emphatically the *in nobis* (in us) of Christianity, I have elected to speak of an anthropological dimension to Edwards' spirituality. This goes a step beyond a spirituality in which the believer is sensitive to God only. The inclusion of the anthropological dimension emphasises that Christian spirituality is about the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

Having established this, we get a second major insight into the mutual coherence of the four characteristics outlined in this article. It is already clear that union with Christ and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit are part of the framework of Edwards' spirituality, aspects from which the glory of God flourishes and in which the saint, to his own happiness, participates. Union with Christ and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit constitute the path that brings us to participation in God and along which the believer experiences God. We cannot speak of an absolute centre here, but rather of nexuses in relations, or nodes of density in networks.

In the introduction to this article the sequential order of Christology, participation, pneumatology and anthropology was followed. Quite apart from the theological significance of this order, we ought to give due consideration to the aspect that union with Christ, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit and participation in God move within one and the same dimension. Edwards writes that union with Christ is theologically anterior in this order, although in his spirituality it is more the indwelling of the Holy Spirit that he brings to the fore. The indwelling of the Holy Spirit is qualified by participation in God. It is this participation in God in which the soul finds rest, is brought to worship and remains eager for a deeper satisfaction in God. From the participatory dimension, the anthropological dimension opens up fruitfully to us. This dimension moves in a different plane than the others, since in the Christological, participatory and

¹⁰⁹ After K.M. Kapic, *Communion with God: The Divine and the Human in the Theology of John Owen*, Grand Rapids, Mich. 2007, 33.

pneumatological dimensions the believer is caught up in transcendence in God. It is God's transcendence in which man finds the most profound satisfaction for his soul, yet without him ever experiencing that he has enough of God.

In the third place it has to be remarked that using the mystical union with Christ as the key for understanding spiritual life has several implications. It implies that spirituality is qualified by justification as the entrance to, and ongoing characteristic of, participating in God's reality. This means that sensitivity to the reality of justification and the forgiveness of sin has to be an essential dimension in every design of Edwards' spirituality; it can also be used as a (critical) theological instrument for qualifying the designs of Edwards' spirituality. At the same time it became clear that Edwards' spirituality cannot be reduced to the duality of sin and grace, which implies that the precise relationship between soteriology and participation in Edwards' approach demands further research. In this context one could ask: what exactly the relationship between justification, sanctification and satisfaction is. By extension the issue about the exact relationship between the believer and Christ on his cross and the resurrection is also raised. Another question concerns the consequences of the eschatological dimension of Edwards' spirituality: to what extent is his spirituality characterized by the 'already' of the kingdom and 'realized eschatology'?

Fourth, the key-function of the mystical union with Christ also implies a certain level of exclusiveness of Christian spirituality in Edwards' approach. This raises questions about what place other aspects of reality have in Edwards' spirituality. Therefore, Edwards' spirituality has also to be investigated from other perspectives, such as creation, religions, public life, culture, science, techniques, politics, history, psychology, sociology, being in general, philosophy, etc. This implies that the research completed in this work is only one of the first steps made in an investigation into the structures underpinning Edwards' spirituality; structures which all have concomitant implications impacting on his theology of spirituality.

Fifth, it falls outside the scope of the research question of this article to determine the extent to which Edwards derived the theological structure of his spirituality from the Puritan and Pietist tradition. What we can do is give voice to an impression that the Puritans had the greatest degree of influence upon Edwards, most particularly regarding immediate

affection. Authors that come to mind here include John Owen, Richard Sibbes, Thomas Goodwin and Thomas Shepard.¹¹⁰

Against this background, one is struck by the slight position commanded by justification, as compared with the high importance for Edwards of the participatory and ontological transformative aspects. There are researchers who believe that one can speak of traces of Roman Catholicism in Edwards,¹¹¹ or who posit that Edwards could serve to bridge the gap between Roman and Protestant convictions.¹¹² For the purposes of this research, it suffices to assert that Edwards understood himself as a Calvinistic theologian,¹¹³ that he strongly emphasises the gracious character of fellowship with Christ,¹¹⁴ that it is far from unique to Roman Catholic theology to emphasise the infusion of grace and the transformative qualities that this brings,¹¹⁵ that Edwards always taught the doctrine of the imputed righteousness of Christ,¹¹⁶ and that he did afford a role to justification in preaching about personal regeneration.¹¹⁷

In future research into Edwards' spirituality, one of the compelling issues considered ought to be whether or not his emphasis on affective spirituality derives from the spirituality of the early church, especially as a gulf has opened up between theology and spirituality since the Middle

¹¹⁰ Cf. Smith, WJE 2:55; G.F. Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*, Oxford 1946, 23, 32-42. In this connection, it may be highly significant that such a mystical writer as Francis Rous is not listed in Edwards' bibliography. On him, see R.J. Pederson, *Unity in Diversity: English Puritans and the Puritan Reformation 1603-1689*, Leiden 2013, 118-59.

¹¹¹ A Morimoto, *Jonathan Edwards and the Catholic Vision of Salvation*, Pennsylvania 1995, 74, 124-31.

¹¹² McClymond and McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 695-705.

¹¹³ "Yet I should not take it at all amiss, to be called a Calvinist, for distinction's sake: though I utterly disclaim a dependence on Calvin", WJE 1:131.

¹¹⁴ Cf. A. Morimoto, *Jonathan Edwards*, 162. Edwards also powerfully enunciated this in his preaching, such as in his sermon on justification: WJE 19:336-76.

¹¹⁵ Morimoto, *Jonathan Edwards*, 159.

¹¹⁶ Cf. P. Ramsey, 'Infused Virtues in Edwardsean and Calvinistic Context', WJE 8:739-50. Ramsey defends on substantive grounds the stance that for Edwards, as for Calvin, there is a concept of *duplex gratia*. This is also the research finding of S.H. Lee: WJE 21:72-75, 85.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Van Vlastuin, *De Geest van opwekking*, 198-201, 211-12. He speaks of an effective-forensic doctrine of justification, with the adjective 'effective' deliberately placed foremost.

