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## Gottfried Arnold on worship a translation from Die erste Liebe, 1696

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**Gottfried Arnold On Worship:  
A Translation from "Die Erste Liebe" (1696)**

by Paul Wagner

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Thesis

Submitted to the Department of Religion and Culture

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for the Master of Arts degree

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1989

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## Abstract

Generally, there has been little work done in the study of worship among Pietists. One of the most influential Pietists was Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714) who, in his first major work *Die Erste Liebe* (1696), devoted a major section to this question of worship. This dissertation is intended as a contribution to the ongoing study of worship among the Pietists; as such it presents for the first time an English translation from book two of *Die Erste Liebe*, chapter one "Von ihrem Gebet zu Gott." Here Arnold outlines his view of worship which he understands to have been the view of the church in the first three centuries. The translation is supplemented by a full critical study of Arnold's use of Patristic sources. Chief among the texts which he uses are the homilies of Macarius which were the primary influence on his theology of worship.

## Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to my family which has been so instrumental in making this dissertation possible. Without the constant help and encouragement from my wife, Joan, I would have given up long ago. To my children, Anna Lisa, Brian and Christopher, my thanks for spending long and patient hours in the library with me while researching endless Patristic citations. Finally, I must acknowledge my parents, John and Ann Wagner, for their living examples of true Christian piety. They, above else, instilled in me the nature and efficacy of prayer.

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## Introduction

Since World War Two there has been an expansion of interest in Pietism which has resulted in many wide-ranging studies concerning this movement.<sup>1</sup> This has forced us to rethink the role of Pietism from the position popularized in the last century by the influential Lutheran theologian Albrecht Ritschl.<sup>2</sup> His massive three-volume work on Pietism reinforced the biased and pejorative stereotypes of this movement held by its enemies since the eighteenth century: namely, that Pietism was marked by subjectivism, sectarianism, individualism, emotionalism, asceticism, legalism, synergism, and mysticism.<sup>3</sup> However, new studies in Pietism (of a historical, theological, and social scientific nature) have effected major revisions in this area of study, and have adopted a non-antagonistic and fairer stance toward Pietism and, in general, the evangelical tradition.

In spite of this, no significant research has been done on the Pietist view of worship, although general comments can be found regarding the importance of this subject for Pietist studies.<sup>4</sup> This lack is striking since it was in worship and spirituality, generally, that Pietism effected its greatest impact. Nevertheless, we are still some way off before a full discussion of this can be done. This thesis is a contribution toward such a discussion. It centres on the highly popular work of Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714), *Die Erste Liebe*, and offers for the first time an English translation of the work's central section on worship. Arnold has been chosen as a focus because of his impact upon his contemporaries and later generations; because he represents both Radical and Churchly streams within Pietism; and because his historical studies, particularly *Die Erste Liebe*, shaped the later views of Pietists and their associates.



## A Brief Overview of Pietism and Pietist Views of Worship

It is generally agreed that German Pietism owes its root of influence to the "Zwingli-Butzer-Calvin axis of the Reformation",<sup>1</sup> which was first manifested in English Puritanism and Dutch Reformed circles, and subsequently appeared in Lutheranism through Arndt, Spener, Francke, Bengel, Zinzendorf and Arnold among others. Shortly after Luther's death in 1546, numerous controversies arose which concerned matters central to faith, and matters which were not 'adiaphora). The role of works in one's salvation, the mediation of grace in the sacraments, and the question of forensic versus infused justification, were but some of the theological issues which arose in the post-Reformation era.' An attempt to resolve these matters is found in the *Formula of Concord* (1580). A systematic and academic apologetic soon emerged within Lutheranism, which became known as Protestant Orthodoxy or Scholasticism. In particular this movement owed much to Luther's colleague Philip Melancthon, who was influenced by the contemporary Spanish-Jesuit scholastics.

It should also be noted that Calvinistic theology underwent developments similar to those in Lutheranism. Even though Calvin's *Institutes* gave Protestantism a more systematic theology than Luther's rambling treatises, Calvinists were divided regarding doctrinal issues, such as the time of the decrees of predestinarian reprobation. Supralapsarians held that the decrees were given prior to creation, while the Infralapsarians argued that they were given after the fall. The Dutch theologian Willem Arminius (1560-1609) departed from traditional Calvinism and rejected predestination, emphasizing God's mercy, the free will of humans, and resistible grace. Further dissensions emerged within Calvinism in connection with such individuals as Jan Coccejus, Moses Amyraut, and Joshua LaPlace, all of which caused Calvinist scholasticism to be further entrenched, and antagonistic toward any variation of traditional Calvinism. A proto-Pietist position soon arose and quickly spread under the influence of Willem Teelinck (1580-1629), William Ames (1576-1633), Theodor a Brakel (1608-1669), and also the separatist Jean de Labadie (1610-1674). A similar position was echoed by such English Puritans as William Perkins (1558-1602), Lewis Bayly (d. 1631), Paul Baynes (d.

1617), Richard Sibbs (1577-1635), John Bunyan (1628-1688), and Richard Baxter (1615-1691).

Early on, Lutheran Orthodoxy was also opposed by those who sought after holiness, personal renewal, and an experiential faith. The genesis of Lutheran Pietism may be traced back to the Lutheran pastor Johann Arndt (1555-1621) who, through his devotional material, was instrumental in giving direction to this new movement.

Arndt undoubtedly had a great influence upon Arnold concerning worship and prayer. Following the formula of Luther, Arndt asserted that in ourselves we cannot effect true worship any more than our own justification.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, we cannot serve God with anything except that which God brings about in our heart: "God Himself attracts us to love and worship Him." Commenting upon Leviticus 10:1-2, Arndt equated the "unholy fire" offered by Nadab and Abihu as "false worship" whereby Christians offer "one's own meditation and self-established holiness and spirituality" instead of God's holiness.<sup>10</sup> Arndt, like Arnold, contrasts the worship of the Old and New Testaments: the former was considered as external, the latter internal, in spirit and truth. "Through faith the whole moral and ceremonial law is filled . . . We are freed from all Judaic ceremonies (Gal. 5:1), so that by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit we are able to serve God with free heart and spirit (Jer. 31:33; Rom. 8:15) and our conscience and faith are bound to no human directives."<sup>11</sup> This emphasis upon the internal and the human heart runs throughout Arndt

Understand now that true worship stands in the heart, in the knowledge of God, in true repentance by which the flesh is mortified and man is renewed once again to the image of God. By it, man is made into a holy temple of God in which the inner worship is established through the Holy Spirit, faith, love, hope, patience, prayer, thanksgiving, praise, and the honor of God.<sup>12</sup>

Arndt's writings on prayer also bear a close resemblance to Arnold's own teaching on this subject. Arndt writes the following,

1 Prayer is a conversation with God, a piece of the inner, spiritual, heavenly life, the characteristic and mark of a faithful Christian's heart, a continual movement of the Holy Spirit since he is a Spirit of grace and of prayer

(Zech 12:10), a work of divine healing. As the natural life moves the body, so the Holy Spirit moves through prayer, tears, holy meditation, heartfelt sorrow for human misery, pleas that sins or the punishment for sins be set aside, intercessions for all men and for those in authority, prayers of the Holy Spirit for knowledge and understanding, consolation, relief in tribulation, protection, strengthening of faith, patience, and all needs, and though prayer and thanksgiving for the goodness of God, by which God might be praised, given homage and honored in all his words and blessings.

Prayer occurs in secret, in a little chamber, in the heart, in all places, in all occupations, or openly in the congregation in the confession of faith to the honor of the holy Name of God and in thanksgiving for all blessings.

2 All must be done in spirit and truth, in the depth of the heart, without hypocrisy, before God, not before men except where it is required that God be publicly praised and thanked in the congregation ....

3 Prayer is an indicator of a true faithful Christian, a powerful loving witness of the Holy Spirit ...<sup>13</sup>

Like Arnold he also emphasized that prayer is to occur "at all times and in all places".<sup>14</sup> One cannot but notice the striking similarity between the two writers in their insistence that *deeds* must be linked with doctrine.<sup>15</sup> Arndt's delineation of prayer as three-fold (verbal, inner and transcendent) is also of interest in its general resemblance to Arnold.<sup>16</sup>

The term "pietist" (initially a pejorative one given by Orthodoxy) is traced back to the title of Philipp Jakob Spener's *Pia Desideria* (pious desires), published in 1675.<sup>17</sup> In the aftermath of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) and its devastating effect on Protestantism, Spener sought to infuse life and Christian faith into the community. Small prayer and study groups, also known as conventicles, were introduced so as to encourage the priesthood of all believers and the practise of piety. The focus was not on academics or polemics, but rather on experiential Christianity. Their refrain from scholastic and polemical discussions was not for their lack of ability, but only because for Pietists the essence of true Christianity did not lie in the academic arena.<sup>18</sup>

The Pietist movement within Germany was not altogether homogeneous. Arndt, Spener and August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) represented the Church Pietists, remaining within the Church structure. In *The Spiritual Priesthood* Spener, like Bengel, placed prayer before the Word. Praying was

part of the office of the spiritual priesthood. Overall, the spiritual priesthood involved the office of sacrifice (the presenting of ourselves, Rom. 12); the office of praying and blessing (intercession, praying for others); and the office of the Divine Word.<sup>11</sup> Francke, in his *Pure and Unblemished Worship*, makes use of Spener's three-fold nature of the spiritual priesthood. In worship the believer has a three-fold duty, viz., towards oneself; towards our neighbour (with a love which is not merely a natural love, but a "fervid love" ignited by the Holy Spirit), and towards God. This last duty of prayer is not to be distinguished from the first two, but is *continuous* with them. This is based upon I Peter 4:8-12, "so that in all things, whether it concerns ourselves and our own hearts or whether it concerns our neighbours, in all things God is to be praised."<sup>12</sup> The familiar Pietist theme that the heart is the prayer-closet of Matthew 6:6, is also reiterated by Francke,

into which one is to go and where one is to lock oneself away from all other thoughts so that one can speak with one's Creator in hiddenness and so that the powers of one's soul can thereby be gathered together in such a way that the soul can flow into the love of its Redeemer and that, at the same time the fire of the Holy Spirit which comes down from heaven and ignites the heart might burn as upon the altar. This is to be the purpose of temperance and sobriety.<sup>13</sup>

He had harsh and critical words to those who merely performed the outward manifestations of worship and yet did not testify to the inner, spiritual life:

What help is there for us, then, if we always consider our worship to consist in going to church together, listening to one sermon after the other, looking around in our prayer books at a certain time or praying some thoughts or other from our heart, and at a certain time going to confession and the Lord's Supper, and yet always living according to our old manner? What help would it be for us if we now hold ourselves here to be beloved children of God and on the final day be known as evildoers, if we always console ourselves, saying we believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and if on that day our Savior says to us, "Turn from me, I never knew you as my followers"? Let us lay off this terrible self-deception . . .<sup>14</sup>

Radical elements within Pietism, typified by Spiritualists, some Anabaptist groups, Boehmists (after the theosophical tradition of Jacob Boehme), fostered a more sectarian and mystical stand, and only confirmed the fears

and charges from Orthodoxy as to where the Pietist movement was eventually headed.

But Pietism was far from anti-intellectual. Francke, a supporter of Spener, established a university at Halle as a centre for Pietist study, and the testimony of the Pietist work there refutes the claims that Pietism was beset by individualism, subjectivism, and allowing eschatological concerns to take precedence over ethical concerns. Orphanages, hospitals and schools were built, education was given at all levels, Bibles were printed and sold for an affordable cost (the mere cost of a meal), as well as a great number of various devotional texts and songbooks. Among those who came under the ecumenical influence of Halle Pietism was Gottfried Arnold, the central figure in this study.

Another figure of radical leanings was Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1769) of Muhlheim an der Ruhr. He was of the Reformed Church tradition yet was also a separatist, and strongly influenced by Quietism. Despite his use of mystical vocabulary he was a traditional Protestant in his theology. Many of his hymns remain in use today, some of them translated by John Wesley. His hymns reflect both the evangelical fervour of Pietism, and the mystical tone of Quietism. The following excerpt illustrates the latter:

God himself is present, let us now adore him,  
 And with awe appear before him!  
 God is in his temple, all within keep silence  
 Prostrate lie with deepest reverence  
 Him alone God we own, him our God and Saviour  
 Praise his Name forever! -<sup>1</sup>

Elsewhere Tersteegen's hymns reflect the aspect of personal response to the Gospel call:

God calling yet, shall I not hear? Earth's pleasures shall I hold dear?  
 Shall life's swift passing years all fly, and still my soul in slumber lie?  
 God calling yet, I cannot stay, My heart I yield without delay;  
 Vain world, farewell! from thee I part.  
 The voice of God hath reached my heart -<sup>2</sup>

The theme of the heart as that secret chamber wherein God seeks to enter can also be found in the same hymn:

God calling yet; and shall he knock, and I my heart the closer lock?  
 He still is waiting to receive, and shall I dare his Spirit grieve?  
 Ah, yield him all, in him confide; where but with him doth peace abide?  
 Break loose, let earthly bonds be riven: and let the spirit rise to heaven.<sup>26</sup>

The same can also be seen in the following hymn translated by Wesley:

Thou hidden love of God, whose height,  
 whose depth unfathomed no man knows;  
 I see from far thy bounteous light, in wardly I sigh for thy repose  
 My heart is pained, nor can it be at rest, till it finds rest in thee  
 Thy secret voice invites me still, the sweetness of thy yoke to prove.  
 And fain I would; but, though my will seem fixed,  
 yet wide my passion rove.  
 Yet hindrances strew all the way; I aim at thee, yet from thee stray.<sup>27</sup>

Elsewhere Tersteegen described prayer as follows: "Prayer is to look to the omnipresent God and to allow oneself to be seen by Him . . . He penetrates us, he fills us, he is nearer to us than we are to ourselves."<sup>28</sup> There is one aspect of Tersteegen's writings that is worth noting, namely there is not the same emphasis upon repentance (*Busskampf*) as there is with the Halle group. Despite his majestic depiction of entering God's presence, he encourages the believer to enter with a relaxed posture.