Ages, which the Enlightenment only served to exacerbate.¹¹⁸ The objective Aristotelian concept of knowledge has increasingly come to dominate theology, causing the disappearance from theology of spiritual knowledge as *sapientia* (wisdom) and as relationship. It would be worth researching whether Edwards' efforts to return affection to the heart of theology and spirituality harks back in some way to the early church. Research into the sources of Edwards' affective spirituality could also investigate whether an influence upon him by the nascent Romanticism of his own day can be ascertained.¹¹⁹

Summary

M.J. McClymond and G.R. McDermott made Edwards' spirituality a special theme in their recent *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (2012). This first investigation of Edwards' spirituality is a fertile ground from which more research into Edwards' spirituality may be conducted. In the present article, Edwards' theology of spirituality is considered and is mapped out in four theological categories which serve as a provisional framework for the understanding of Edwards' spirituality. First, Edwards' spirituality is to be understood in the framework of spiritual union with Christ as the basis for all the blessings in the life of a Christian. Second, spiritual union with Christ is the construct through which we may speak of a certain participation in God in Edwards' spirituality. Third, Edwards' spirituality appears to be pneumatocentric. Finally, it is due to the theocentric and pneumatocentric structure of his theology that Edwards is able to develop the anthropocentric aspects of spirituality.

Prof. Dr. Willem van Vlastuin
Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
w.van.vlastuin@vu.nl

¹¹⁸ "In summary, the High Middle Ages in the West were characterized by growing divisions within theology and the gradual separation of spirituality from theology [...]. It was, at heart, a division between the affective side of Faith (or participation) and conceptual knowledge", Sheldrake, *Spirituality and Theology*, 43. Compare H. Boersma, *Heavenly Participation: The Weaving of a Sacramental Tapestry*, Grand Rapids 2011, 52-83.

¹¹⁹ Cf. D. Sturkenboom, *Spectators van de hartstocht: Sekse en emotionele cultuur in de achttiende eeuw*, Hilversum 1998.

Book reviews

Joel R. Beeke and Mark Jones, *A Puritan Theology. Doctrine for Life*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Reformation Heritage Books, 2012; 1060 pp.; ISBN 978-1-60178-166-6; \$ 45.00; € 50,99.

Since the 1950s, the English-speaking world has seen a renewed focus on the Puritans, based on a sense that their writings do have relevance today.¹ Very many Puritan authors' works have been republished, including several reprints of nineteenth-century Complete Works editions. Taking much of the lead in this publishing renaissance have been the Banner of Truth and Soli Deo Gloria (taken over by Reformation Heritage Books a few years ago).

This renewed interest in reading the Puritans has also greatly encouraged the academic study of them. While it is far from the case that every researcher in the field is convinced that the Puritans speak to our own context, two of them who do have this conviction are Joel R. Beeke and Mark Jones. Beeke has written several books and innumerable articles on Puritanism and the Puritans; Jones wrote his doctorate on the Christology of the Puritan Thomas Goodwin. The book reviewed here is a co-production by the two men that really ought to be regarded as a work of dogmatics based on the writings of the Puritans. The subtitle, "Doctrine for Life", makes it clear that for the Puritans, doctrinal knowledge was not an end in itself but was rather the handmaid of, and focused upon, the practice of piety.

A Puritan Theology: Doctrine for Life is a goldmine. Its sixty chapters present the Puritans' insights in all areas of life that ought to be covered in a dogmatic handbook. The final collection of chapters bears the overall title "Theology in Practice". For the Puritans — just as for the men of the Dutch Further Reformation, incidentally — ethics, in the sense of the *praxis pietatis*, was an inextricable part of dogmatics. As well as being familiar with the Puritans themselves, Beeke and Jones have made fruitful use of the secondary literature on the Puritans that has come out in the past few decades. On some issues, they present the views of just one Puritan theologian; in other chapters, several Puritans are made to speak. In their chapter on John Owen and his understanding of fellowship

¹ A Dutch version of this review has been published in *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 38.1 (2014), 90-2.

with the Triune God, the authors rightly argue that it cannot be claimed as a general statement that the church of the West emphasises the unity of God or that the church of the Orient sets more store by the three individual Persons of the Trinity.

The introduction to the book briefly sets out the context of Puritan origins. Puritanism is defined as a movement that sought a further reformation of the Church of England. Beeke and Jones follow some previous scholars in proposing two validly possible end-dates for Puritanism: either 1662, the year of the “Great Ejection” from Anglican parishes of two thousand clergymen who would not conform to the Act of Uniformity, or 1689, Britain’s revolutionary year, when the Act of Toleration permitting some non-Anglican worship services received royal assent from the new monarchs William and Mary. They correctly write that it is compelling to posit one or other of these dates as the end of the movement since it was among those who had left the Church of England that Puritan theology and piety lived on.

Personally, I would wish to emphasise more than Beeke and Jones that Puritanism had a dual focus, namely the paring-down of Anglican liturgy and the renewal or change of its forms of ecclesiastical government on the one hand, and on the other a lived godliness that permeated all areas of life. If we dwell upon that latter form of Puritanism, we may include in our reckoning of the Puritans a number of theologians who, more than merely being able to live with an Episcopalian church order, actually advocated a moderate form of it by preference over other models. Figures who come to mind here are the Welsh bishop Lewis Bayly of Bangor, the Irish archbishop James Ussher of Armagh, and the Englishman Edward Reynolds, who declined to leave the Church of England in 1662 and retained his office as Bishop of Norwich. One shortcoming of this book is that the above men do not feature in the chapter dedicated to church government.

However, Beeke and Jones do in several chapters bring out the great importance of William Perkins to Puritanism. He must be seen as the Father of Puritanism since his emphasis was upon the encouragement of a lived practice of piety, allowing him to elaborate upon accents already sounded by mid-Elizabethan preachers such as Richard Greenham and Henry Smith. The authors point out that no Puritan author’s works were so widely disseminated in the seventeenth century, whether within Britain or abroad, as those of Perkins. He was also the first Reformed

theologian whose works enjoyed a broader distribution than those of Calvin. Beeke and Jones demonstrate that Perkins' achievements largely consist of his having satisfied the great need for devotional and edifying works. Before Perkins, there were hardly any such works written from the Protestant side.