How can it be difficult to allow oneself to be looked after by so kind a physician who knows better what is troubling us than we ourselves know? We have no need to bring this or that, to present ourselves in this way or in that way, or to look too much, or to experience much if we wish to pray, but we need only simply and briefly to say how we are and how we wish to be, indeed it is not even necessary that we say this, but we need only allow the ever-present God to see . . . . If you find yourself disturbed, dark, with no spiritual experiences, simply tell God, and let him see your suffering, then you have prayed properly.<sup>29</sup>

During the late seventeenth century another form of German Pietism emerged in the state of Württemberg. Its chief spokesmen were the Biblical scholar Johann Bengel (1687-1752), and the theosophical philosopher Friedrich Oetinger (1702-1782). Bengel should be noted for his "lower criticism" of the Bible which was a result of his scholarship and research of the variant Greek texts of his time; yet he did not deny the unity of Scripture and its message to mankind. Bengel places great importance upon the

ministry of prayer, both for the minister and the believer. More than once Bengel asserts that the office of prayer takes precedence over the apostolic ministry of the Word.<sup>31</sup> He alludes to the temple as symbolizing prayer and the synagogue teaching. Bengel's emphasis on prayer over teaching should not go without notice seeing as he was foremost a scholar of the Bible. The minister, he states, cannot delegate the office of prayer to another under his authority.<sup>31</sup> Like Arnold, he taught that the manner of prayer should not be like the vain prayers of heathen, for "they think that many words are needed to inform their deities ...." Rather, Christ calls us to pray with few words.<sup>32</sup> The notion of God inspiring us to pray is echoed also by Arndt. Commenting on Matthew 9:38, Bengel wrote that in praying to the Lord of the harvest, God Himself implants the desire within us to pray; the Lord of the harvest desires to be moved by our prayers.<sup>33</sup> Like his fellow Pietists, he exhorted believers to pray without doubt and wrath. In connection with the body Bengel asserts that "to stand [in prayer] is the attitude of one praying in confidence ... to lie prostrate, of one praying with deprecation."<sup>34</sup> Elsewhere, resembling Arnold, he comments on the nature of praying without ceasing as relating to the community and not just the individual: "Individuals cry, some by day, some by night; but the cry of the whole body is undoubtedly continuous, and never ceaseth."<sup>35</sup>

Among other matters concerning prayer, Bengel taught that praying with another may overcome the hindrances of one's weakness; the name of Jesus adds power to prayer; Christ plays a mediatorial role in making our prayers heard by the Father;<sup>36</sup> that prayer has miraculous effects;<sup>37</sup> that those who abide in Christ bear fruit, and consequently should receive whatever they ask in prayer;<sup>38</sup> and that "the names of God should not be accumulated in prayer, but addressed to him sparingly and reverentially ...."<sup>39</sup>

A final group within German Pietism which must be considered is that of Count Nicolaus Zinzendorf (1700-1760) and the Moravians, toward whom much animosity was stirred by Bengel and his followers. Zinzendorf, himself, was greatly influenced by Spener and Francke but later went on to develop his own form of Pietism. His invitation in 1722 to the persecuted Bohemian Brethren resulted in the establishing of Herrnhut (the Lord's watch) on the

count's estate. It was not long till inner conflicts arose between the Lutheran and Moravian traditions, but in 1727 a deep, spiritual awakening occurred which resulted in tremendous missionary activity throughout Europe and the new world. It was through their work in America that the prominent Moravian missionary August Gottlieb Spangenberg (1704-1792) exerted a lasting influence upon John Wesley who was directly confronted as to his own personal conversion and salvation. This later led to a deep awakening within John Wesley and resulted in the Methodist movement in England and in America.

Zinzendorf's references to the practice of prayer are essentially one with Arnold and other Pietists. However, Zinzendorf does emphasize strongly the use of the Lord's Prayer in the public assembly. He so stressed the importance of belief in connection with prayer and worship that he generally discouraged a common-prayer and liturgical usage. According to Zinzendorf, the second commandment<sup>40</sup> was violated when the Lord's Prayer was "thoughtlessly babbled" by those who are not the children of God.<sup>41</sup> Yet he also admitted that to pray the Lord's Prayer, personally, was "one of the greatest gifts of grace, a privilege . . ."<sup>42</sup> But his prescription generally was to avoid the use of liturgy:

But to use a liturgy, to use a *common-prayer*, to join together in prayer, to praise and adore Him whom we regard as our common Lord and God — this is a matter which neither the hearers, if they have no right to it, dare presume to do, nor which teachers, if they have the power to act according to their knowledge, ought to encourage.<sup>43</sup>

and,

Dear hearts! To join together in one form and liturgy, to say the same words with two different hearts, to profess something of which one has no inner conviction, or to hear various truths which one has not yet attained — this is not a matter of small consequence. <sup>44</sup>

In the eighteenth century Pietism was to face a more serious threat than that of Orthodoxy. The Enlightenment and its emphasis upon reason over revelation, nature over grace, and man's freedom over God's redemptive work resulted in the forming of an alliance between Pietism and Orthodoxy. However, it was inevitable that the Pietist movement would eventually be influenced by Enlightenment ideals, and later by Romanticism, but yet Pietists



maintained the important Pietist distinctives despite their openness to an increasingly secularized world. In time groups within Pietism did become overly subjective and anti-intellectual, and perhaps this is the Pietism from which Ritschl unfortunately evaluated the movement as a whole.

### **A Brief Biography of Gottfried Arnold**

Gottfried Arnold was born on September 5, 1666 in the Saxon town of Annaberg, and attended the gymnasium at Gera (1682-1685) and the university at Wittenberg (1685-1689). His early years at Wittenberg reinforced his concern for practical piety. Arnold credits his teachers as having provided him merely with a knowledge of polemics and dead scholastic Orthodoxy, and his fellow students with a carnal behaviour which he deplored. Both of these experiences contributed to Arnold's turning to study in order to provide an apologetic for a true Christian piety. His dissatisfaction with the contemporary church dissuaded him from entering the pastorate at this time; instead he chose to become a tutor in Dresden. While at Dresden his connections with Pietists strengthened through his ties with Spener and Francke. Here Arnold experienced a deepening piety and awakening upon joining the pastor's conventicle. In his effort to promote a return to true Christian piety, he drew upon historical research and academic life which he saw as tools for service to both God and humans. His dedication to history made him consider the life of the early Church as a standard by which Pietist and Orthodox Christians were to be judged with regard to Christian life and teachings.

In 1693 Arnold accepted a tutorial post at Quedlinburg where he lived for the next four years. Quedlinburg was known as a centre for political, social and religious upheaval — all of which contributed to Arnold's increasing radicalness. Prior to his arrival here Arnold did not espouse separatism from the established church. But his attachment to local radicals and Spiritualists gradually caused him to become more distant from the existing church. During this time, despite personal upheavals in his life, he wrote and studied extensively. His research and translation of the homilies of Macarius played a key role in his subsequent work *Die Erste Liebe* in 1696. In the homilies Arnold came across Macarius' emphases on the invisible church, Christ's

role in justification, the Spirit's role in Christian growth, Christian perfection, shortcomings of the established church, and the value of the ascetic ideal.

The order of redemption that Arnold discovered in Macarius, he also used in his outline of *Die Erste Liebe*. The influence of *Die Erste Liebe* was widespread and immediate, and in 1697 led to Arnold's being offered a position of professor of history at the University of Giessen. He accepted the post but was soon discouraged by the academic obligations which consumed all his time and left little for the cultivation of the inner life. He resigned a year later, and by 1699 he had published the first part of his *Unparteiische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* which delineated the history of the Church from its beginnings till 1688. The second part, dealing with discussions of specific aspects of church history, was published in 1700. The tone of this work is more radical in its approach than that of *Die Erste Liebe*, and is more concerned with a sharp distinction between the true and false Church.

The publication of Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* was of no little consequence. It attacked the Lutheran Church and provided Roman Catholics and Reformed with material to echo the attack on that denomination. In addition, the *Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* defended, by way of a historical undergirding, a defense for radical Pietist practice. The controversy was great and long between Pietist and Orthodox circles. Yet Arnold still maintained his link with the Lutheran Church, and defended the Lutheran cause. He was caught up in the rhetoric and debates between the Pietist and Orthodox parties, with political-ecclesiastical tension heightening.

In 1701 Arnold broke his celibate vow to Sophia (Wisdom) and married Anne Marie Sproegel. In the same year he also accepted a post as court pastor to the Duchess of Sachsen-Eisenach in Allstedt. The position was soon modified to that of "royal historian" because Arnold would not submit to the oath of loyalty to the *Formula of Concord*. However, this did not effectively relieve the tension of Arnold's presence in Allstedt. Thanks to the protection of the Prussian king, however, he was able to remain through 1704. During this time Arnold was free to preach and write, but the situation was not easy for him or the Duchess.

In 1705 Arnold was granted a pastorate at Werben. In 1707 he accepted a call as inspector and pastor at Perleberg where he remained till his death. Here he continued to write and publish many works among which was his *Paradiesche Lustgürtlein* (1709), and the *Wahre Abbildung des inwendigen Christentums* (1709), the latter being a companion volume to *Die Erste Liebe*. Here special use was made of the late medieval mystics. In 1713 his health began to deteriorate, and he died May 30, 1714.

### **Arnold's *Die Erste Liebe***

In *Die Erste Liebe* Arnold set out to prove that the Christian church had left its "first love" during the era of Constantine. He endeavored to present a "true portrayal of the early Christians" according to Holy Scripture and the Church Fathers. The text which I have chosen to translate is from book two of *Die Erste Liebe*. "Das Andere Buch, Von der ersten Christen gemeinem und sonderbarem Gottesdienst." From this I have selected the first chapter, "Von ihrem Gebet zu Gott." In this second book there are in total fifteen chapters which deal with various aspects of Christian worship. They are as follows:

- Ch. 2 Von dem Singen der ersten Christen.
- Ch. 3 Von der ersten Christen Zusammenkunften, derselben Ort und den Kirchen.
- Ch. 4 Von der Zeit ihrer geistlichen Uebungen.
- Ch. 5 Von denen Personen in der Gemeine, und sonderlich denen sogenannten Laeien.
- Ch. 6 Von denen christlichen Weibs-Personen in den ersten Gemeinen.
- Ch. 7 Von etlicher Christen sonderbaren und einsamen Lebens-Art.
- Ch. 8 Von der Wahl und Beruffung der Lehrer in den ersten Gemeinen.
- Ch. 9 Von den Lehrer Pflichten insgemein.
- Ch. 10 Von den sonderbaren Pflichten.
- Ch. 11 Von den ersten Lehrer Unterscheid, Stufen, Anzahl, und andern Umstaenden.
- Ch. 12 Von dem oeffentlichen Lesen und Predigen des Worts.
- Ch. 13 Von der ersten Christen Catechismus-Lehren.

Ch. 14 Von der Tauffe bei den ersten Christen.

Ch. 15 Von des Herrn Abendmahl bei den ersten Christen.

The first book of *Die Erste Liebe* is based on the Lutheran order of salvation, and establishes the general progression of the *ordo salutis* according to the external manifestations of the inner working of the Holy Spirit. In the second book, Arnold addresses the theme of inner spiritual change and growth itself, without the emphasis upon the external manifestations. In the two final sections there is a review of the *ordo* which unites their different emphases, the renewal of God's image in humans, and the union of humans and God in love.<sup>45</sup> In a Lutheran fashion Arnold progresses through the *ordo*, beginning with God's call to sinful humans (*vocatio*). Through faith one receives the Word and is thereby directed to turn from self and the world to God. Following this the Holy Spirit illuminates the sinner so as to give knowledge of sin, and the judgment which is rightfully due. This is to effect a confession and rejection of past sins, and thereby a new, regenerated life (*regeneratio*). Out of this one then experiences a renovation (*renovatio*) of life which hates sin and seeks truth, and is led by the Holy Spirit. This grows out of a mystical union (*unio mystica*) of the believer with Christ, and is to be understood as a union into his body, the church, through baptism. Like Luther and Arndt, Arnold insists that the union is directed toward God in love.

Arnold then proceeds to work through the *ordo* again, but in greater detail. Here he places more emphasis upon the inner person, rather than the external manifestations of the inner working. Special emphasis is placed on illumination, which represents the inner spiritual voice, yet without abandoning the Lutheran stand for the necessity of the external word of Scripture.<sup>46</sup> Following this discussion of illumination Arnold then discusses the role of the new birth (*Wiedergeburt, conversio*), which is quintessential to the Christian life. This is a divine working in humans whereby there is a renewal of the image of God in them (*regeneratio*).<sup>47</sup> Through the Spirit one is also united with God (*unio mystica*) and becomes a participant in the divine nature, yet is in no way divinized.

In all these stages which Arnold delineates, faith is central to the *ordo*. It is an act which progresses experientially in love from the time of the new birth

through to its completion, full renovation and perfect union.<sup>48</sup> Arnold does not limit the mystical union to the realm of heaven but allows for ecstatic insights yet while on earth.<sup>49</sup> Here there is a break between Arnold and his predecessors Arndt and Luther. The latter were openly cautious against ecstatic outbursts often accompanied by charismatic visions and prophetic utterances.<sup>50</sup> The experiences with the Zwickau prophets were not quickly forgotten by Luther's successors. For Arnold ecstatic experiences were but a part of the Christian life. However, Arnold is careful to remain within the Lutheran context by emphasizing that the renewal of the *imago Dei* in humans and God's union with them is fulfilled in the act of faith.<sup>51</sup>

### Arnold's Use of Sources

The sources which Arnold cites in this work are almost exclusively restricted to the Church Fathers. In his later work, the *Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* Arnold goes on to use medieval writers.<sup>52</sup> Among the many patristic authors cited in *Die Erste Liebe* four appear most frequently, viz., Macarius, Augustine, Chrysostom and Tertullian. The first played a major role in Arnold's thoughts on sanctification and his view of the posture of the heart, which I will note later. The remaining three are chosen by Arnold to represent Christianity while it still reflected, more or less, its pristine state, although, Arnold does show through these writers that the "first love" is gradually being replaced with superstition, hypocrisy, tradition and formality.

It is interesting that of these four writers, two represent the Greek church (Macarius, Chrysostom), and two the Latin church (Tertullian, Augustine). Arnold's appeal to these pillars of the early church was no doubt to give credibility to his own writings. The areas in which he cites these writers are generally in accord with each other. It was to Arnold's advantage that he chose these four main writers to undergird the main concerns of Pietism, viz., the call for a pure heart and the necessity of living a truly sanctified life. Here all four were generally in agreement, as their lives and writings show.<sup>53</sup>

From Augustine Arnold reinforces the emphasis of praying from a pure heart with few words; moreover, Augustine teaches that God himself is

the initiator and inspirer in prayer, and that formalities are not needed.<sup>54</sup> From Chrysostom come the themes of praying with boldness, fighting impure thoughts, the significance of raising the hands and kneeling, the efficacy of prayer, an attitude of humility, and the corporate significance of prayer.<sup>55</sup> Tertullian brings out the necessity for living a pure life and following God's commandments, the efficacy of prayer, the symbolic importance of raising the hands and kneeling, praying in solitude, and spontaneous prayer from the heart without need of a cantor or reciter.<sup>56</sup>

Generally, Arnold supplies accurate references to the various writings. However, the reader will also notice places where Arnold appears to have taken great liberty with the text, where he is not so much quoting the source as he is summarizing the basic theme. This is pointed out when it takes place.

It cannot be denied that Arnold is selective and eclectic in his use of the sources. He picks out sentences here and there and drops them into the text, so that at times one has nothing more than a long catena of disconnected sayings. Thus the literary style does not always flow.

At other times Arnold practises poor scholarship regarding the sources. For example, he quotes Augustine to give an account of Polycarp's prayer before his execution, where in fact Augustine was depicting *Innocent's* healing and how he prayed violently.<sup>57</sup> In another place Jerome is cited to show that the Lord's Prayer was called the "daily prayer", but Jerome was simply referring to daily prayer in general.<sup>58</sup> Arnold quotes Chrysostom on "kneeling in prayer" whereas the latter is merely making a side comment on the text "every knee shall bow" (Phil. 2:10);<sup>59</sup> my point is that Arnold's chapter topic here is solely concerned with "kneeling in prayer", but Chrysostom does not really discuss this topic in the passage Arnold cites, although he does elsewhere. A blatant example of misrepresenting the source is where Arnold cites Jerome concerning a certain "pious woman" named Marcella and her manner of praying before she died. In the very next sentence Arnold continues this description from Augustine who is in fact giving an account of the martyrdom of *Crispina* and her manner of prayer!<sup>60</sup> Finally, Arnold cites Tertullian out of context where the former is building a case for praying

everywhere and at all times. Tertullian does concede this but his main thrust in the quotation is actually a defense for praying at certain hours because they afford a "special solemnity in divine prayers."<sup>61</sup>

Throughout this translation the reader will notice where Arnold has mistakenly put down the wrong reference number, and this has been noted in the textual notes. However, there are also various references which simply could not be located for various reasons. Possibly Arnold put down the wrong reference or author, and or I have simply failed to locate it. Also, the original text is illegible at places, and I have had to resort to a certain amount of guess-work at times; in these cases I have inserted question marks into the text. Finally, many of the quotations in the text are not supplied in the textual notes simply because they either have not been translated into English, or they were not accessible to me. In such cases I have supplied, where possible, the necessary information to show where the quotations can be found.

### **The Influence of Macarius upon Gottfried Arnold**

Of all the texts Arnold cites, the most important is Macarius. Arnold refers in all some thirteen times to the *Spiritual Homilies* of Macarius the Egyptian. Macarius is known as the spiritual hero of the monastic colony at Scetis and was a contemporary of St. Antony. He became famous for his sermons and instruction, as well as for reported gifts of healing and foretelling the future.<sup>62</sup>

The collection of the fifty *Spiritual Homilies* played an important role in early Christian mysticism and later German Pietism. Johann Arndt (*True Christianity*, 1708) knew all of them by heart, and Arnold had translated them into German as early as 1696. The influence of the *Homilies* can even be seen in the hymns and writings of John Wesley, who also published an English version of twenty-two of them.<sup>63</sup> The authorship, however, has been lately challenged; the collection is now thought by some to be a product of the Messalians, but this is not held unanimously.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, for convenience sake I shall assume Macarius as the author of the *Homilies*.

The various themes expounded in the *Homilies* are prevalent in Arnold's section on prayer. One particular theme is the emphasis on praying to God

from out of a pure and spotless soul.<sup>67</sup> Numerous references are made by Macarius to withdrawing from evil and vain thoughts, cleansing the thoughts from wickedness and defilement, cleaving to the Lord for a pure conscience, withdrawing from the affairs of this life in order to keep oneself free for prayer and supplication, etc.<sup>68</sup> One might think this theme is too often repeated by both Macarius and Arnold, but according to them the place of the heart and mind cannot be overstated here. Macarius writes:

To us evil is a real thing, because it dwells and works in the heart, suggesting wicked and defiling thoughts, and not allowing us to pray purely, but bringing our mind into captivity to this world.<sup>69</sup>

For it is in our thoughts that the "service of God" is accomplished:

at His coming God changes the thoughts of the soul and makes them godlike . . . and teaches the prayer true, undistracted, unwavering.<sup>70</sup>

Macarius' comment on sanctification sounds like something from the pen of Wesley whereby we are to be delivered from indwelling sin, and be filled with the Holy Spirit.<sup>71</sup> Macarius offers practical guidance here, stating that one must at first begin by forcing oneself to prayer and the practice of the gifts of the Spirit; but one day one will do these things willingly, without a reluctant heart, and this will lead one to deliverance from indwelling sin.<sup>72</sup>

Both Macarius and Arnold attribute an efficacious role of the Holy Spirit in the act of prayer.<sup>73</sup> According to Macarius, we perform the duty of prayer out of a natural setting but the Holy Spirit takes our imperfections and purifies them:

The things which you do of yourself are all very well, and acceptable to God, but they are not quite pure. For instance, you love God, but not perfectly. The Lord comes, and gives a love which is unchangeable, the heavenly love. You pray in the natural manner with wandering and doubt; God gives you the pure prayer, *in Spirit and in truth*. . . . the Holy Ghost Himself *helpeth the infirmities* of men.<sup>74</sup> (italics belong to the editor)

Also:

Whatever the soul may think fit to do of itself, what ever care and pains it may take . . . without the cooperation of the Spirit . . . it is of no use for the heavenly places.<sup>75</sup>

There is a curious blend of both divine cooperation and human effort in the duty of prayer for the believer. According to the above quotations by



Macarius, we are to force ourselves to prayer and practise the fruits of the Spirit. But it is God himself who changes and purifies our thoughts. Arnold reflects this same dialectic and undoubtedly charged Protestant Orthodoxy as siding strongly with the principle of *ex opere operato* and not cooperative grace. The opponents of this emphasis of Pietists such as Arnold were quick to see elements of synergism, which has been a constant matter of controversy since the beginnings of Christianity.<sup>74</sup>

Both Macarius and Arnold focus on the importance of the “inner” practice of piety. Macarius writes, “Not in a form or in outward figure lies the distinguishing mark of the Christian”;<sup>75</sup> this is not to say that the outward manifestations are of no importance, for Arnold does elaborate on their proper place so long as they are not absent of the inward, spiritual work.<sup>76</sup> Another theme of prayer which Macarius and Arnold expound is that of praying aloud. According to Macarius, prayer ought to be offered in quietness and peace, and not with unseemly outcries,<sup>77</sup> for they can cause offence to others.<sup>78</sup> Yet Macarius also taught his readers

to wait upon God, until He shall come to us and visit the soul through all its modes of . . . senses, and so to be silent when we ought, and cry out when we ought, and to pray with loud crying, so long as the mind is strong toward God.<sup>79</sup>

Arnold also favours a quietness in praying but not exclusively. He admits that vocal prayers were a hindrance to some, and glory to others.<sup>80</sup> The general principle with Arnold was that the outward gestures were always to be a result of the inward.<sup>81</sup>

Both writers agree as to the place of prayer. It is in keeping with the overall emphasis of the inner over the outward aspect of prayer that the emphasis falls mainly on the state of the heart, and not the body. The teaching of Christ is referred to in that true worship occurs not because of a holy place, but because it is done in spirit and truth. However, the carrying out of this principle led to some ambivalence on the part of both authors. Unlike Tertullian, Macarius writes the following:

It happens sometimes that the saints of the Lord sit in theatres and behold the deceit of the world. According to the inner man they are conversing with God, while according to the outer man they appear to men as contemplating what goes on in the world.<sup>82</sup>

What Macarius is stressing here is that no one should pass judgment upon those who remain in the world; however, Macarius also asserts that when one hears the word of God one should forsake the world. Similarly Arnold writes, quoting Chrysostom,

One must not search for the holy place in certain places, rather in deed, life and conduct. If these things are in accordance with the commandment of the Lord then you are in a holy place, even if you are at the market or the theatre.<sup>84</sup>

However Arnold earlier cited Tertullian's rebuke to those who attended the theatre:

For what sort of conduct is it to go from the assembly of God to the assembly of the devil? from the sky to styx, as the proverb has it? those hands you have uplifted to God, to tire them out clapping an actor?<sup>85</sup>

It is true that the main point in Arnold's chapter here is that of lifting "holy hands", as well as the matter of hand-washing, but the tension in Arnold remains regarding the proper place of prayer and worship.

Finally, it has been noted that Macarius exerted a lasting and strong influence upon Arnold in matters of worship, spirituality, and the Christian life. Sprinkled throughout Arnold's section on prayer are other traces of the *Homilies*, which Arnold likely employed without being aware of it. It should be noted that whereas Arnold often cited other sources in an eclectic, sometimes careless fashion, his references to the *Homilies* are consistently in context and almost verbatim. This indicates his devotion to and thorough acquaintance with this text which was so highly influential for Arnold. The very words "true Christian" come from Macarius himself,<sup>86</sup> and this theme and wording was central to the writings of both Arndt and Arnold, and may well have directly inspired them to take up this cause.

### **Arnold's Teaching on Worship**

Calvin commented that "the only lawful worship of God is the observance of righteousness, holiness, and purity."<sup>87</sup> This unity of morality and piety is also reflected in Arnold's joining of adoration and service, which he traces back to the ancients.<sup>88</sup> While the English word "worship" evokes the sense of God's "worthyship", the German *Gottesdienst* brings out the theme

of service. Literally the word means "the service of God". However, the exact rendering of the genitive case may be rendered in different ways. "Service *of* God" might mean the service which comes *from* God: thus the Divine himself intercedes with our adoration, through the Holy Spirit.<sup>29</sup> Another meaning might be "service *for* God", with the emphasis upon our rendering service *to* him.<sup>30</sup> Finally, the genitive could also be interpreted in an adjectival sense as "*godly* worship" or "*divine* worship", as opposed to a mere human act.

One can find these various meanings of *Gottesdienst* throughout Arnold's section on worship. In chapter one he brings out the theme of our service to God, but he is quick to qualify this by saying that "the Divine does not himself need human service." Following the teachings of Luther, Arnold reinforces here the idea that service to God is essentially linked to service to our neighbour. Quoting James 1:27, he states, "This is pure and spotless worship before God the Father, to visit the orphans and widows in their distress, and is that which keeps itself unspotted by the world."<sup>31</sup> But lest worship be relegated to mere externalism and philanthropic activities, Arnold equally emphasizes the need for inner and moral purity, for "service must proceed from a clean heart, and in deed and truth." This dual emphasis safeguards him from being overly subjective, which has been the major criticism against Pietists in the past. It has been stated earlier that recent scholarship has forced a revision of past Ritschlian biases against Pietism concerning beliefs and practices. And although this present work captures only a very small part of Arnold's teaching on worship, it can be seen even here that some revision is also warranted concerning Pietistic worship.

It is true that Arnold does greatly emphasize the inner aspect of worship and piety, but he also gives much attention to the proper place of the outward and external manifestations, as is evident in the first chapter, and throughout. He states that where there was no hypocrisy "the outward gestures were always a sign and also a result of the inward."<sup>32</sup> The problem for Arnold was not externals, but when the outward manifestations became mixed with superstition, and the inward gestures disappeared. Nor is worship individualistic, for he stresses the importance of communal worship and not only the Christian's "prayer closet".<sup>33</sup> Finally, one cannot brand Arnold

as unscholarly and unlearned, which has been another criticism of Pietists generally. His historical treatment of worship reflects a wide knowledge of patristic and biblical texts, both of which also illustrate the primacy he accords the external word.

One should not miss the obvious regarding Arnold's teaching on worship. His first section on worship is taken up with the matter of prayer and piety. This is, after all, the very foundation of worship. He does not begin with a discussion on singing, preaching, the Lord's Supper, etc., which are treated later. For Arnold, prayer can only occur if there is first a pious and pure heart, out of which flows a pure and spontaneous worship before the majesty of God. However, Arnold emphasizes more than once that pure and spontaneous worship are continually being threatened by sin and formality. Echoing the concerns of Macarius and Tertullian, he asserts that if one remains in conscious sin, prayers cannot flow from the heart nor be brought before the altar of God.<sup>94</sup> In words often quoted by Arnold and the Fathers, "the prayers do not even pierce the clouds." For Arnold, worship was spiritual warfare whereby the Christian is called to fight unceasingly against all improper and sinful thoughts.<sup>95</sup> And where there is not purity of heart, there is no spontaneity either. Instead of prayer "without cantor or reciter",<sup>96</sup> and "in Spirit and Truth", prayer formulae and clerical restrictions were imposed upon worshipers. Arnold does concede to the use of the Lord's Prayer and the singing of psalms, but even these are to be used "according to the guidance and impulse of God."<sup>97</sup> It is Arnold's conclusion that "one can find no such written prayers or prayer books among [early Christians], until that time when the level of purity had already come to decline."<sup>98</sup> For Arnold, the growing multiplicity of prayer formulae in the Constantinian era was itself indicative of the church leaving her "first love"

Arnold's emphasis upon sanctification is quite pronounced throughout. Macarius' influence is evident here, in the call to fight unceasingly against improper thoughts, and to turn away from sin. This very emphasis undoubtedly appeared to the Orthodox wing as fostering a works-righteousness. However, Arnold clearly insists that this spiritual warfare is only possible "through faith" which "must be founded upon His word," and "justified by

Christ alone.”<sup>99</sup> It might be cynically thought that Arnold is merely covering himself here so that his teachings might appear correct within his Lutheran setting. Although it is true that he cannot be restricted to a mere forensic view of justification, for him faith does play a central part in the ministry of prayer. Citing Augustine, he wrote, “But if faith is lacking, prayer too will be lacking ... Faith is the fountain of prayer, but where the source has dried up, the stream cannot flow.”<sup>100</sup> Just as conscious and deliberate sin prevents the efficacy of prayer, so too does doubt and timidity. We are to come before God’s throne with confidence.

In all, there is a balance in Arnold’s teaching on prayer and worship. The Christian is free to pray everywhere and at all times; yet the Christian is free to pray within the setting of special places and times. Prayer is both a communal experience and a private experience (“prayer closet”). Prayer is both an outward and inward exercise. It can occur vocally or in silence.<sup>101</sup> Prayer is both divine and human, with a participation of the Holy Spirit in the believer. It can include a particular form (in a modest sense), yet prayer is also spontaneous. Prayer brings us before a God who is both transcendent and immanent. Prayer can be lengthy or brief. Lastly, we are to “pray without ceasing”, yet we are to go about our daily duties and allow the body to rest.

Thus it was, he believed, that the early Church taught and practiced prayer:

[T]heir whole life and conduct was so constituted that it would be seen as a prayer before the face of God. So then the soul was able to stand unceasingly before its Creator through the desire of faith. Thus they **let their life to be one continual prayer**, and they were not so absurd that they continually had their knee bent, the body prostrated, the hands raised; rather, they understood this to mean the **continual longing after God and His eternal Sabbath**, to which they held so that whatsoever they might do outwardly this was their constant opinion.<sup>102</sup>

## Conclusion

In the translation which follows, the reader will become immediately aware of the extensive use of Macarius by Arnold, which I have argued above. Macarius was a significant influence upon Arnold's theology of worship as well as on other theological topics with which he dealt, but we must not for a moment suppose that Arnold fully understood the Macarian texts he read within their historical setting as he did in the case of many other Pietist writers. He mined early church writings for historical support of his own Pietist views. On the whole he is fairly accurate in his reading and citation of Patristic authors (as the notes below make clear, he does misconstrue some passages), and he certainly stands at the beginning of the "scientific" study of Christian history. Nevertheless, as is only too evident from the text which is translated below, his Pietist principles shape his understanding of the early church and perhaps nowhere is this clearer than in his treatment of worship.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Above all, note the work of Martin Schmidt, *Pietismus* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1972), as well as F. Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), and his *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965); Peter C. Erb, "The Role of Late Medieval Spirituality in the Life and Work of Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714)" (unpublished Ph.D., University of Toronto, 1976); his *Pietists: Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983); and his translation of Johann Arndt, *True Christianity*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1979); as well as Dale Brown, *Understanding Pietism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1978). For full bibliographical details on works by Arnold and other primary sources noted in the text, see Bibliography below.
- <sup>2</sup> See Albert Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus* (3 Bde; Bonn, 1880-1886); and a translation to his prolegomena in his *Three Essays*, trans. by Philip Hefner (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972).
- <sup>3</sup> See Stoeffler's *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, pp. 9-23, for a brief response to these negative charges put forward by Ritschl, Troeltsch, Barth and others.
- <sup>4</sup> See Friederich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: Norton, 1974), 251-316; and Albert E. Bailey, *The Gospel in Hymns* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), 309-347.
- <sup>5</sup> Stoeffler, ed., *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1976), 9.
- <sup>6</sup> For an overview on the history of scholasticism within Protestant Orthodoxy, see Robert D. Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism: A Study of Theological Prolegomena*, 2 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1970), as well as F. Bente's "Historical Introduction to the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church" in *Concordia Triglotta* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921).
- <sup>7</sup> Arndt, *True Christianity*, 116.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 237.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 110-111.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 244.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.
- <sup>15</sup> John J. Stoudt (trans. and ed.), *Devotions and Prayers of Johann Arndt* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958), 46; compare this with chapter one of Arnold.
- <sup>16</sup> See Erb's "Introduction" to *True Christianity*, 10 f., where a comparison is made here of both Arndt and Angela of Foligno concerning their striking similarities on prayer.