There were varying views among the Puritans. A man such as John Goodwin, although he was Arminian in his understanding of election, is counted as a Puritan due to his emphasis on the practice of piety. Richard Baxter, one of the most widely-read authors of the late phase of Puritanism, had views on justification that differed from the mainstream of Reformed theology. He and Owen engaged in extensive polemic over this doctrine. Beeke and Jones are right to underscore the fact that the overwhelming majority of Puritans may be seen in theological terms as representatives of Reformed orthodoxy. Within this mass, however, there is a diversity of emphases. I myself would want to note that these discrepancies cannot always be put down to pure theology, as they had to do with differences in men's spiritual character. For instance, Stephen Charnock was a strongly analytical figure, while in Thomas Goodwin we see the emotional aspect rise to prominence.

Typical of these differences in theological accent are issues such as supralapsarianism versus infralapsarianism. Most Puritans were infralapsarians, while Perkins himself was a supralapsarian, as was the Scots theologian Samuel Rutherford, who was closely related to English Puritanism. Beeke and Jones demonstrate how Perkins — like Rutherford, in fact — combined a supralapsarian analysis of the *ordo salutis* with an urgent appeal to the unregenerate. While most Puritans distinguished the believer's sealing with the Holy Spirit chronologically from the new birth, Owen maintained on the contrary that such a division was exegetically untenable. The most significant inter-Puritan differences were on the matter of church government. These disagreements came to light in England's republican period, the 1640s and 1650s. A substantial minority of Congregationalists and Independents was set against the Presbyterian majority of Puritans.

Personally, I found the authors' chapters on Puritan preaching to be very enthusing and moving. However, it is not so much the Puritan threefold preaching method of exposition, derived doctrine, and applications that I have in mind here. To me, it does not seem prudent simply to ape their technique, and to be honest, I have never encountered

an example of a preacher doing so. The objection is that if we copy the Puritan method entirely, we might lose sight of the text for the trees. Rather, what I am reminded of as I read these chapters is the *content* of the Puritans' sermons, with their abundance of Scripture references and their huge emphasis on applying the text to their various categories of hearer. It is above all the impassioned Puritan manner in which Christ was depicted to congregations, and in which congregations were presented with a plea to the repentant and words of comfort and encouragement to the regenerate, that is exemplary to us. In particular, the chapter on John Bunyan and preaching to the heart should be read in this regard. I would also single out the chapter on John Flavel and coming to Christ. Neither those seeking to become familiar for the first time with the Puritans (something that I would urge anyone to do who has not already read up on them) nor those already familiar with the Puritans will have any cause to regret buying *A Puritan Theology: Doctrine for Life*.

Dr. Pieter de Vries
VU University Amsterdam
dspdevries@solcon.nl

Corinna Flügge, *Devotion translated. Zur Rezeption deutscher lutherischer Erbauungsliteratur im frühneuzeitlichen England* (Texte und Studien zum Protestantismus des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts, vol. 7), Kamen: Hartmut Spenner, 2012; 416 pp.; ISBN 978-3-89991-137-4; € 29,80.

In December 2011, I defended my doctoral dissertation about German translations of English and Dutch Reformed devotional literature during the 17th century. One of the opponents posed the question whether there had been translations in the opposite direction, that is, from German into English. Fortunately, I could refer to a thesis of a PhD-student from Hamburg, which had been defended, but, unfortunately, not been published at that moment. In 2012, this dissertation, written by Corina Flügge under supervision of the church historian Johann Anselm Steiger, was published. I am now able to assess the fruit of her research project.

Until the 1970s, scholars in the field of literary studies were convinced that during the 17th century hardly any German writings were translated into English, unlike the era before in which many writings and songs Martin Luther's had been translated. These scholars, among others

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Gilbert Waterhouse in his well-known *The Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Seventeenth Century* (1914), ascribed this to the poor literary quality of the German literature of that time.

The author of the present dissertation, however, discovered that a number of Lutheran devotional books were translated into English, particularly books that were already popular in Germany and other countries. By mapping out the reception of these works in England, Flügge tries to correct the above-described negative image. Some Lutheran devotional books were translated many times, and were quoted and imitated by other authors. In regard to the works of Johann Gerhard, Flügge speaks about a “wave” of translations (see, for example, “Gerhard-Welle”, pp. 203, 303).

Flügge has embedded her research into the framework of cultural transfer. From this concept, she has borrowed the insight that the reception of cultural phenomena is to a large extent affected by the demands of the recipients of the target culture. In conducting her research, Flügge has combined a theological and church historical approach with methods and insights from literary, book, and translation studies.

This has led to an overview which I will summarize here. On the basis of content and genre the translations can be classified into three phases. During the first phase, from 1548 until 1550, under King Edward VI, mainly doctrinal books with polemical parts against the Roman Catholic Church, like catechetical books, particularly from Urban Rhegius, were translated. During the second phase, from 1575 until 1615, under Queen Elisabeth and King James I, mainly prayer books for private use were translated, particularly the famous prayer book of Johann Habermann. During the third phase, which overlaps with the previous one – it runs from 1611 until 1680 – many meditation books, especially Johann Gerhard’s *Meditationes sacrae*, were translated. This type of literature had been developed by Jesuits and had become very popular. Protestant authors adapted meditation books written by Jesuits to their confession. Devotional authors from both confessions drew on the same heritage: Patristic writers.

The investigation is not confined to the translations and editions between 1548 and 1680. Flügge also discusses the translations that appeared before 1548, under King Henry VIII, when the publication of Protestant literature was not allowed, as well as translations at the

beginning of the 18th century. An example of the last period is the translation of Johann Arndt's *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum*, translated by the German Anton Wilhelm Böhme, who operated as a mediator between Halle Pietism and the London-based Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge.

The English translations of German devotional books probably were not intended as an alternative to native English devotional literature, but as an addition of the native literature that was already present and which seems to have had a strong demand. However, the topics and genres of this literature were shifting during the course of the 16th and 17th century: from catechetical to prayer to meditation literature.

This shift of content was connected to a shift in the background the translators were coming from: in the first phase it was primarily theologians, in the next phases mainly educated lay people. Both groups had different scopes: the theologians wanted to contribute to the consolidation of the English Reformation by communicating theological content, the lay people wanted to contribute to the devotion of themselves and their fellow Protestants.

This difference in background and scope affected the translation method: the theologians translated more literally, the lay people translated simplified syntax and vocabulary, translated Greek passages into English, changed Bible verses to English Bible translations, and made explanatory additions.

As the German works were received in the context of the Church of England, most translators wrote prefaces to deal with differences between the German Lutheran Church and the Church of England. Only in a few cases, passages from the text that dealt with theology and piety were adapted to the doctrines of the English church. Much more usual was adaption to the English political situation: in Habermann's prayer book, for example, petitionary prayers for English rulers were added.

Not only were there differences in scope and method between translators, but also between different versions of the source text. These differences could stem from different preferences among the translators as well as from the taste of their audience. An example is the first translation (1646) of the first book of Arndt's work on true Christianity. In the preface, the translator presented his edition as a critic of the institutionalized Church of England under King Charles I and his archbishop William Laud. Regarding the source text that the translators

used, it is remarkable that most of them used a Latin translation of the German original. One translator used a French translation, and another the original German.

The next and last steps of Flügge's investigation concern the readers and their reading and writing practices. It was likely the middle class that read these books, which consisted of people with a wide range of education levels. A large part of the readers seem to have been women. Some of the readers went a step further than reading: they referred to the translations in their own works or incorporated quotes from these writings in their own books.

Apart from these church-, translation- and book historical components, Flügge's PhD-study also contains a theological analysis of the Lutheran doctrines that are contained in the translation. In addition, she attempts to give a definition of the term "Erbauungsliteratur" (devotional literature), which she derives from the use of the word "Erbauung" by the original authors in their prefaces, dedications, and main texts. From the intention of the writings, she helpfully divides "Erbauungsliteratur" into four categories: *informatio*, *consolatio*, *mediatio*, and *motivatio*. The book ends with a summary of the findings (ch. 13), a bibliography of the translations, a synopsis of the English versions of Arndt's *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum*, and indices of sources, literature, historical persons, and abbreviations.

Flügge has provided us with a good overview of a neglected topic: the English translations of German devotional literature in the Early Modern times. Although Flügge states that her dissertation can serve to view the period of Lutheran orthodoxy within the European context and to shed new light on it (p. 22), in her concluding remarks she does not turn back on this. However, one of her conclusions could be that German Lutheranism had a wider influence than Central and Northern Europe. The strength of her study is that she has investigated the whole range of this transfer process: the situation of the target culture, the different steps of the transfer (production, distribution, reception) and interactions between them, the agents who were involved, and the ways in which the target culture and the translator affected the translations. To map out this whole range, Flügge has modeled an interdisciplinary approach in a competent manner. Her investigation would have gained in relevance when she would have compared her results on translations, translators, translation methods, and readers, with the insights that studies of

transfer processes between other languages, for example from English into German, have provided. At first glance there seems to be many similarities. The fact that most translators made use of a Latin translation may appear distinct, but can be explained by the large-scale unfamiliarity with the German language in England during the 16th and 17th century. Conversely, English was also obscure in German speaking areas at this time and many of the German translators of English devotional literature used translations, particularly into Dutch.

In regard to the definition of “Erbauung”, it would have been more fruitful if Flügge would have sorted out what the original authors describe as their scope in prefaces and dedications.

In the concluding remarks, Flügge points to a potential next research step that would deepen our understanding of the intercultural transfer of piety: an investigation of English translations of continental European Reformed devotional books (p. 308). This would indeed enrich our understanding of intercultural transfer of theology and piety in Early Modern European Christianity. In such a research project – in which the competences of several researchers should be combined – the investigation of translation processes should be related to larger questions within the field of church history: to what extent was Lutheranism as international as Calvinism? Can the translation processes be related to irenic policies, for example by Elisabeth I or James I, or to efforts to unite the Lutheran and Reformed church by, among others, John Dury and the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge? And, finally, to which extent was Lutheranism more compatible with the Church of England, as being a “semi-reformed Church” (p. 33) than orthodox Calvinism?

Dr. J. van de Kamp
VU University Amsterdam / University of Bremen
j.vande.kamp@vu.nl

Anders Jarlert (ed.), *Piety and Modernity* (The Dynamics of Religious Reform in Northern Europe, 1780–1920, vol. 3), Leuven: KADOC Documentation and Research Centre for Religion, Culture and Society/Leuven University Press, 2012; 336 pp., ISBN 978 90 5867 932-1; € 69,50.

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The research project “The Dynamics of Religious Reform in Northern Europe, 1780–1920” has previously published different volumes, on the one hand dealing with the relationship between Church and state, and on the other the impact the democratization of society has had on Churches in different countries in Northern Europe.¹ In this third volume the focus has shifted. If the ecclesiastical institutions were in the center for previous publications, *Piety and Modernity* tends to focus on the popular aspects, i.e. the *Frömmighet* of the period and in what ways spirituality changed as a consequence of the evolving modernity. It should be mentioned that “piety” is given a wide definition, and includes all different kinds of expressions of spirituality.

In addition to the editor’s introduction the volume consists of four parts, which covers different parts of Northern Europe (the British Isles, the Low Countries, Germany and the Nordic countries). In each part two or three different experts contribute with an article on the particular geographical area. Each part ends with a bibliography and at the end of the entire book the reader can find an index and a map of Northern Europe as it was in the 1870s. Since there is no space to discuss all articles in detail, I will restrict myself to present some selected articles.

The first part of the volume discusses the development and transformation of Christian spirituality on the British Isles. In the opening chapter, Mary Heimann discusses the preoccupation with religion and religious issues that was a characteristic of the British society during the period, chiefly represented by the Evangelical revival. The challenges that modernity brought about, like industrialization and urbanization, was recorded by the Anglican Church and other denominations, who responded with different forms of pious activism, most notable Sunday schools, mission projects, and various efforts to build additional churches. This enthusiasm for different kinds of activism, discussed by Hugh McLeod in his chapter on sports and religious change, was a new feature of the English spirituality.