- <sup>17</sup> See Erb's *Role*, 42 f., for an examination of *Pia Desideria*.
- <sup>18</sup> See Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, ix, for a succinct outline of the chief characteristics of Pietism.
- <sup>19</sup> *Pietists: Selected Writings*, 52.
- <sup>20</sup> Arndt, *True Christianity*, 159-162
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 162
- <sup>23</sup> Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, 22-31
- <sup>24</sup> *Service Book and Hymnal* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958), no. 164.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 374
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 391.
- <sup>28</sup> *Pietists: Selected Writings*, 244.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>30</sup> Johann A. Bengel, *Gnomon of the New Testament* 2 volumes, trans. by Charlton T. Lewis and Marvin R. Vincent (Philadelphia: Perkinpine and Higgins, 1862), 247, 785, Vol. 1.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 785.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 121-122
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 358.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 494.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 229.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 373.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 700.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 703.
- <sup>40</sup> According to the order within Roman Catholic and Lutheran communions.
- <sup>41</sup> Nicholaus Ludwig Count von Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion*, translated and edited by George W. Forell (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1973), 2 f.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.
- <sup>45</sup> Erb, *Role*, 144.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>52</sup> See Erb, *Role*, 189 ff.



- <sup>67</sup> For more on their lives and writings, see Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1960), Vol. 3, 161-167, (Macarius): 424-482 (Chrysostom): Vol. 2, 246-339 (Tertullian) and Vol. 4, 342-458 (Augustine).
- <sup>68</sup> See Translation below, section 2;q; 5:u; 7:n; 9:m; 11:c; 14:e,i; 20:p,s
- <sup>69</sup> See Translation below, section 5 z; 6:k; 8:z; 10.s,a,b; 14.g,p,r; 15:c; 17.z,i; 19:b
- <sup>70</sup> See Translation below, section 4 p,q,r,s; 7:n; 14:s; 15:x,y; 17:d; 19.e; 20 m.
- <sup>71</sup> See Translation below, section 9:r.
- <sup>72</sup> See Translation below, section 12:o
- <sup>73</sup> See Translation below, section 15:c.
- <sup>74</sup> See Translation below, section 17 g,h.
- <sup>75</sup> See Translation below, section 19:e.
- <sup>76</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 161-162.
- <sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 162-163.
- <sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.
- <sup>79</sup> A. J. Mason, trans., *Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius the Egyptian* (London: SPCK, 1921), 13; see also Translation below, section 1.
- <sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 36, 44, 55, 74, 101.
- <sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.
- <sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 229-230.
- <sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.
- <sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.
- <sup>85</sup> Translation below, sections 7, 9 and 11.
- <sup>86</sup> *Homilies*, 195.
- <sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 176
- <sup>88</sup> This tension in Lutheranism is partly due to the unresolved and paradoxical positions of Luther himself, leaving his followers to vacillate between these two streams concerning both doctrine and worship. See Luther's "The German Mass and Order of Service" (1526), trans. by A. Steimle, *Luther's Works* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), Vol. 53, 51-90; see also Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, 208 f., as well as Dale Stoffer, "The Ecclesiology of Gottfried Arnold," *Brethren Life and Thought* 28 (Spring 1983): 91-100.
- <sup>89</sup> *Homilies*, 40.
- <sup>90</sup> Translation below, sections 14 and 15.
- <sup>91</sup> *Homilies*, 56, and Translation below, section 10.
- <sup>92</sup> *Homilies*, 57.
- <sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 240.
- <sup>94</sup> Translation below, section 14.
- <sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.
- <sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 218.
- <sup>98</sup> Translation below, section 17.
- <sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, section 4.

- <sup>86</sup> *Homilies*, 40.
- <sup>87</sup> John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* trans. by F. L. Battles, ed. by John T. McNeil (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), II, 8, 2.
- <sup>88</sup> See Translation below, section 1.
- <sup>89</sup> See Translation below, sections 7, 8.
- <sup>90</sup> See Translation below, section 1.
- <sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>92</sup> See Translation below, section 14.
- <sup>93</sup> See Translation below, section 2.
- <sup>94</sup> See Translation below, section 4.
- <sup>95</sup> See Translation below, section 10.
- <sup>96</sup> See Translation below, section 12.
- <sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>99</sup> See Translation below, section 8.
- <sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>101</sup> See Translation below, sections 13, 14. One cannot but notice how Arnold's views here on prayer and meditation are very close to that of Quietism. For a detailed discussion on the nature of prayer in Quietism, and the movement in general, see Ronald A. Knox, *Enthusiasm* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), 231-355.
- <sup>102</sup> See Translation below, section 18.

## Arnold On Worship

translated from

Arnold, Gottfried. *Die Erste Liebe Das ist: Wahre ABBILDUNG Der Ersten Christen nach ihrem Lebendigen Glauben und Heiligen Leben. ....* N. pl.: Gottlieb Friedeburg, 1696.

## Die Erste Liebe

### “On Worship,” Book II. Chapter 1

#### 1. “concerning worship”

Before we proceed to the parts of worship, there is something about worship, generally, which we ought to ponder. That the Divine does not itself need human service was known even by the heathen from the light of nature; furthermore, everything that they do for God must result in their enrichment.” So this must be even more certain among Christians, especially those who have known that the divine essence is not served by outward splendour and appearance, but with an obedient heart. Enlightened Christians know that one must not serve the true God in a public assembly only, but in all circumstances and at all times, and that this service must proceed from a clean heart, and in deed and truth. “Your reasonable worship must be that you present your bodies as a living, holy and pleasing sacrifice.” Rom. 12:1. “This is pure and spotless worship before God the Father, to visit the orphans and widows in their distress, and is to keep itself unspotted by the world.” James 1:27. “Whoever serves in righteousness peace and joy in the Holy Spirit of Christ is pleasing to God.” Rom. 14:17-18, etc. Therefore the scholars divide **worship** and the nature of it into **two parts** — namely, into the **Blessed teaching, and the execution of good works**. For just as **teaching without good works is not pleasing to God, so works without the blessed teaching would not be blessed by him.**” Thus, all deeds and omissions according to the divine will were, for them, a true worship: as they also taught each other out of God’s Word: “The Creator has given us, for that reason, eyes and ears. in order that all may serve him; that we speak what is his, that we do what belongs to him, that we unceasingly sing praises to him, that we offer him thanks, and also that we cleanse

our conscience. Even tribulations themselves are not sent from God to his servants without reason, but their true love towards their Creator is to be tested and proved.<sup>4</sup> In summary, they [the early Church] recognized **many kinds of worship**, for “the person who prays serves God, he who fasts and pursues God’s Word, similarly he who practises hospitality, he also serves God.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Auto men to Theon anendeos, ai de timou tes hemeteras opheleas heneka ginontou. Salustius Philosophus Lib. de Deo c. XV. p. 101.<sup>1</sup>
- <sup>2</sup> Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus Catech IV. 23.<sup>2</sup>  
Chrysostomus hom. 2. in Matth.<sup>3</sup>
- <sup>4</sup> Basilius M. Epist. 202.<sup>4</sup>
- <sup>5</sup> Theodoretus Comm. ad Rom. 1. 9. <sup>5</sup>

## 2. “it must occur in Spirit, through love in the deed”

So that the deceitful heart, however, does not fall into mere external manifestations in its intended worship, God must be specifically worshiped in the Spirit, according to the words of the Lord, and the examples of their predecessors. Rom. 1:9; Phil. 3:3; 1 Thess. 1:9; etc. Therefore, they explicitly wrote of true worship thus: “Service to God is a continual concern of souls by those who know God, and it is also their continuous endeavour or occupation in God through love which they will never leave. Also, service toward men is in part that which betters them; and partly, therefore, it serves them, “as medicine to the body, so wisdom betters the soul.”<sup>1</sup> Set yourself, therefore, to true worship in true blessedness and love to God and neighbour. Again, it is written: “What is the divine blessedness other than service to God? And how else to serve him than with love? So love is from a pure heart and a good conscience, and an unpretentious faith is the greatest and true virtue, since it [love] is the fulfillment of the Law.”<sup>2</sup> And another has mentioned in accordance with the outward splendour of Jewish worship: “Praise be to the coming of the Lord, that he tore away our souls from this shabby state to the contemplation of heavenly and spiritual things. He has

led us from the worship of the visible to the invisible, from the temporal to the eternal. In this the Lord Jesus Christ commands truthful ears to hear, and eyes to see.”<sup>f</sup> Again, it is written from John 4:23: “Which are the true worshipers? Those who do not confine worship to a certain place, but serve God in spirit, as with Paul, Rom. 1:9. Thus our worship must not be carried out physically in us, but through the soul and in purity.”<sup>g</sup> And from Matt. 23:29: “Does an empty title save anyone in that he belongs to the nation of God [Israel]? Indeed, what help is it to a whore who bears a chaste title? What help is it to a sinner if he calls himself a servant of God? How will you escape Hell if you build a church [*Kirche*], and yet do not have the truth of faith in the community [*Gemeine (sic)*]? Do you not believe what the Bible says? You are called with the name prophets, apostles and martyrs but your works and testimony do not follow.”<sup>h</sup>

### Notes

<sup>f</sup> Clemens Alex. lib. VII. strom. 700.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>g</sup> August. lib. II. de Sent. Jac. ad Hieron. c. 8.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>h</sup> Origenes hom. 23. in Num.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>i</sup> Chrysost. hom. 23. in Joh.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Id. hom. 15 in Matth.<sup>10</sup>

### 3. “the misuse of the Word of God”

[In time] another meaning of the word worship arose which was greatly misused when Christians came to be led astray through outward peace and security by placing their worship, either in whole or in part, in the outward exercises which arose accordingly with the Papacy. Gradually they forgot the true, inner spiritual prayer and liked to regard [outward exercises] as worship wherein they served God rather than man. For example, in the fifteenth century **the Lord’s Supper was already spoken of as a worship without blood**, which expression the papists accordingly took for their Sacrificial Mass.<sup>1</sup> For the sake of the simple people, one should have been more careful, and should not have led them from inner, true service and obedience of faith to the outward. In time, they remained with this misunderstanding,

and furthermore departed from the first purity which the early Christians in their true worship promoted in duty to God, as is described in the preceding book, and was placed next to the practice of prayer, thanksgiving, singing, the Word of God, and the like. According to this common custom the writers of later times thus spoke, "As under Constantine the Great, Eusebius designated **prayer, singing of psalms, reading of Holy Scripture and its explication, as the signs and enjoyment of the mystery.**"<sup>11</sup> This as a matter occurring according to the will of God was held by all as holy." We wish here to view worship first in such a common understanding as it secretly occurred in the community, and to first look at their prayer in the contexts which would be useful to know.

#### Notes

<sup>11</sup> Cyrillus Alex. Epist. ad Nestorium. Conf.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>12</sup> |Eusebius| Lib. IV. Vit. Const. c. 45.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Hesychius lib. VII. in Levit. c. 24.<sup>13</sup>

#### 4. "prayer was held by the first Christians as the highest need, and as the correct offering to the Holy Spirit"

That prayer became regarded among the Christians as highly necessary, no one can doubt who knows of their obedience and the keeping of the clear commands of their teachers. They also taught the wisdom of God which dwelled in them, "that you should not pray alone if something adverse occurs; rather you must always be vigilant in prayer, so that if your souls tire and you would be overcome with evil desires, God hears you and sets you free."<sup>12</sup> Believers can well understand this, for they alone have maintained this also as foreordained that we are to call upon the Lord in spirit and in truth. In their conversion, according to a realization of their sins, they must humble themselves in supplication and sighs before God, and God will not despise their troubled souls. If anyone remains continuously in conscious sin and is thus damned in his heart, he cannot have any **joy for God** because he has not kept God's commandments. Therefore, Paul wishes that we **lift up holy hands.** I Tim. 2:8. In this the children of truth also have followed

faithfully, and by this they have glorified themselves before enemies, **for they were God's servants and they received from him that which they had hoped.** "I praise him alone" said Tertullian, "if I die on account of His teachings, and bring to him a far deeper and more beautiful sacrifice, namely a prayer in a pure body from a spotless soul, and that the Holy Spirit works in me: indeed, not for two pennies worth of incense, or several drops of wine, and also not from an impure conscience."<sup>14</sup> Concerning this he also appropriately spoke: "Prayer must be connected with the remembrance of God's commands: thereby we are not to be further from God's ears than from his commandments. In this, prayer opens the way to heaven. For it can indeed be impossible to discern an impure spirit from the Holy Spirit, a sad from a happy spirit, a captive from a free one. Indeed no one accepts his enemy, or regards another as his equal. Was not the custom of washed hands but filthy spirits praying? Because of this the hands must also be spiritually cleansed as from falsehood, murder, cruelty, witchcraft, and other blemishes which had taken root in the soul earlier and were carried out by the hands. This is the true purity."<sup>15</sup> See Is. 1:15-16; Psl. 50: 16-17; Proverbs 27:9. And with this he Tertullian shamed those who by chance desired to be devoted to a heathen custom: but they should have considered whether they were able to use the hands to that end, lifting them up to God.<sup>16</sup> Elsewhere he thus concluded: "The apostle had recommended to us the prayer to holiness, and said, one must always do this [pray], which is always to his profit. Just as prayer is daily necessary for man, indeed in every moment, so also is keeping the commandments, which belongs to prayer. Indeed, prayer must flow out from the heart. Just as the heart is ashamed of sin, so the act of prayer is ashamed of it. The spirit brings prayer to God. Is the spirit now guilty of sins thus shaming the conscience, then where should it be allowed to bring the prayer before the altar of God?"<sup>17</sup>

## Notes

<sup>14</sup> Hilarius in Ps. 63.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>15</sup> [Tertullian] Apol. c. 28.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>16</sup> [Tertullian] Lib. de Orat. c. 9.<sup>16</sup>



\* [Tertullian] Lib. de Spectac. c. 24.<sup>17</sup>

\* [Tertullian] Exhort. ad Castit. c. 10.<sup>18</sup>

### 5. "from a pure heart"

This was their constant opinion which they testified to with many words and deeds. Their entire, blameless way of life pertained to this, as we have partly seen in the first book. To those I offer some testimonies and admonitions concerning this matter: "Prayer has no effect when he who prays persists in rebellious sin, even if he prays long.<sup>19</sup> A sinner complains only more with the burden of his wickedness when he boldly stretches out his godless hands to heaven, and directs his prayer to God from a defiled and slanderous mouth, as though he were conscious of nothing ill toward Him. For such a one thereby shames God in the way he has regarded Him. Therefore he who wants to lift up holy hands to God must regard Him well and be certain of his innocence." One must guard oneself from all sinful hindrances, hate all evil inclinations, worldly lusts, evil and vain thoughts, and be continually devoted to Him alone; thus he will profit.<sup>20</sup> But he who has no faith or love is thereby not troubled, and has no faith or confidence before God in his prayer and in the act itself, for he does not know himself nor is he aware that he is in need, and is not able to receive [anything<sup>21</sup> from God." No one will hear if he prays with fear and doubt in his heart, but he will hear if he raises pure hands to God.<sup>22</sup> Thus faith must cry out in prayer, and so must the deeds, desires, suffering, and blood cry out. For the thoughts also cry out before God."<sup>23</sup> The following confession shows that they genuinely believed and knew this:<sup>24</sup>

We know Christ only by faith  
 And when we appear before God,  
 So the purity and the simplicity of the Dove  
 Takes hold of our mind:  
 There he learns to sing sweet songs,  
 There the pious mouth invites Him:  
 If we struggle before Him with tears,  
 At once the heart and knee bend,

Then the Father cannot refuse relief  
For the crying and lamenting.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Chrysost. in Esai. l.<sup>1</sup>
- <sup>2</sup> August. de Vita Christ. c. 11.<sup>21</sup>
- <sup>3</sup> Macarius hom. 4.<sup>21</sup>
- <sup>4</sup> *Macarius*<sup>1</sup> Id. hom. 19.<sup>22</sup>
- <sup>5</sup> Chrysost. hom. 3. in I. Tim.<sup>23</sup>
- <sup>6</sup> Ambros. lib. I. de Cain & Abel c. 9.<sup>24</sup>
- <sup>7</sup> Prudentius Cathem. hymn. matut.<sup>25</sup>

### 6. "They often came together for prayer"

It can be demonstrated that, hereafter, the custom arose that one would not pray with manifest sinners, but as with all the best customs, this developed into great misuse. But those who were faithful and blessed kept themselves in constant prayer before all things, and held on to the inestimable promise of the Lord. **Where two among you become as one on the earth, whatever it is they wish to ask for, it will be given to them by my Father in heaven.** Matt. 18:19. How zealously the first Christians remained in prayer with one another! How they lifted up their voices unanimously to God! Acts 4:24; 2:42; 6:4. They went out with one another to assemble for prayer. Acts 16:16., and where they had occasion to call upon the Lord, there they did so. Paul knelt down with everyone at Ephesus and prayed, Acts 20:36, on the shore under open sky, Acts 21:5, etc. Moreover, later Christians have still maintained this with exactness, and one wrote, "We assemble to praise our God, that with joint hand we overcome and experience victory through our requests and supplications to Him, and this power is pleasing to God." [sic] And another person in the same sense says: "On Sunday they all assembled together. After prayer we all rise and pour out our requests before God." One should hear the voices of the praying people, and examine how the devout assembly responded during the discussion of the mysteries. The people rose in the night before the dawn in

their bedroom, and in sorrow confessed with uninterrupted tears before God; finally they rose from prayer, and left to the singing of Psalms.”<sup>f</sup> I will not cite further examples which are almost countless, and here and there they will come up. Yet to mention only a few, think of the story of the Roman martyrs, when the Christians were not safe anywhere amidst the burnings, and endured secretly under one named Castulo, who lived in the palace of the Caesars. **There they all worshiped with groanings, prayer and fasting day and night before God: thereby they were of a worthy confession.**<sup>g</sup> Whereby they also reprimanded one who had avoided prayer and fasting. Dionysius thought of one, named Narcissus, **who along with him was concerned about the condition of fellowship in prayer.**<sup>h</sup> They also had this custom that when one approached the other, **they invited and admonished one another to prayer after the kiss.**<sup>i</sup> They maintained this admonishment with one another in writing and in speech, as Ignatius showed in his letter to those in Magnesia: “Assemble together for the purpose of prayer; it is to be one prayer, one mind, one hope in untainted love and joy, for Christ is one, over which nothing is more precious.” And Clement to those in Rome: “Let us be gathered together in unity, partaking in His great promise, and cry to Him passionately and fervently with one mouth.” Another wrote similarly: “Indeed one can pray alone, but not in the fellowship where the cries are sent to God unanimously. You will not be heard if you pray alone for yourself, than if you pray with your brother. For there is yet more, namely, harmony and agreement, and the bond of peace, etc.<sup>k</sup> The Lord has promised to give everything and in full whatever the unity of prayer will demand. Matt. 18:19. Thus the agreement of prayer accomplishes much!”<sup>l</sup> But there is more concerning this in Book III, chapter two.

## Notes

- <sup>f</sup> Vid. Concil. Laodic. Gregor. Neo-Cesar. Epist. Can. c. 1.7.& 8. de poenitentibus. Concil, Nicaenum I. c. 13. Ancyranum c. 4. & aliae Graecorum constitutiones ap. Blasterem lit. M. Syntag. c. 6. Hæmemopolum Sect. V. Epit. Can. tit. 3. & c.<sup>26</sup>

- <sup>d</sup> Tertullian. c. 39. Apol.<sup>27</sup>
- <sup>d</sup> [sic] Justinus Apol. II. fine, itemque Arnobius lib. adv. Gent. <sup>28</sup>  
Hilarius in Ps. 65.<sup>29</sup>
- <sup>e</sup> Basil. M. Epist. 63. ad Caesar.<sup>30</sup>
- <sup>f</sup> Apud Baronium A. CCXXCVI. n. 10.<sup>31</sup>
- <sup>g</sup> Eusebius lib. VI. c. 10 H. E.<sup>32</sup>
- <sup>h</sup> Sulpitius Severus dial. 1. 262.<sup>33</sup>
- <sup>i</sup> Chrysost. hom. 73. ad Antioch.<sup>34</sup>
- <sup>j</sup> Petrus Chrysologus serm. 132.<sup>35</sup>

### 7. "of which they were filled with divine power and joy"

Some will want to know from where they learned or obtained such prayer. They need to remember the valuable assurance of God, that He desires to give to all His children the spirit of grace and prayer. Rom. 8:15, 26; Gal. 4:6. This was not only for the apostles and disciples, but also for the succeeding children of God. Therefore they said: "they prayed without inciter or reciter, because they prayed from the heart, from a spotless soul and, indeed, the prayer of the Holy Spirit worked in them."<sup>36</sup> Of this one very thoughtfully spoke out of experience: "For the desire to pray was not sought for by us, rather it was given to us, coming somewhat promptly into the heart; thereby the desire for prayer became awakened with inexpressible sighs. So prayer must not be shoved aside. It meets man as he wills."<sup>37</sup> And again another has said: "We must pray to God, not according to the natural custom, or according to the manner of crying out or keeping silent; rather, we are to have regard for a diligent heart, to wait on God till He comes and searches the soul in all its ways, and thus instructs us if we ought to speak or be silent. The heart must be attached only to God." So then, when one begins to submit himself before God, the heart is filled with divine power, and the soul rejoices with the Lord as a bride with the bridegroom.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, when evil thoughts previously troubled one, the Holy Spirit was so allured to us that they were not able to remain in His presence.<sup>39</sup>

### Notes

<sup>36</sup> Tertull. Apol. c. 28.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Augustin. II. ad Simplician. qu. 4.<sup>37</sup>

Macar. hom. 33. <sup>38</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Id. hom. 3.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Isidor. Hispal. lib. III. de Summo bono c. 7.<sup>40</sup>

## 8. "through faith"

But when the Spirit Himself performs the prayer in the soul, how should this not occur but in faith and truth, especially since the Lord has set before them this sole condition — **"only believe!"** ? Mark 11:24; Jam. 1:6. Thus your confidence must be founded upon His word. Ps. 27:8. **Your faith and desire must cry out to Him.**<sup>37</sup> For the loving God needs no outward cry; rather, the correct cry is confidence in God.<sup>38</sup> It must **take place without timidity or shame, in all confidence, and as it were, with a holy boldness, as a child trusts his father.** Lu. 11:8-9.<sup>39</sup> "But if faith is lacking, prayer too will be lacking. For who would want to pray if he has not believed? Faith is the fountain of prayer, but where the source has dried up, the stream cannot flow. How will they call on Him in whom they have not believed? [Rom. 10:14] Therefore he who wishes to pray must believe, and pray that his faith will not cease for that which he prays. Faith pours out in prayer, and the accomplished prayer receives the strength of faith."<sup>40</sup> A timid prayer does not penetrate heaven because excessive fear holds back prayer so that it cannot proceed. But a believing and humble supplication passes through the clouds, and certainly does not return empty.<sup>39</sup> Whoever does not pray with authority will not enter the kingdom of heaven. He who does not knock with boldness will not receive bread.<sup>40</sup> If a soul is in itself unworthy, it must not become weary or doubting in prayer, but draw near to God with frankness knowing that the request is already sufficient with God Himself, namely, because of His mercy.<sup>38</sup> The Father is merciful and faithful to <sup>39</sup> who fear Him and come to Him with a pure heart and simplicity. To those He gives <sup>39</sup> His grace richly."<sup>40</sup> For such a faith Clement praised the Corinthians, "that they stretched out their hands to the almighty God with a holy and devout confidence, and called upon His goodness."<sup>40</sup> Thus another example.

But this faith must be justified by Christ alone, and in His name make your requests according to the word of the Lord. Job 16:23-24; II Cor. 1:20. For "prayer which is not carried out in this way not only fails to achieve grace, but becomes in itself sin. And to those who remained in the darkness of their sins, the sun of righteousness was not revealed, and they were not able to see the Father in faith.<sup>1</sup>

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Ambros l. c.<sup>41</sup>
- <sup>2</sup> Asterius hom. 4. in Ps. 5 ap. Cotelrium Tom. II. Mon. Gr. 36.<sup>42</sup>
- <sup>3</sup> Macarius hom. 4.<sup>43</sup>
- <sup>4</sup> Augustinus Serm. 6 de Verb. Dom.<sup>44</sup>
- <sup>5</sup> Bernhard, Serm. 4. de Orat. & Jejun.<sup>45</sup>
- <sup>6</sup> Hieronym. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch.<sup>46</sup>
- <sup>7</sup> Chrysost. hom. de Profectu Evan.<sup>47</sup>
- <sup>8</sup> Clemens Epist. 32.<sup>48</sup>
- <sup>9</sup> Ib. 4.<sup>49</sup>
- <sup>10</sup> Prosper in Ps. 108.<sup>50</sup>
- <sup>11</sup> Macar. hom. 28.<sup>51</sup>

### 9. "they humbled themselves before God out of a living knowledge of the majesty of God"

Such a confidence they had in God, and they conducted themselves in confidence, and on their honour, and in humble perception they, like Abraham, held their unworthiness before the glorious God as but dust and ashes. Gen. 18:27. Therefore they cautioned one another: "See to it that you do not exalt yourself in prayer, for it is the prayer of humility which penetrates the clouds." If you desire to ascend to a high esteem of yourself in prayer so that you do not seek the blessing in humility but in the merit of your own confidence, remember that the receptive grace indeed gives confidence to praying, but no one must be set on obtaining confidence. Rather, the result of these previously offered gifts is this — one hopes to receive yet more from the mercy which gave the gifts.<sup>1</sup> Whereas, the one who prays to God

alone in truth is he who rightly perceives himself in humility that he is dust, attributing to himself no power, and all the good that he does leads back to the mercy of his creator.' Such a prayer is then strong which occurs in modesty of spirit, and from a broken heart. Ps. 51.<sup>h</sup> Granted also that as much as possible one shows God obedience, so the spirit of God can make him to be humble of heart and poor in spirit."<sup>l</sup> Thus they demanded inner humility and discipline for true worship, rather than the outward. "that, as was possible, they all poured out their prayer before God with right preparation, reverent silence, and a pure heart and soul.<sup>k</sup> Their speaking in prayer was also to occur with discipline, and in contemplation, so that they stood before God's eyes in such a way that they would neither enrage [Him] with their external behaviour nor with the manner of their prayer '<sup>l</sup> From here they saw that it was better if they could say little in prayer, and their desire remained fervent."<sup>m</sup> Thus a desiring soul prayed as if having already received, and stood before the face of the majesty and the throne of God, where a thousand times a thousand served Him, and ten times one hundred thousand stand before Him. So they prayed correctly if they thought of nothing else. " They were completely devoted to their Lord in that place where they conducted themselves in their thoughts, and there poured out their prayer, and placed their desire into the love of God."<sup>n</sup> Although this did not occur universally and at all times, yet the wisdom of God ruled them with favour as it was advantageous to man. Occasionally they were inflamed passionately, other times mildly, according to the way the light became more kindled and shining, or weaker.<sup>o</sup> Meanwhile they still manifested the power of prayer for the time in an evidently glorious fashion as there was need. Thus, Polycarp, now close to being God's martyr, prayed before them all, **so that those who were present hearing him were completely taken beyond themselves.**<sup>l</sup> People have said that as he threw himself to the ground, he prayed passionately and those standing around him thought to themselves, **Oh Lord, what prayer of yours will you grant if you do not grant this one? Then as he had thereby become settled, lacking nothing more, he breathe<sup>d</sup> his last in prayer.**<sup>r</sup>

## Notes

- Ambros. l. c.<sup>72</sup>
- Bernhard. Serm. 5. in Cap. Jejun.<sup>52</sup>
- Gregor. M. lib. II. Expos. Moral. c. 27.<sup>74</sup>
- Chrysost. hom. 15. in Matth.<sup>77</sup>
- Cyrillus Alex. in Sophon. n. 34.<sup>79</sup>
- Clemens Alex. lib. III Paedag. c. 11.<sup>77</sup>
- Cyprianus de Orat. Dom. c. 5.<sup>78</sup>
- August. Epist. 121.<sup>79</sup>
- Bernhard. de interna Domo c. 48.<sup>80</sup>
- Macarius hom. 4.<sup>61</sup>
- Id. hom. 8.<sup>62</sup>
- Euseb. H.E. lib. IV. c. 15.<sup>6</sup>
- Augustin. lib. XXII. de Civ. Dei c. 6.<sup>64</sup>

### 10. “they unceasingly fought all improper thoughts”

Now there arose from the corruptions which yet remained, that they were not always able to be free of all useless or evil thoughts in prayer, but occasionally lamented over it.<sup>7</sup> Yet in this they abandoned themselves to the love of the Father, who always has given more grace to those that have worshiped Him in spirit and truth. John 4:24. They also did not cease to admonish one another. “so that in prayer the heart should be free of all disturbances, and its intention would be that it would flow out of such a spirit which would be similar to the spirit toward which it was sent.<sup>7</sup> As with the body when it has laboured, and all its members thereby help one another so that the complete work is accomplished, so the soul must be nurtured in the Lord in supplication and love so that the thoughts do not flutter about, and hope must be founded in Christ. Then it will shine forth and learn the true manner of praying, and present a pure, spiritual and decent prayer to God.” Therefore, they did not hold on to the devotion by lawful force alone, but they reminded one another of the grace of Christ and the rest of the means for true worship. For example, they gave the following counsel: “If



you come for prayer, examine your heart and mind, and desire to send a pure prayer to God. See if there is by chance anything hindering you, and if your heart is occupied with the Lord only: even as the heart of the farmer is for the farm, or as the heart of the wife is for the husband. Likewise, see if there are other things scattering your thoughts.<sup>65</sup> Thereupon discern well the outward, foreign thoughts which to you were reviled by your enemies. But do not rely upon your own power, for very little is resolved by an outward groaning: but resolve your inward struggle through your devotion until you attain what you desire. In other words, repel the rising thoughts and you will be able to love according to the Lord's will.<sup>66</sup> To this belongs a simple desire in which one must stand before God so that the heart will not be taken in by carelessness or anxiety over temporal things, from which no pure desire can be directed to God.<sup>67</sup> But it is necessary to mention that the flesh is to be crucified, and the unreasonable lusts are to be abolished.<sup>68</sup> Whoever thus lives soberly can stand before God, continually before His eyes, soon being able to recognize and resist evil thoughts, not with words alone, but with words from the heart coming before God as well.<sup>69</sup>

### Notes

- <sup>65</sup> Vid. Chrysost. hom. 12(?) in lib. divers. homil. Augustin. lib. X Confess. c. 35. Hilarius in Ps. 136. Evagrius Scitensis in Monach. n. 12(?) ap. Cotelerium Tom. III. 125. Mon. Gr.<sup>65</sup>
- <sup>66</sup> Tertullian. c. 9 de Orat.<sup>66</sup>
- <sup>67</sup> Macarius hom. 33. init.<sup>67</sup>
- <sup>68</sup> Id. hom. 15.<sup>68</sup>
- <sup>69</sup> Id. hom. 6.<sup>69</sup>
- <sup>70</sup> Cyprianus de Orat. Dom. c. 6. <sup>70</sup>
- <sup>71</sup> Chrysost. hom. 32. in Joh.<sup>71</sup>
- <sup>72</sup> Id. hom. 30. in Gen.<sup>72</sup>