Also, Ireland was affected by the emerging evangelical spirituality of the time, and Janice Holmes shows how this solidified a protestant identity in a way that accentuated the differences in relation to the Catholic spirituality. Thus one can say that the spiritual development of

¹ A Swedish version of this review has previously been published in *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift*, 113 (2013), 189–91, the annual journal of the Swedish Ecclesiastical History Society.

the period to some extent contributed to the confessional tensions that have been a distinguish feature of the Irish society until present days.

The Low Countries are discussed in the book's second part, and it is obvious that the nineteenth century also for countries such as Belgium and the Netherlands was a period of an intensive growth of the amount of religious associations. The increasing number of Catholic associations in Belgium and the southern Netherlands was an expression of an active piety, especially among the laity. This new spirituality was manifested publicly through an increasing number of religious processions, open air services, and religious festivals. According to Tine Van Osselaer, this was a direct consequence of the religious reform and renewal that characterized the Belgian society from the 1830s and onwards. Even if the restoration of the Church in some sense was marked by stricter rules and clericalization, the representatives of the Church managed to gain a broad popular support.

Both on Ireland and in Belgium the ultramontane movement was a major cause for a renewed Catholic spirituality. Of course, the ultramontane movement was also of importance in the Netherlands, though, as Peter Jan Margry points out in his article, there were significant differences. Perhaps the most important of these differences was the fact that the Netherlands was a confessionally mixed society marked by an intense polarization (*verzuiling*). This polarization was ideologically, culturally, and confessionally manifested and steered the expressions of both the Protestant and Catholic spirituality of the time. How this polarization affected the spirituality in the Protestant parts of the Netherlands is problematized by Fred van Lieburg. Especially interesting in his article is how spirituality and popular culture interacts.

The reform of spirituality in Germany during the nineteenth century stands at the center of the third part of the volume. In a very clear and concise manner, Bernhard Schneider describes how the German Catholic spirituality was transformed during the period. Briefly put, it was a development from a Catholic plurality to an ultramontane piety. As in many other countries the ultramontane movement evolved in to a Catholic mass religiosity. The reason behind this development could be found in a rather unique ability to bond with popular religious customs and traditions, as the veneration of Mary and other saints, as well as pilgrimages. In the Protestant parts of Germany the situation was more complex, and the spirituality took many different shapes depending on

geographical area, period, and social context. Even so, Anders Jarlert is successful in describing this rather diverse and inaccessible situation.

Space is limited: hence I will just mention that the religious reform and the development of spirituality in the Nordic countries is the focus of the fourth and last part of the volume. Here, the chapters on Denmark and Norway are written by Johannes Enggaard Stidsen and Ingunn Folkestad Breistein respectively. Anders Jarlert has written the chapter on the Swedish situation. Common features for the Nordic Countries were how the changing relation between Church and state gave way for a more pluralized religious situation. The liberalization of the legislation during the latter half of the nineteenth century opened up for different denominations to exist in the shadow of the established Lutheran Churches. This was also the period of associations and intense activism, which suited the dissenters well and resulted in an amplified individualization of faith.

The different chapters in the volume can be read sequentially or separately. An advantage with a sequential reading of the volume is that the similarities with and parallels between the different countries of Northern Europe become so obvious. It is also these common features and trends that stand in the center of the introduction. In the introduction, the editor, Anders Jarlert, gives an interesting overview of the spirituality in Northern Europe during the period. Important common traits of the spirituality of modernity are individualism, associational activism, public manifestations, confessional polemic, nationalism, and focus on the Bible.

Piety and Modernity is also an important book from a historiographical point of view, since it helps to broaden the perspectives. To a large extent, Church history has been a discipline marked by national perspectives, but in this volume the international angle is the most important. Together, the different articles give a unique picture of the all parallels and similar trends that have characterized the ecclesiastical life of Northern Europe during the period. The impression is that the similarities outnumber the differences, even if you compare different confessions.

It has been said that the editor and the authors received notice of the publisher's choice of book title – *Piety and Modernity* – only when the book was in the printing press. Perhaps this is the reason why the term modernity is rather absent in the different chapters. This could be seen as

rather odd, but the damage is minor in nature since the comparative perspective and the similar trends and themes give an interesting picture of the consequences of modernity either way. It thus seems impossible to avoid the perspective of modernity, even if it is not explicitly pronounced. It will come as no surprise that the emerging modernity very much affected the development of Christian spirituality. Which effects modernity has had on the role of Christian religion in the societies of Northern Europe in the long run is, however, a different story.

Dr. Alexander Maurits
Lund University
alexander.maurits@ctr.lu.se

Kelly M. Kapic and Mark Jones (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to John Owen's Theology*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2012; xv + 333 pp.; ISBN 978-1409434887; € 145,00.

In recent years there has been a significant increase in academic studies of English Puritanism, particularly of John Owen's theology.¹ This can be attributed to the fact that Owen was one of the premier English theologians, but also that he was one of the most prominent Puritans. In Owen, we have the ultimate expression of Puritan theology and spirituality. Therefore, the publication of this study is important in terms of advancing further research of the Puritan movement.

Whereas several Puritan distinctives are evident in Owen's spirituality, a few articles illustrate that his theology forms an integral part of the international movement of Reformed orthodoxy. W.J. van Asselt analyses Owen's doctrine of the covenant within the context of his comprehensive theology, and signals similarities with "his" Dutch theologian Johannes Cocceius. As Gert van den Brink asserts in his article on the relationship between impetration and application in Owen's theology, this prominent Puritan defended the Reformed orthodox view of the atonement and justification against Arminians and Richard Baxter on the one hand, and Antinomians on the other. In regard to the Arminians, he emphasized the integral relationship between the

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impetration and the application of salvation in light of the effectivity of Christ's death, addressing the crucial importance of human responsibility as it pertains to faith and conversion over against the Antinomians.