### 11. "to pray in Spirit and Truth"

People look upon these and similar situations, particularly how they [the early Christians] pressed toward the inner prayer of the heart, desiring always

to pray in Spirit and in Truth. "They sought God in the innermost hidden part of their souls which they called the inner man, and in this manner they prayed to Him as in His temple wherein Christ dwells. Therefore when they prayed they did not hold it necessary to speak with loud words, except when they were to hear the other and thereby join in. For as the greatest teacher had taught the disciples to pray with few words, so He had instructed them how they were to speak in prayer: They held this to be the best and foremost achievement: to still the noise outside, and proceed into the innermost, secret chamber and room of the heart wherein to call upon God where no one has seen another groaning and crying. One needs to lock up this closet, to humble oneself again in every outward displeasure, and glorify and praise God who admonishes and instructs the soul."<sup>4</sup> Examine also some of Christ's words in Matt. 6:6: **The closet is the deep place of the heart, the door** of which David said, "**Lord, guard r y mouth, and watch over my lips.**" Ps. 141:3. They also called this the cry from the heart, as we have previously noticed in chapter eight, and they expounded with the following image: Many, when they came before the judge to make requests to him, did not know how to express their concern with numerous words, or to bring it forward in an articulate and splendid way; but they resigned themselves to the judge who knows such matters better than they. Thereupon they prayed that he would not look upon their pitiful words, but deal with them according to his wisdom, and of the matter at hand. Thus when one speaks to God one should pray that God not look upon one's pitiful words, but that God Himself would read in one's heart what one lacks in words since one is not able to express all things.<sup>5</sup> For they did not know how to pray, either from their poverty of spirit, or because of the greatness of concern which they wanted to request. Thereby resign yourself, **for the Spirit intercedes with inexpressible groanings, and compensates for ignorance through the power of the secret wisdom.**<sup>6</sup> [Rom. 8:26] Through the Spirit's pleading they were brought to a higher manner of prayer, which they thus described: "It is a passionate and little known prayer, indeed an inexpressible prayer at the higher level which exceeds all human understanding, having occurred without

words or speech, but rather in the soul which has been enlightened through the heavenly radiance, with unified minds as an overflowing well abundantly poured out before the Lord. For this reason they brought forth in a moment so many great things which the heart can neither understand nor express when it returns to itself.<sup>73</sup> This type of prayer is perceived without an image of power or words, but through the passionate desire of the heart in an inexpressible rapture of the soul, uttered by the unthinkable swiftness of the spirit, and beyond all physical sense and visible matter is poured out to God with inexpressible groanings.<sup>74</sup>

### Notes

<sup>73</sup> Augustin. lib. de Magistro.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Id. Ps. 34.<sup>74</sup>

Ambros. l. c.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Asterius hom. 2. in Ps. 5 ap. Cotelerium Tom. II. Mon. Gr. 16.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Hilarius in Ps. 142.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Cassianus Collat. IX. c. 25.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Id. Collat. X. c. 11.<sup>79</sup>

### 12. "particularly in the heart"

The question here is whether they utilized a certain formulae of prayer, and whether they were bound to this or allowed themselves to be bound by other formulae. Concerning this we know that they valued highly the Lord's Prayer which was revealed by the Lord Jesus Christ, and was diligently employed and expounded among them. <sup>80</sup> What is more is that they especially referred to it as **the prayer**.<sup>81</sup> Moreover it was called **the prayer of the faithful taught by God**,<sup>82</sup> **an outpouring of the Gospel**,<sup>83</sup>, etc. It also was used daily by them, and therefore was given the name **the daily prayer**.<sup>84</sup> This, along with the singing of psalms, was the custom among the early Christians as each could make use according to the guidance and impulse of God. Nevertheless, no one among them was to use this or another formula alone, as though they were not able to pray from the heart. Concerning the Lord's Prayer, Tertullian thus concluded: "Only God can teach

us how He should be worshiped. This service was foreordained by Him, which was then already quickened through His spirit, when it was brought forth by His divine mouth, ascending to heaven, as it were, with a special privilege *Privilegium* and commending those to the Father whom the Son has taught. For the Lord has understood the human necessities of life in particular He adds to this famous prayer formula, 'Ask, and you will receive', for there are yet many things which must be requested according to the need of each person. After this set prayer one also has the right to add personal requests." Since we saw that apart from the Lord's Prayer, they also made use of other sorts of prayer which he also indicates elsewhere when he recounts **that Christians were accustomed to pray without cantor or prompter because they prayed from the heart.** These words Francis Zephyrus himself explains as follows: "We do not repeat the prayer which the priest has recited to us; rather we pray out of the ground of our soul and spirit with sighs and groanings." But Justin, when he told of their meetings, adds: "The leader of the service performed the prayer and returning of thanks to the best of his ability, after which the people affirmed it with an 'amen'." Stronger indications than this custom we do not find often with the early Christians. Rather, great indications of the freedom of the Spirit in this realm can be found in particular with those who had advanced further in Christian doctrine, and were not forced to accept any specific formula nor would wish to force one on others. This may also be seen from the circumstance that no other prayer than the Lord's Prayer was presented to the catechumens shortly before baptism, but that these together with the others were taught to call upon the Father Himself. As a consequence one can find no such written prayers or prayer books among them, until that time when the level of purity had already begun to decline. For Constantine the Great prescribed to those who were yet heathen soldiers a special prayer formula, whereby they were to pray for the welfare of the emperor, the empire and the army. Under such conditions one can easily judge what was the profit or motive for such circumstances. Up to, and during the time of Eusebius, the learned reader can also find this. In addition it was made a law and ordered at the councils, that "only the prayers which were sanctioned by the

synod were to be read before the altar.”<sup>10</sup> Finally, the common prayers and formulae multiplied to such an extent that under such mixed-up conditions each bishop prescribed formulae for his church according to his own will. They did this whenever some great calamity or other strange things came about. Nevertheless, I cannot dwell further on this but must proceed to more necessary things.<sup>11</sup>

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Cypriani. <sup>20</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Cyrillus Alex. in Es. 49.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Cyrillus Hierosolym. Catech. IV. Neophot. & Chrysost. hom. 10. in Coloss.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Tertullian lib. de Orat. c. 1. & Chromatius in Matth. V. Tom. II. Biblioth. PP.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Hieronym. Epist. 39. Augustin. Enchir. ad Laur. Concilium Toletanum IV. c. 9. <sup>24</sup>

<sup>6</sup> de Orat. c. 9.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Apol. c. 28.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Apol. II. 98.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Theodoretus Epit. Div. Decret. c. 28. <sup>28</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Lib. IV. Vit. Const. M. c. 19.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Concil. Carthagin. c. 106. in Synodic. Gr.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Ita Gregorius Turonensis memorat rogationes ante Ascensionis Domini triumphum celebratas, a Mamercio Episcopo institutas, dum urb? multis tereretur prodigiis; quae procul dubio litanis & precibus siebant. Sidonius Apollinaris lib. VII. Ep. 1. adversus Gothos talia instituta narrat.<sup>31</sup>

### 13. “more through the awakening of the soul than with many words”

Without doubt, the prayer ordered by Christ, which is to occur in Spirit and Truth, was laid in the hearts of righteous Christians. Therefore they rightly enjoined that one pray often, “persistently knocking at God’s door

with a lasting and holy awakening of the soul, because this work generally occurs more with sighs than speech, more with weeping than expression, for the Lord created all things through the Word, and thus He seeks no human words." ' Whoever has wished to bind the power of the Holy Spirit and His pleasure, has been accurately depicted: "He soon broke forth in the lament of sorrow, in sighs and swallows of pain, in prompt screams and cries of terror. Can anyone then carry out the practice or sense or sensibleness of what has gone before? Thus, they did not regard the burning and fervent love, particularly the Divine, if they could no longer maintain law and order, or speak out with an economy of words, or when they did not face some need. At times they desired no words, at times no sound, and were content with sighs. Who should require a well-fixed oration or solemn words? How can one prescribe such movements by rule and law? There is here no moderation, no established order, for it breaks out on its own from the innermost source of the heart if one wants it or does not know about it." - Even so, they set aside questions of shortness or length of prayer and gave it over to every judgment and freedom, and noted as well that the Lord had been opposed to the Pharisees because they insisted on praying for a long period of time. Matt. 23:14. Therefore, some have suggested that it is better to pray often and short, than long and with displeasure, and with the risk of all sorts of temptations in prayer." But usually they recognized that babbling in prayer should be set aside since that really indicates only a necessary matter with superfluous words. On the other hand, to pray much means to hang on in the presence of God with a long-awakened heart. Thus it was done, in particular by those who lived in captivity in Egypt: "They prayed often and short, as it were, and with sincere, extemporaneous prayers; thereby their devotion and attention did not pass away as a result of lengthiness." They well knew that the Lord Himself had persevered in whole nights of prayer, but they made a distinction between the words, and the desire and devotion of the heart, which they always freely wished to keep. This the Father in heaven has known indeed, and thus did not permit words as foremost,' which the heathen also were able to do as well. Matt. 6:7-8.

## Notes

" Augustin. lib. de Orando Deo ad Probam c. 10.<sup>6</sup>-

Bernhard. serm. 67. in Cant.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cossianus Collat. X. c. 35.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>9</sup> August. l. c.

Chrysost. Homil. Divers. hom. 12. "

<sup>1</sup> Chrysost. l. c. "

#### 14. "how they prayed aloud"

Nevertheless, they also supported vocal prayers in contrast to what they sometimes zealously sought for, since they observed that [formal prayers] were for some a glory, if for others a hindrance (see chapter eleven). Thus they regarded it as good if they themselves or another arose to pray with a sincere voice. They prescribed to no one the formalities and postures of the body when in prayer, but surrendered to the working of grace genuinely in each one according to the teaching of divine Scriptures. As they thus explicitly declared: "If the urge to pray is not sought but is given into one's heart, it may not be put off no matter what the situation at that moment might be. You must not let anything delay it. For the intention of the heart causes concern, and often individuals do not know what position their body is in. It was not prescribed to us how the body should be positioned for prayer, if only the heart is first always directed to His purpose. So let us be quick to stand in prayer as the publican, and let us be quick to be seated as with David and Elijah. And if we dare not pray when lying down it would not have been written: I cast about in my bed during the night."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, they knew right well that the stirrings of the heart for the most time would be accustomed to lead the body to one or another position without their seeking or without compulsion. **The outward gestures were always a sign and also a result of the inward.**<sup>2</sup> if no hypocrisy was mixed with it. Thus they described their gestures as they and others had observed them: "Many pray in such a way as to cast themselves to the ground and lay their head on it, spilling out passionate tears, sighing deeply inwardly, stretching out their hands, and moreover testified to much diligence in this."<sup>3</sup> The prayers performed it with their bodies, as it suits supplication and prostration,

that one bend the knee, stretch out the hands, fall to the ground, and visibly perform all sorts of things, but God acknowledged their desire and intention. He needs no sign, for the human heart is revealed to Him, but each man would for this reason encourage himself to pray and sigh humbly and fervently.”<sup>1</sup> With these general testimonies I will remain satisfied, and not go through all the particular customs which arose either out of superstition or other useless intentions in later times when one fell into external practice. There are such things already written most precisely by many others, and here they serve few results. Yet there is one other thing to ponder, that men prayed **with uncovered heads**, as they explicitly confessed, and that they did so **because they were not ashamed**.<sup>2</sup> But the wives prayed with covered heads according to the instruction of the apostle, I Cor. 11:14. Concerning this someone has written a whole book,<sup>3</sup> and reintroduced this custom. They prayed also **with outstretched hands**, which were **innocent**, as they praised God before their enemies,” who, when they saw this, ridiculed the poor Christians and said that **they counted the clouds while in prayer**.” Paul wished that at the very beginning pure hands be lifted up, I Tim. 2:8, which his successors also impressed upon their followers, and the superstition of hand-washing before prayer arose from this<sup>4</sup> having been brought into the fellowship by the Jews and heathen.<sup>5</sup> But what the raising of hands should mean they pointed out to those that were ignorant, namely, “because the hands perform many evil deeds, they must be raised so that they might retire from the service of wickedness to the service of prayer; thereby they do not shame themselves, and freedom is not robbed through sins.”<sup>6</sup> The words of Tertullian show us that this generally happened in the form of a cross,<sup>7</sup> which we already have heard from another: “Our outstretched hands are a sign of the crucified Saviour. It is good that every pray-er should do this, although not to imitate a pattern, but rather for the act itself, and out of love for his Saviour. For as one who is crucified certainly dies, everyone who prays should put to death the lusts of the flesh and every disorderly desire.”<sup>8</sup> And yet another: “We should pray with raised hands; thereby we demonstrate the suffering of the Lord also in the gestures of our limbs.”<sup>9</sup>

## Notes



- † Augustin. ll. ad Simplic. qu. IV.<sup>98</sup>
- † Eucherius Comm. lib. II. in Reg. c. 48.<sup>99</sup>
- † Chrysost. hom. 52. in Joh.<sup>100</sup>
- † Id. hom. 68. Tom. VI. Opp.<sup>101</sup>
- † August. de Cura pro Mort. c. 5.<sup>102</sup>
- † Tertull. c. 28. Apol.<sup>103</sup>
- † Lib. de Vel. Virg.<sup>104</sup>
- † Ib. c. 28.<sup>105</sup>
- † Ib. c. 24.<sup>106</sup>
- † Clemens Rom. ad Cor. 32. Clemens Alex. Str. VI. 670. Chrysost. hom. 6. in I Tim. & alibi.<sup>107</sup>
- † Tertull. de Orat. c. 11. Cyrillus Hierosol. Catech. V. musag. Chrysost. hom. 43. in I Cor. & hom. 6. in I Tim.<sup>108</sup>
- † De Romanis testantur Plutarchus in Marii Vita aliique, de Judaeis Pocokius Not. ad Portani Mosis c. 9. 388.<sup>109</sup>
- † Chrysost. in Ps. 141.<sup>110</sup>
- † Tertull. Apol. c. 39. de Orat. c. 11.<sup>111</sup>
- † Asterius hom. de P ec. ap. Photium Cod. 271.<sup>112</sup>
- † Maximus Taurinensis hom. 2. de Cruce & Sepult. Dom. Exempla habent Constantini quidem Eusebius lib. IV. Vit. Const. c. 15. aliorum ex imaginibus Arirgus lib. VI. Rom. Subterran. c. 20.<sup>113</sup>

## 15. "particularly with the bending of the knee"

In particular, **kneeling** in prayer was generally common, and indeed according to the examples of the New Testament Scriptures, Matt. 17:14; Mk. 1:40; Lu. 5:8; and of the Saviour Himself, Lu. 22:41,45; the apostle and disciples, Acts 7:59,60; 9:40; 20:36; 21:5; Eph. 3:14. Thus it was said of the martyrs that in their trouble they **knelt on the ground**, according to **the customary and usual manner of Christ**,<sup>†</sup> Concerning this another also writes that **because of their kneeling and fasting the drought was driven away** (through the rain).<sup>†</sup> Moreover, this custom was very often reflected upon. Again others say: "When we pray, we bend the knee in prayer and turn ourselves away from all regions of the world toward the

east. When we bend the knee, and again rise, we truly show that through sins we have fallen to the earth, and through the goodness of the Creator we will be called into heaven.” The ancients very often demonstrated this as significant of **humility**, as well as a **zealous and earnest adoration of God**. They did not do this alone in secret, for they were not ashamed to do this openly, to fall down before the highest Majesty, and, as it were, lie there in the dust, without distinction of rank or sex. For that purpose a faithful teacher admonished his church, when without doubt there was a desire to cease this practice: “I ask and admonish you, dearest brothers, that as often as you pray, you not only faithfully bow in the heart, but also in the body. For I notice when the deacon calls out, ‘Let us kneel’, most people stand erect as pillars, to which those Christians neither stand up nor follow while having prayed in church.” So they did this secretly when they prayed alone, as we read from James the Just, that he continually prayed on his knees, and what is more, he lost all feelings in his knees from the unceasing prostration. We know of almost the same thing concerning Martin, as well as many others, who either merely bowed the knee in prayer or the entire body and had lain prostrate on the earth. Moreover, as a pious teacher admonishes his people with good intention “that whoever does not kneel because of frailty or cannot bow the whole body and back, should however at least bend and bow the head or neck.” Concerning Simon Stylites it has been written that now and then he lay in prayer through the entire night, having thus bowed himself so that he was able to touch his feet with his head. But that afterwards much frailty and superstition was mixed in with such outward manifestation is not denied; not only was heresy made from this if some did not kneel in prayer, but stood erect, but in popery the practice quickly grew to misuse because of the coercion and intent for merit. It is hard to understand why among others the ungodly priests had observed the poor Waldensians and condemned them as heretical, because “they knelt on the earth, and indeed some directed themselves onto a bench, and persevered so long in prayer that they could recite up to thirty or forty Lord’s Prayers; and they did this all day, when they were with their adherents, before and after meals, in the night, and early, and several times through the day.” And more of such heretical characteristics were recounted of the Baalites.