Some have suggested that Reformed orthodox theology uses the Bible as a collection of proof-texts, but the fine contribution of John W. Tweeddale asserts that Owen was committed to listening carefully to Scripture. His voluminous exposition of the epistle to the Hebrews, initiated in 1668 and just completed before his death, is the most significant illustration of his spirituality, because here he gives a thorough analysis of the priesthood of Christ, a subject which penetrates the whole epistle. Especially in the area of Christology and Pneumatology, Owen has made a significant contribution to the development of Reformed theology, as the following articles illustrate: Robert Letham ('John Owen's Doctrine of the Trinity in its Catholic Context'); Edwin Tay ('Christ's Priestly Oblation and Intercession: Their Development and Significance in John Owen') and Alan Spence, ('The Significance of John Owen for Modern Christology'). Spence's article provides a contemporary application by positing that Owen's treatment of Christ's divinity and His humanity is of central importance for contemporary Christology. The same holds true for Owen's description of the priesthood of Christ, in which he addresses not only Christ's death on the cross, but also his intercession.

Owen's Puritan Identity becomes most apparent in his Pneumatology. In 1674, he wrote a voluminous work about the Holy Spirit, thereby achieving the fullest expression of the pneumatological emphasis of Puritanism. One could even argue that Owen's most unique theological contribution has been the placing of all theology within a pneumatological context. Therefore, Kelly M. Kopic's article, 'Explorations in John Owen's Pneumatology' cannot be ignored. In 1684, Owen wrote a separate work about the Holy Spirit and prayer, which is highlighted in the article of Daniel R. Hyde, 'The Fire that Kindleth All Our Sacrifices to God': Owen and the Work of the Holy Spirit in Prayer'. His detailed analysis of the work of God's Spirit proves that the application of salvation via the *ordo salutis* with its central elements of regeneration, justification, and sanctification, was a matter of great importance for the Puritan Owen, and it is within this context that the multi-faceted relationship between God and man receives ample attention.

In a book on Owen's theology, it is impossible to overlook his spirituality. Therefore, in the second section of this study, specifically

devoted to Owen's theology, George Hunsinger analyses the relationship between justification and the mystical union with Christ and concludes that for Owen union with Christ is foundational for justification. Owen's spirituality also comes to the fore in the third section of this *Research Companion*, devoted to the practical part of Owen's theology. It contains the above mentioned contribution about his view of the work of the Holy Spirit in prayer.

The *Ashgate Research Companion to John Owen's Theology* gives a good overview of Owen's Reformed theology and states that Owen must be viewed as being in the mainstream of this international movement. However, one matter is not addressed in this study, for it implicitly also highlights the impossibility of analyzing Owen's theology independently, because the integral relation with his spirituality is mentioned frequently. Therefore, a balanced view of Owen must include his spirituality, such as his doctrine of the Trinity. Owen not only provides us with a theological treatment of this doctrine, but he has also written about communion with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, thereby giving ample attention to spiritual experience, which he regularly articulates in mystical language. Owen's emphasis on personal communion with God, as well as on the Christian life, has also made him known in the Netherlands, for several of Owen's practical writings have been published in Dutch during the 18th century. In any case, this study affirms that Owen's spirituality was firmly rooted in his Reformed theology.

Dr. Reinier W. de Koeijer
Minister Protestant Church Bilthoven (Netherlands)
rwdkoeijer@filternet.nl

Tom Schwanda, *Soul Recreation. The Contemplative-Mystical Piety of Puritanism* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2012); 292 pp.; ISBN 978-1-61097-455-4; \$ 35.00.

The main title of this dissertation has been aptly chosen.¹ It offers precisely what is promised. The book is about "soul recreation", and that

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is what the reader too experiences. One also gets the impression that the author enjoyed the same recreation during his research. The author is an erudite and pious scholar, who skillfully explores the field of Puritanism and passionately propagates its message. Tom Schwanda, professor at Wheaton College (Illinois), puts his historical knowledge to the service of the present-day church. This is at once evident from his twofold question of investigation. The first is whether Isaac Ambrose, the “moderate seventeenth-century Lancashire Puritan minister”, who is Schwanda’s main source, can be rightly regarded as a Puritan mystic, and the second is whether present-day Christians can profit from his practice of piety. Continually engaging with numerous other researchers, the author works out his twofold presentation of the question, where the first aspect obviously receives the most attention. Schwanda does a thorough work here.

Chapter I offers a fine introduction in which the author clarifies the term “mysticism” *casu quo* “mystical”. This is by no means superfluous: in the first place because the term is diffuse and charged, and in the second place because Ambrose himself, like his fellow-Puritans, did not use this designation. In the trail of Bernard McGinn, the renowned “specialist in mysticism”, who features prominently in this thesis, Schwanda distinguishes two kinds of mysticism: an ontological one, where the distinction between God and man is erased, and a relational one, where God’s presence is experienced through the mediation of Christ and of Word and Spirit. In the latter case, McGinn speaks of “mystical elements”. Applying this to Puritanism, Schwanda then circumscribes Puritan mysticism as a loving vision of God in Christ through his Word, in which one experiences “union” with him and practises hidden “communion” with him through the Holy Spirit. So it does not concern a mysticism in which the soul vanishes into God and leaves Word and faith behind, but an intimate experience of faith which is accompanied by the wonder of love. It is this contemplative-mystical element which presents itself in the writings of Ambrose, in particular in his *Looking unto Jesus* (1658).

For years – in the month of May – Ambrose had the habit of going into retreat, without his wife and children, and of withdrawing himself into a remote wooded area, in order to devote himself entirely to God in prayer and meditation. Ambrose is called “the most meditative Puritan of

Lancashire". To Schwanda he figures as the foremost exponent of contemplative piety.

After some valuable notes about hermeneutic decisions, which the reading of classical texts requires, the author proceeds in the second chapter to the biblical and theological foundation of an aspect which plays a crucial part in this study, viz. the 'spiritual marriage'. Besides texts like Psalm 45, Hosea 2, and Ephesians 5, it is especially the allegorical interpretation of the Song of Solomon that is decisive here. The sermons on the Song of Solomon by Bernard of Clairvaux have been very appealing to Ambrose. Schwanda gives an instructive survey of the way in which the motif of the spiritual marriage in Puritanism was worded and he even weaves an intermezzo on the Puritan perception of marriage and sexuality.

To Ambrose, the *unio* with Christ is the foundation of spiritual life, the source from which the communion with God flows and flourishes. Because it is the Holy Spirit who realizes this bond, Ambrose urges his readers to be perceptive of the "movements" of the Spirit, as did, for instance, Richard Sibbes. This working of the Spirit is not to be received other than through faith. It is true that Ambrose means here an expressive and affective way of believing. And not only that – it also has a contemplative dimension. The latter probably constitutes one of the most prominent aspects of his piety. This contemplation ("beholding Christ") is accompanied by a deep joy, which is just as characteristic of Ambrose's piety. For Ambrose beholding Jesus is a matter of intimate and intense enjoyment. Where does the myth come from that Pietism should be gloomy? Ambrose mentions "pleasures of love", "joyes of the union". It reminds us of the profuse language which Thomas à Kempis sometimes uses (whom, however, Schwanda does not refer to).

The third chapter contains a "contemplative biography" of Ambrose. Here the author goes more deeply into Ambrose's annual retreats. What happened there, what did Ambrose experience there? These things cannot be measured exactly. Schwanda therefore makes an important proviso: "A reader's perception of Ambrose's experience today may not have been the actual experience he had in the seventeenth century"! But this much is to be gathered from it: that it concerns experiences which to Ambrose were as valuable as they were incomparable. He describes them in a fully mystical vocabulary, which is unmistakably akin to that of Bernardus. So he speaks about the kisses of

Jesus' mouth, about the sweetness of "comforts and communion", about the touches of God's Spirit: "The Spirit left in my soul a sweet scent and favour [*sic*] behind it". Prevalent in all this is joy, especially during his meditations about life in heaven. Though Ambrose very well realized and also experienced that his solitary times enlarged the risk of diabolical temptations, he could not do without the solitude. The retreats tied him all the more strongly to his Master and Beloved and made him more fruitful in his service. They also gave him the stamina to stand his ground in the clerical struggle in which he got involved. He suffered persecution and imprisonment. In 1662, he was among the 2000 non-conformist Puritan ministers who were denied the pulpit due to the Act of Uniformity.

Chapter four describes Ambrose's spiritual praxis and in particular his contemplative experiences. In the meditation (*ruminatio*!) the words of God are both thought and lived through. What Ambrose basically had in mind was "the enkindling of our love unto God". The *soliloquium* forms an important component, in which the soul is conversing with itself in both admonishment and comfort. It often happens in the language of bridal mysticism, culminating in a longing for communion with God. From the point of view of spiritual history the roots of this praxis lie in the early church and in medieval monastic piety. Especially regarding contemplation, into which meditation may develop, Ambrose frequently appeals to Bernardus. This contemplation is not the result of human effort. It is a gift of grace. With Bernardus, Ambrose values it as a foretaste of heaven, a glimpse of the *visio beatifica* which will be imparted to the saints in heaven. By "heaven" it is not so much space that is meant, but the heavenly Bridegroom. Hunger for eternity is hunger for Christ. "What is heaven but to be with Christ?" The "imagination" plays an important role here. Ambrose evokes images and lures his readers via 'sight and sound' to form an impression of what is in store for the bride. "O, tie your souls in heavenly galleries, have your eyes continually set on Christ!" Ambrose refutes the reproach of the antinomians (who made themselves felt vigorously in Lancashire), namely that these meditative practices rest on legalism, by underlining their completely gratuitous character. Ambrose's *magnum opus*, *Looking unto Jesus*, is a complete realization of this contemplative practice. It is 'recreation' which enlivens the heart. The love towards Jesus is fanned by it, the ability to cope with temptation is enlarged, the intimacy of the spiritual marriage deepened, the uniformity

with Christ strengthened and the eternal joy is experienced in it proleptically.

The author devotes a separate chapter to the latter aspect: “The Rhetoric of Ravishment, the Language of Delight and Enjoyment.” Here it is evident how strongly the Bernardine motifs of the *excessus mentis* and the *raptus* have affected Puritanism. In the “ravishment” – ecstasy, rapture – one steps out of the dark dungeon of oneself and one realizes oneself to be called to the bright light of faith and love, to look with the eye of faith as far as Christ’s glory. Is it active surrendering, or is it being passively overwhelmed? It will be both the one and the other. Schwanda first traces the biblical roots again and consequently puts Bernardus in the limelight. Ambrose gives every reason to. The Puritan quotes in this respect the widely known Bernardine adage: *rara hora, brevis mora*. Equally striking though is that Ambrose himself during his May retreat of 1641 was granted a foretaste of heaven, a “spiritual, heavenly, ravishing love trance”, the rapture of which engrossed him for two days! Ambrose did remain deeply conscious of its provisionality and fragmentariness. It was as yet only a drop in the ocean, a draught from an overflowing river. But it did fill him with such a thirst for eternity, that he had, like Rutherford, Christ before him in his dreams.

The final chapter answers the second question of investigation. Can this meditative, contemplative piety be fruitful for our time? Schwanda is convinced of it. But he does profoundly realize the aversions and objections that have been put forward, especially by Barth and his followers. His way of engaging in debate is as shrewd as it is honest. It is remarkable that the strength of his argument is certainly not diminished by consulting Herman Bavinck. Chronologically, it seems to be strange, but theologically it appeared – at least to me – convincing. In Bavinck’s Dogmatics and shorter writings, Schwanda finds support for his proposition that the life of faith languishes and withers when it is not accompanied by longing, love, joy, intimacy, in short: by experience. Bavinck knew that experience can never be the foundation of faith. The Scriptures are the only lasting basis. Ambrose knew and practised this no less. But the reverse is just as valid, namely that this faith of the Word consists of knowledge and trust, a twofoldness which moves man in head and heart, into his innermost being. For God reveals himself. One should spell this sentence out! God gives himself to be known in the biblical-experimental, deep sense of the word. It is a knowledge which builds and

cherishes communion. Ambrose experienced that like many of his pietistic colleagues did in the preaching of and pondering on God's Word, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, in the solitude of the *soliloquium*, in communing and conversing with fellow believers.