## Notes

- ' Euseb. lib. V.H.E. c. 5.<sup>114</sup>
- " Tertull. ad Scap. c. 4.<sup>115</sup>  
Lib. de Cer. Mil. c. 3. lib adv. Jud. c. 10. & lib. Ill. adv. Marc. c. 18.  
Origenes hom. 5. in Num.<sup>116</sup>
- " Basil. M. de Spir. S. c. 27.<sup>117</sup>
- ' Eucherius lib. II. in Reg. c. 58. Anshelmus in Epist. ad Ephes. c. 3. & c.<sup>118</sup>  
Chrysost. hom. 32. in I Cor.<sup>119</sup>
- ' Caesarius Areiatensis hom. 34.<sup>120</sup>  
Euseb. l. c. 23. H.E.<sup>121</sup>
- ' Sulpitius Severus Vita Mar. n. 15.<sup>122</sup>
- " De Carthaginensibus vid. Augustin. XXII. de Civi Dei c. 6.<sup>123</sup>
- " Caesarius serm. 285 in Append. noviss. Augustini.<sup>124</sup>
- ' Theodoretus in Vitis Pat. <sup>125</sup>
- ' Damascenus de Haeresibus n. 91. ap. Cotelerium To. I. Mon. Gr. 323.<sup>126</sup>
- ' Ex vetusto libro Inquisitorio Catalogus Testium Verit. p. 759.<sup>127</sup>

## 16. "of which hereafter fell into misuse"

Mr. Cave commented particularly concerning this practice of kneeling, noting that it never was to occur on Sunday or in the days between Easter and Pentecost, which also were distinguished as a constant testimony. Note his study *On Early Christendom*, Part I, chapter nine, 301, and chapter seven, 172, 205. That this custom was not observed generally at all times one sees from the example of Paul himself, who even before the day of Pentecost knelt down and prayed on the shore. Acts 20:36. This indeed was the intention of the early Christians, in the remembrance of Christ's resurrection and the characteristic which Petrus Alexandrinus also noted.<sup>128</sup> However, it is obvious that later it had become nothing but a moral constraint, as Cave expressed it (p. 173). Already from the time of the Council of Nicea this custom was sharply attacked and opposed, and concerning it and other things

a law was passed in Constantinople." Thereby the proper, free use, the pure and wholesome intention, and thus the complete essence of the matter, so to speak, was lost; from there they added the distinction of certain days, Gal.4:10, but by no means could the apostle have been their originator as Justin, the author of *Questions and Answers*, would have it. Next concerning this, Cave (pp. 302 ff.) describes the custom of the ancients praying toward the east, which he equally ascribes, without foundation, to the apostles. <sup>10</sup> Basil acknowledged, moreover, that they themselves had been taught without writings. He asks: "Which writings were shown to us that we should turn in prayer toward the east?" <sup>11</sup> John Damascene agrees with him. Moreover, it is evident that this was already customary among the heathen; <sup>12</sup> although the Christians, as much as they kept this custom of theirs, cleansed it by having extended the worship of the natural sun to Christ. <sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, this was held as the most important intention, that they would **behold Paradise**, Gen. 2:8, and thereby prayed to God and desired **that He would again bring them into their ancient land.** <sup>14</sup> Thus they sought for the ancient fatherland and after that sighed continuously for it, as [John] Damascene says, <sup>15</sup> and along with him many others. <sup>16</sup> **By all these things they were reminded of the return of the Lord Jesus in the east.**"

### Notes

<sup>10</sup> Epist. Can. c. 15. 23. Synodici Tom. I.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Synodus in Trullo c. 90.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Quaest. 115.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Quaest. 118.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Lib. de Spir. S. c. 27. vel potius auctor larvatus (v. Cocus Cens. Ser. 246.)<sup>129</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Tertullian. Apol. c. 16. Apulejus lib. II. & de templis. Vitruvius lib. IV. c. 5.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Ita judicat Joh. Arndius de Superstit. c. III. n. 73.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Basil M. I. c. 1.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>18</sup> [John Damascene] Lib. IV. Orthodox. Fid. c. 13.<sup>136</sup>

- Gregor. Nyss. hom. 5. in Orat. Daom. Chrysost. & Theodoretus in Gen. II. Pseudo-Clemens lib. II. Constitut. Apost. c. 61.<sup>1-7</sup>
- Clemens Alex. Strom. VII. 727. Athanas. qu. 37. ad Antioch. Damas-cenus l. c. Corippus lib. I.<sup>1-5</sup>

### 17. "when they prayed"

We must yet briefly look at two aspects of their practice of prayer, namely the time and place, and after this go on to other necessary observations. Concerning this they had heard from the mouth of the Lord Himself that the time would come when they should worship the Father without regard for a certain place, John 4:21; and from Paul that they should pray **in all places**. 1 Tim. 2:8. "Christ (they said) has sanctified every place with His presence; therefore, all places are suitable for prayer: The whole earth is as holy as the place which in the time of the Old Testament was called the most holy place.<sup>2</sup> One must not search for the holy place in certain places, but rather, in deed, life and conduct, if these things are in accordance with the commandment of the Lord then you are in a holy state, even if you are at the market or the theatre," for which they used Paul as an example, Acts. 19:31.<sup>3</sup> But on this more will soon be said. The Lord had commanded them to go to their closet and pray to the Father in secret, Matt. 6:6. They concluded from this "that they were permitted to pray in all places, and that the prayer of the saints is received from the Lord also in prison, among the wild animals, in fire, in the sea, and elsewhere."<sup>4</sup> And whether they mostly understood the closet as to be the innermost of the heart (see chapter eleven and the writers that are quoted there), nevertheless one sees from their writings that they also had sought a quiet, solitary and free place for prayer. Under persecution it was necessary for the most part to worship their God during the night, as we will see later. And moreover, they adhered to the example of their master, "who Himself often went to a deserted place to pray freely and tear Himself away from the world."<sup>5</sup> Matt. 14:23; 26:36, etc. And at the end He revealed His glory to the disciples in a solitary place. One thus reads from one early writer who, under the name of Clement, has described the journey of St. Peter, that this apostle went into a garden alone

to pray;’ also, he went out of the city with some others to the sea port and bathed, and thereupon they went away with one another to a secret place to perform their prayer.’ Another praises a pious woman because she often prayed secretly at a monument of a martyr, and the crowd of people avoided her: out of humility she did not allow herself to be seen praying so as also to avoid a hindrance for the crowd.’ To be sure she knew “that God heard her everywhere, even when she called out and prayed inwardly.<sup>h</sup> Indeed, God was much more pleased if one would avoid all glory’ and remain unknown before men. It is enough that God was present in her heart.<sup>i</sup> For this she brought her offering which she did not dare bring from far: she was able to come before Him everywhere and know that He would bless her.”<sup>j</sup>

### Notes

- Chrysost. hom. 32. de Cruce & Latrone.<sup>139</sup>
- “ Cyrillus Alex. lib. XII. in Levit.<sup>140</sup>
- ’ Hilarius can. 5. in Matth.<sup>141</sup>
- ’ Idem in Ps. 118. <sup>142</sup>
- ’ Tertullian ad Marc. c. 2.<sup>143</sup>
- ’ Lib. VI. Recognit. 99.<sup>144</sup>
- ’ Id. lib. IIX. 116.<sup>145</sup>
- ’ Hieronymus de Marcella Epist. 127 ad Principiam.<sup>146</sup>
- ’ August. in Ps. 137.<sup>147</sup>
- ’ Chrysost. hom. 44. de Festo Joh. & Pauli.<sup>148</sup>
- ’ Bernhardus de Int. Domo c. 48.<sup>149</sup>
- ’ August. in Ps. 41.<sup>150</sup>

### 18. “when”

We will speak more of the time of prayer when we speak of the manner in which they prayed before and after meals. In general they privately had the will of the Lord before themselves, that they should **pray always**. Lu. 18:1; I Thess. 5:17. Hence the first disciples also **remained constantly in prayer**, Acts 2:42, as we have already heard from James, (section fifteen). Thus, Ignatius ordered Polycarp in his letter to him, that **he should pray**

without ceasing, watch, and have a vigilant spirit. In the letter to the Philippians the same point is made concerning the widows, **that they above all pray continuously.** And another wrote concerning all women: "that they should in all places and at all times observe the rule of the apostles and remember their God on every occasion."<sup>150</sup> This they always did and it was esteemed by a Christian as **highly injurious** "if he did not pray continuously, since the light of Christ would therefore not always remain in his heart." Indeed, this must be exercised at all times, which is always advantageous.<sup>151</sup> The Lord has not commanded that we always work, or fast, or watch, but rather that we pray without ceasing, because the heart *Gemuth* also requires those things; these can happen without the aid of the body, and thus without its weakening.<sup>152</sup> But no one excused himself thereby with the impossibility of continual prayer; rather the obedient children knew very wisely how to put forward the concern and other matters in the light of the Holy Spirit, "namely that their whole life and conduct was so constituted that it would be seen as a prayer before the face of God."<sup>153</sup> So then the soul was able to stand unceasingly before its Creator through the desire of faith.<sup>154</sup> Thus they **let their life to be one continual prayer,** and they were not so absurd that they continually had their knee bent, body prostrated, hands raised; rather, they understood this to mean **the continual longing after God and His eternal Sabbath,** to which they held, so that whatever they might do outwardly, this was their constant opinion.<sup>155</sup> They could allow their body rest for necessity, and yet pray without interruption, exercising the prayer in deed.<sup>156</sup> Thus the person who is practising the prayer externally must not despise the person who is working during this time, nor the worker the one who is praying; rather, each one could perform his duty to the glory of God, and yet they could both pray without ceasing according to this understanding.<sup>157</sup> But there were in the fourth and succeeding centuries certain persons among the monks, who were called Euchites <sup>158</sup> or 'the praying ones' [*Betende*], who concluded from the words of Christ and Paul that one must be devoted continually, as well as outwardly, to prayer. According to the testimony of their opponents, so many prayed that those who held it as unbelievable did not hearken to it.<sup>159</sup> If they were in error in this regard, one

should not, nevertheless, cast aside their obedience and faithfulness to the Lord's will, much less, as some did at that time, call them heretics; but more of this below. An earlier church father named Lucius treated them better and more moderately and therefore he asked them **whether they also ate and slept**, and since they could not deny it, he asked them further, **Who then prays for you at that time?** In this he showed them how one was able to pray without ceasing even in manual labour: what he earned he gave to the poor who then prayed for him when he was sleeping or eating."

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Tertull. de Vel. Virg. 504.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Chrysost. lib. 1. de Orando Deum.<sup>153</sup>

Tertull. Exh. ad Cast. c. 10.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Evagrius c. 49. ap. Cotelerium Tom. III. Mon. Gr. 95.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cassiod. in Cant. c. 1. Gregorius M. in 1. Reg. 1.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cossianus Collat. IIX. c. 2.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>6</sup> August. in Ps. 37.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Hilarius in Ps. 1. & 141.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Macarius hom. 3.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Fatetur Augustin. de Haeres. ad Q.V.D. in 57. aliique infra producendi.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Vitae PP. Gr. lib. V. c. 12. n. 9.<sup>162</sup>

### 19. "how often"

But when someone asks how often they prayed the outward, verbal prayer, the answer is, firstly, very often. For one kept this as the utmost necessity. "to always persevere in prayer, with a clear conscience and faith to long continually after God." Having no aversion to supplication, the goodness of the giver does not tire in giving."<sup>1</sup> They could give no excuse that they had too much to do, for either they could break away from temporal concerns for a short time or keep an open and free heart before God, so that they could accomplish a perfect prayer. "It is also possible (they said) for one who goes about the market or town-hall to pray long; it is possible for one to sit in the



work-place and provide an example and yet always offer his soul up to God. It is permissible for a servant, when he is purchasing, delivering and meeting; for a cook, and the like, to yet pray when he cannot come into the church. For God shuns no place, but he demands one thing -- a devoted heart and a sober mind. Paul also prayed in prison, lying in stocks and iron, and the very foundations of the jail shook."<sup>4</sup> Therefore they did not deny **that they daily raised their hands to God, and very often sought the mercy of God in prayer.** As it was said of Ponticianus, **he was often prostrate before God with many, long prayers;**<sup>5</sup> and another confessed, **that they secretly had prayer everywhere without distinction [of place].**<sup>6</sup> And this particularly occurred thereafter the more that opportunity was given to them to do prostrations, etc.; thus the apostles, along with the disciples, attended to performing important matters, Acts 6:6; 10:9; 14:23, and also to their spiritual exercises, contemplations, and the like. Thus Socrates assures us, concerning one named Petirus, **that he was always devoted to his contemplations in prayer.**<sup>7</sup> Such contemplations one can also observe in many writings of the ancients. "This was once certain with them: Whoever begins a talk or function can keep no better order than that he begin with God, and end up resting again in God."<sup>8</sup> Therefore that person set down this method to his people: "One must not take food before he has prayed, nor rise until he has thanked the Creator. If leaving [the house], prayer must arm us, if entering, we must pray beforehand, prior to sitting down. The body is not permitted to rest until the soul has come to rest."<sup>9</sup> They pointed this out and demonstrated it indubitably when they made the sign of the cross for such occasions. This Mr. Cave demonstrated in Part I, chapter nine, 275, even though he rejected certain hours of prayer, 214, and rightly named it a Jewish practice. But, not without grounds, there are doubts whether they even remained so exact and punctual in their house-devotions. At the least it was held good counsel that if one was bur'ened with worldly duties for the whole day, one would at least make use of one hour for prayer, and relieve the inner man from the world, and again be gathered with God.<sup>1</sup>

## Notes

- Ambros. ad Eph. 6.<sup>162</sup>
- ' Cassiodor. in Ps. 18.<sup>164</sup>
- ' Chrysost. hom. 79. ad Antioch.<sup>167</sup>
- Salvianus lib. I. de Gub. Dei 18.<sup>168</sup>
- ' August. lib. IIX. Confess. c. 6.<sup>167</sup>
- Tertull. adv. Psych. c. 10.<sup>169</sup>
- ' Lib. IV. H.E. c. 23.<sup>169</sup>
- ' Gregor. Naz. Apolog. Fugae Orat. 21.<sup>170</sup>
- ' Hieronym. ad Eustoch. Ep. 21. <sup>171</sup>
- ' Macarius hom. 8. initio.<sup>172</sup>