The provisional climax for Ambrose was founded in contemplation, by way of precursor to the eschaton. Though Schwanda's intention is pertinently not "to transplant or create a neo-Puritan culture in the twenty-first century", he does plead with numerous arguments for a 'retrieval' of this piety. So 'retrieval' does not mean: repetition. It is revival. I agree with Schwanda wholeheartedly. If the church wants to honour its secret, it should neither lose itself in a moralistic drive for action, nor in intellectual hair-splitting, but rather lose itself to God, for the church and the Christian are of God because of the merciful wonder of the *unio* and the *communio*.

A great deal can be learnt from this book and at least as much is to be enjoyed. Soul recreation!

Prof. Dr. Arie de Reuver (translation by Pete George and Adri Moelijker)
Professor emeritus University of Utrecht
a.dereuver@kliksafe.nl

Willem van Vlastuin, *Be Renewed. A Theology of Personal Renewal* (Reformed Historical Theology, vol. 26), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014; 335 pp.; ISBN 978-3-525-55061-8; \$ 65.00.

Recent theological debate has often focused on the relationship between union with Christ and justification, but what about union with Christ and sanctification? *Be Renewed* takes up this subject in a way that exemplifies well how to write systematic theology in conversation with the Bible and historical theology while aiming to address today's church. It will be of great value to ministers and systematic theologians in particular. The author also teaches all Christians how to live the Christian life in union with Christ without reducing this theme to an empty and vague mantra such as "preach the gospel to yourself every day."

This is one of the most interesting and exciting volumes of V&R's Reformed Historical Theology series. It combines contextual historical investigation with biblical theology and systematic theological reflection (18). Van Vlastuin surveys figures from church history in relation to union

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with Christ and sanctification including such diverse figures as Augustine, Aquinas, the Heidelberg Catechism, the Westminster Confession of Faith, John Owen, the Keswick movement, John Wesley, Martin Lloyd-Jones, C.S. Lewis, and numerous others. He also includes substantial expositions of Scripture in relation to his theme, such as his lengthy treatment of Romans 7:14-25 in chapter five. He weaves his subject harmoniously into the entire system of theology, with special emphases on Christology, Pneumatology, and Eschatology.

His title illustrates the thrust of his argument. *Renewal* highlights the positive emphasis on making progress in holiness, as opposed to a negative emphasis on making a “small beginning” only (128-30). The passive imperative in the title reflects the fact that sanctification is ultimately a work of God effected through union with Christ (chapters 2-3), while its imperatival force retains the biblical emphasis on human responsibility and spiritual struggle (chapters 6-7). The subtitle, “a theology of personal renewal”, indicates that his position is one among many other options, each of which have something to teach us, even when they are largely in error. The title to his conclusion, “Balance”, indicates the character of the entire work. In an irenic spirit, with great discernment and charity, Van Vlastuin takes what is useful from almost all of the authors and movements surveyed, he evaluates them through Scripture, and he formulates his theology in a helpful way. In this manner, he shows readers how theology should be written. He is polemical without being combative, and his overall thrust is positive and useful to believers.

While his historical analyses are generally good, they are also deficient contextually at points. For example, he does not adequately situate Calvin and Luther in their historical contexts. This is particularly evident by the absence of references to other contemporary authors in each tradition as well as his lack of dependence on Calvin’s commentaries in the major analysis of his thought presented in chapter one. This runs the risk of giving the impression that Calvin, like Luther, founded a theological tradition. While we should not detract from Calvin’s significance in the Reformed tradition, this places undue weight on the magisterial Reformer in relation to the development of post-Reformation Reformed theology. Contextual development is necessary to understand better the nature and limitations of his influence on the tradition.

The most glaring deficiencies in his treatment relate to his treatment of the Westminster Standards (130-34). Van Vlastuin appears to pit the emphasis on union with Christ in the Heidelberg Catechism with the covenantal structure of the Westminster Confession. This misunderstands the function of union with Christ in the WCF and Catechisms. For example, Westminster Larger Catechism questions 65-90 situate the entire *ordo salutis*, including sanctification, in union and communion with Christ in grace and glory. Question 75 explicitly connects sanctification to the work of the Spirit in uniting believers to Christ in his resurrection. He also fails to distinguish adequately between union with Christ and communion with Christ. In the Catechism, every benefit of redemption is grounded in mystical union with Christ, while the Spirit communicates every benefit of salvation to believers through communion with Christ.

This connection actually bolsters Van Vlastuin's theological conclusions, though he does not recognize them in Westminster. The covenantal structure of the WCF also places Christology at the heart of the covenant of grace (WCF 6-7). Instead of contrasting covenant theology with union with Christ, this model solidifies the emphasis on union with Christ at the heart of redemption generally and of sanctification in particular. The irony is that the WCF ends up supporting the author's theology more effectively than he does precisely because of its covenantal structure, making Westminster a development upon rather than a divergence from the Heidelberg Catechism.

His treatment of John Owen (235-37) also illustrates the periodic deficiencies in his historiography. He contrasts Owen with Jonathan Edwards, arguing that Edwards treated the indwelling of the Spirit in Christ as both the pattern for and the link between the Spirit's work in believers (237-39). His final criticism of Owen is puzzling when he argues that Owen did not connect believers to the "salvation-historical character of the cross of Christ" (237). This virtually omits Owen's extensive treatment of this subject in the first two hundred or so pages of *Pneumatologia*, on which Van Vlastuin relies primarily in his analysis. It is possible to argue that Edwards developed his views from his reading of Owen and that there is more continuity than discontinuity between the two authors at this point. Other authors, such as Sinclair Ferguson and Alan Spence, have argued that the Spirit's relation to Christ as a pattern for believers was actually his primary contribution to pneumatology and

sanctification in English-speaking theology. Other authors have also located similar emphases in medieval doctors, such as Peter Lombard.

It is difficult, if not impossible to be a master of every field. Yet a systematic theology must be a generalist rather than a specialist in this connection, since he must draw from historical theology, exegesis, biblical theology, and practical theology in order to form his conclusions. In spite of the deficiencies noted, Van Vlastuin is an exemplary systematic theologian. He teaches readers how to pursue their sanctification in union with Christ. He models the theological balance and discernment need to produce an irenic and useful theology that serves the church.

Dr. Ryan M. McGraw
Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary
ryan.m.mcgraw@gmail.com