## 20. "other details concerning prayer"

That they, moreover, worshiped the true, living God, no one will doubt, who has known of their faith, love and obedience from the previous book. That the early Christians also took great caution and care when they prayed is revealed in all their words and works. From all their prayers, we have yet one particular mark, to proceed to genuinely spiritual, divine and heavenly things. Some did not confess the genuine intention, which was to please only the Father in Christ. Indeed it was previously regarded as "impossible that one should ask for something unbecomingly, and yet be in Christ Jesus and keep His commandments." If a child of God wished to pray then it would be better for him to ask for more valuable, and greater, and eternal things from Him, not temporal goods, so that he might be as the angels in heaven.<sup>1</sup> These things he must ask for, that the Father might present to him the nature of His will, from which he was blessed now and then, for this is the summary of His will, to bless His people."<sup>2</sup> And this they sought from Him in childlike faith with simple minds, not only for themselves, but also for all men, in particular for their brothers and sisters in the whole world, as will be clarified in Book III, chapter three. Nevertheless, they could assure themselves of nothing other than a certain, favourable hearing, in virtue of the unlimited promises with which the Lord repeated often to bless them. Lu. 11:9-13; Jn. 16:23-24; I Jn. 5:14-15; Jam. 5:16; etc. Indeed, they came to know in point of fact that the Lord gave more to them out of the

richness of His goodness than they had ever been able to ask of Him." I could raise countless eulogies concerning the power of prayer from the hearts of the ancients, were it not that all of these testimonials concerning the glory of the first church generally bear a sufficient witness. Yet I only remind some of this, that they have not asked sufficiently from God, but are to devote themselves to make good use of prayer, and stir up the gift which was placed in them through prayer II Tim. 1:6 . Concerning their thanksgiving this has already been considered before, as well as their continual, genuine prayer or craving and resignation in God. Now with this they well recognized **that the heart must be received as it has offered itself to God in prayer.** There once was a pious man who bewailed so much, that in his youth he truly called upon God concerning His authority, for he was convinced of this necessity, but from the bottom of his heart he wished that God would not thereupon take hold of him and lead him according to His will. From there he fell into atrocious sins.<sup>1</sup> For as someone says, the God-pleasing works and the employment of his pleading grace are the proper, continual prayer and words from His law;<sup>2</sup> and each craving of the believers is an unceasing cry before His face.<sup>3</sup> Thus it consists not so much in words as in deed, and concerning this whatever one does out of obedience in faith, is pleasing to the Lord.<sup>4</sup> So was the Christians' prayer constituted according to the chief parts.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Cyrillus Alex. lib. X. in Joh. c. 18.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Ambros. in Ps. 118.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Tertull. de Orat. c. 4.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ambros. lib. V. in Luc.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Bernhard de int. Domo c. 48.<sup>177</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Augustin. lib. IIX. Confess. c. 7.<sup>178</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Hilarius in Ps. 1.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Id. in Psal. 141.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Beda in Marc. IX adv. August. lib. II. ad Simplic. qu. 4.<sup>181</sup>

## Notes on Text

- <sup>1</sup> "God Himself is in need of nothing, but we engage in worship because we need it."
- <sup>2</sup> *Fathers of the Church* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1969-1970), Vol. 61, 119: "True religion consists of these two elements: pious doctrines and virtuous notions. Neither does God accept doctrines apart from good works, nor are works, when divorced from godly doctrine, accepted from God.  
*The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, Vol. 10 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 12: "For indeed both eyes and mouth and hearing He set in us to this intent, that all our members may serve Him, that we may speak His words, and do His deeds, that we may sing unto Him continual hymns, that we may offer sacrifices of thanksgiving, and by these may thoroughly purify our consciences." An accurate reference.
- <sup>3</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* ed. by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1975), series 2, Vol. 8, 240: this theme can be found here, but only in a very general way.
- <sup>4</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 542 (*Patrologia Graeca* 82:35-878). All references to Quasten, hereafter, refer to the source in the appropriate critical edition.
- <sup>5</sup> *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* ed. by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1955), Vol. 2, 535 ff.: the exact wording of this cannot be found but there are here the themes of service, wisdom, prayer and mercy.
- <sup>6</sup> *Fathers of the Church* Vol. 30, 41: "For, what is piety but the worship of God? What is the source of that worship if not charity? For, 'charity from a pure heart and a good conscience, and an unfeigned faith' is also a true virtue, because it is 'the end of the commandment.'" <sup>7</sup>
- <sup>8</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 2, 47 (*GCS* 30).
- <sup>9</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 33, 325-326, this is an accurate reference but it is found in hom. 33, not 23.

- <sup>10</sup> No reference found in homilies 15, 16, 45 or 46. The number is somewhat illegible in the original text.
- <sup>11</sup> No reference located in Cyril's *Letters* 1-50.
- <sup>12</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, Vol. 1, 552: "Meantime the festival derived additional luster both from the prayers and discourses of the ministers of God, some of whom extolled the pious emperor's willing devotion to the Saviour of mankind, and dilated on the magnificence of the edifice which he had raised to his memory. Others afforded, as it were, an intellectual feast to the ears of all present, by public disquisitions on the sacred doctrines of our religion. Others interpreted passages of holy Scripture, and unfolded their hidden meaning; while such as were unequal to these efforts presented a bloodless sacrifice and mystical service to God in the prayers which they offered for general peace, for the Church of God, for the emperor himself as the instrumental cause of so many blessings, and for his pious sons." Arnold's reference to the "singing of psalms" is not to be found here.
- <sup>13</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 2, 118.
- <sup>14</sup> *SS. Ecclesiae Patrum* (Paris: Apud Mequignon-Harvard, 1830), Vol. 27, 425.
- <sup>15</sup> *Fathers of the Church* Vol. 10, 86-87: "I offer Him the rich — and better — sacrifice which He Himself has commanded, the prayer sent up from a chaste body, an innocent heart, and a spirit that is holy: not grains of incense worth a mere penny, or tears of the Arabic tree, or two drops of wine..."
- <sup>16</sup> "That we may not be as far from the ears of God as we are from His precepts, the memory of His precepts paves for our prayers a way unto heaven. . . from *all* perturbation of mind, ought the exercise of prayer to be free, uttered from a spirit such as the Spirit unto whom it is sent. For a defiled spirit cannot be acknowledged by a holy Spirit, nor a sad by a joyful, nor a fettered by a free. No one grants reception to his adversary: no one grants admittance except to his compeer. But what reason 's there in going to prayer with hands indeed washed, but the spirit foul? -- inasmuch as to our hands themselves spiritual purities

are necessary, that they may be 'lifted up pure' from falsehood, from murder, from cruelty, from poisonings, from idolatry, and all the other blemishes which, conceived by the spirit, are effected by the operation of the hands. These are the true purities: not those which most are superstitiously careful about, taking water at every prayer, even when they are coming from a bath of the whole body." *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 3, p. 685.

- <sup>17</sup> *Tertullian: Apology, de Spectaculis*, trans. by T.R. Glover (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1966), 291, "For what sort of conduct is it to go from the assembly of God to the assembly of the devil? from sky to sty, as the proverb has it? those hands you have uplifted to God, to tire them out clapping to an actor?" This is from chapter 25, of *de Spectaculis*, which is likely what Arnold meant.
- <sup>18</sup> *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 4: p. 56: "Accordingly, the apostle added (the recommendation of) a temporary abstinence for the sake of adding an efficacy to prayers, that we might know that what is profitable 'for a time' should be always practised by us, that it may be always profitable. Daily, every moment, prayer is necessary to men; of course continence (is so) too, since prayer is necessary. Prayer proceeds from conscience. If the conscience blush, prayer blushes. It is the spirit which conducts prayer to God. If the spirit be self-accused of a blushing conscience, how will it have the hardihood to conduct prayer to the altar; seeing that, if prayer blush, the holy minister (of prayer) itself is suffused too?"
- <sup>19</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 436 (*Patrologia Graeca* 56:11-94).
- <sup>20</sup> This work is not cited in Quasten, Vol. 4, 355 f.
- <sup>21</sup> *Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius the Egyptian*, trans. A.J. Mason (London: SPCK, 1921), 26: "Only let us to the best of our power withdraw ourselves from evil preoccupations, and hate bad pursuits and the deceits of the world, and turn our backs upon wicked and vain thoughts, and ever cleave to Him with all our might, and He readily gives us help."
- <sup>22</sup> *Macarius*, 159, not a direct quote, but a summary of par. 4 of hom. 19.
- <sup>23</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, Vol. 13, 433: "Let no man approach God in enmity, or in unamiable temper, or with 'doubt-

ing'? What is 'without doubting'? It implies that we should have no misgiving but that we shall be heard."

- <sup>1</sup> *Fathers of the Church* Vol. 42, 393: "Your deeds, your loyalty, your affecting your passions, all cry out. Your blood, too, cries out as in the case of Abel . . ." This is an accurate reference by Arnold; however Ambrose does not refer to "faith" as is indicated in Arnold's quote.
- <sup>2</sup> *Fathers of the Church* Vol. 43; in Prudentius' *Liber Cathemerimion*, a book of twelve hymns for every day, there is the *Hymnus matatinus* (*morning hymn*) which is cited here by Arnold. Although Prudentius' hymn does refer to prayer from a pure heart, it appears that Arnold is taking great liberty in his paraphrase of it. During the fourth century churches and monasteries celebrated the *morning hymn*, and in the fifth and sixth centuries it developed into the *laudes matutinae*, the canonical Hour of Lauds.
- <sup>3</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* series 2, Vol. 14, 42, 47, 133, 403.
- <sup>4</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 10, 98: "We come together for a meeting and a congregation, in order to besiege God with prayers, like an army in battle formation. Such violence is pleasing to God."
- <sup>5</sup> *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* Vol 1, 186: "And on the day called Sunday, all . . . gather together to one place, and . . . writings of the apostles are read . . . Then we all rise together and pray." (this should read Apol. I, not II)
- <sup>6</sup> *SS. Ecclesiae Patrum* Vol. 27, 425.
- <sup>7</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 28, 83 (here Arnold uses the older number of the *Letters*, and not the Benedictine order): "Among us the people come early after nightfall to the house of prayer, and in labor and affliction and continual tears confess to God. Finally, rising up from their prayers, they begin the chanting of psalms."
- <sup>8</sup> This text is not available.
- <sup>9</sup> *Fathers of the Church* Vol. 29, 20; although there is a reference here to Narcissus, it does not appear to jibe with Arnold's citation. Also, there is no mention made of Dionysius.
- <sup>10</sup> *Fathers of the Church* Vol. 7, 165: St. Paulinus, in writing to Sulpicius, described an encounter with a fellow Christian: "then, with tears of joy

in his eyes, he cast himself at our knees. He kissed us again and again and invited us to pray.”

- <sup>4</sup> No reference to this citation could be found.
- <sup>7</sup> *Fathers of the Church* Vol. 17, 216: “The verse states ‘that if two of you shall agree on earth about anything at all for them by my Father in heaven’. You have heard what power and efficacy arises from group agreement in a holy petition. Christ did not mention one thing or another, but He promised to give everything - what the united request desires.”
- <sup>1</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 10, 86: “we pray without a prayer leader because we pray from the heart.”
- <sup>7</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 4, 369.
- <sup>8</sup> *Macarius*, 240: “It behoves us to pray, not by bodily habit, nor with a habit of crying, nor by a custom of silence, or of bending the knees, but soberly, taking heed to our minds, to wait upon God, until He shall come to us and visit the soul through all its modes of egress and its paths and senses, and so to be silent when we ought, and cry out when we ought, and to pray with loud crying, so long as the mind is strong towards God.” However, curiously, Arnold omits Macarius’ reference to “bending the knees”.
- <sup>3</sup> *Macarius*, 65: “A man goes in to bend the knee, and his heart is filled with the divine influence, and his soul rejoices with the Lord, like bride with bridegroom, according to that word of the prophet Esaias Is. 62:5 .”
- <sup>40</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 4, 271 (*Patrologia Latina* 82).
- <sup>41</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 42, 393: “To believe that your prayer is not heard unless you cry out aloud is to distrust the power of God. Your deeds, your loyalty, your affections, your passions all cry out.” There is no direct reference to “faith” (the subject of Arnold’s chapter), but it is implied.
- <sup>42</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 300 (*Patrologia Graeca* 40:155-480).
- <sup>43</sup> *Macarius*, 36; the exact quote is not to be found; however, Arnold is likely drawing from Macarius’ quoting of Luke 11:8-9, which Arnold cites in his text.



- <sup>44</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 4, 398.
- <sup>45</sup> *Sermons for the Seasons of the Church* trans. by W. B. Flower (London: Joseph Masters and Co., 1861), 71: "Hesitating prayer pierceth not the heavens, because excessive fear retrains the heart, so that it cannot (I will not say) ascend, but even go forth . . . . But prayer, faithful, humble, and fervent, will doubtless pierce heaven from whence most assuredly it will not return void."
- <sup>46</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, Vol. 6, 40: "'The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence and the violent take it by force.' Still, unless you use force you will never seize the kingdom of heaven. Unless you knock importunately you will never receive the sacramental bread."
- <sup>47</sup> This work is not cited in Quasten, Vol. 3, 429 f.
- <sup>48</sup> *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 1, 32: this is a fairly loose quote by Arnold, although the general meaning is implied by Clement.
- <sup>49</sup> This quote could not be located in *I Clement*.
- <sup>50</sup> *Corpus Christianorum*, ed. Almut Mutzenbecher (Turnholti Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1958), Vol. 68A, 61.
- <sup>51</sup> *Macarius*, 216: "And it was not only until the last Adam, but even to this day those upon whom *the Sun of righteousness*, Christ, has not risen, and in whom the eyes of the soul have not been opened and enlightened by the true light, are still under the same darkness of sin, wrought upon by the same influence of pleasures, subject to the same punishment, not yet having eyes to behold the Father."
- <sup>52</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 42, 393: "Do not be given to self-praise: 'The prayer of him that humbleth himself has pierced the clouds.'"
- <sup>53</sup> *Sermons for the Seasons of the Church*, 69: "Fasting adds fervour and confidence to prayer . . . . Prayer obtains strength for fasting, and fasting wins the grace of prayer . . . . Thou, perhaps, sayest, It is enough for me, if GOD only approves of what I do: what care I for the judgment of men? But be assured that He is by no means pleased, with what thou doest as an offence to His children and against the will of Him Whom thou oughtest to obey." If this is the correct reference Arnold is citing, then it is a rather loose reference.

- <sup>64</sup> *Corpus Christianorum*, Vol. 143, 76-77.
- <sup>65</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, Vol. 10, 92; this is a reference to Ps. 51:17 (LXX): "For indeed both eyes and mouth and hearing He set in us to this intent, that all our members may serve H'm, that we may speak His words, and do His deeds, that we may sing unto Him continual hymns, that we may offer up sacrifices of thanksgiving, and by these may thoroughly purify our consciences."
- <sup>66</sup> This work is not cited in Quasten, Vol. 3, 119 f.
- <sup>67</sup> This reference cannot be found here.
- <sup>68</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 36, 129; the essence of Arnold's reference can be found in chapters four and fifteen, but nothing germane in chapter five.
- <sup>69</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 10, 318; there is here a reference to the prayer of the Pharisee, in the heart attitude toward God, but I am unsure whether this is the reference Arnold had in mind.
- <sup>70</sup> Not located.
- <sup>71</sup> *Marcarius*, 24: "As the souls which wholly and entirely cleave to the Lord are there in thought, and there pray, and there walk, and there long after the love of the Lord . . ."
- <sup>72</sup> *Marcarius*, 66: "Sometimes the fire flames out and kindles more vehemently; at other times more gently and mildly. The light that it gives kindles up at times and shines with unusual brightness, at others it abates and burns low."
- <sup>73</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 19, 236; Eusebius is recounting the story of Polycarp's martyrdom. When Polycarp's pursuers arrived to seize him, he requested an hour to pray, after which "he arose and prayed, being full of the grace of the Lord, so that those who were present were amazed as they heard him pray, and many of them already repented that such a venerable and godlike man was about to be killed."
- <sup>74</sup> I can find no account of Polycarp in this section of Augustine's *City of God*. In chapter 8 there is an account of Innocent's healing of his eye which is very close to the situation depicted here by Arnold. See *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 24, 436: "Then we all began to pray. The

rest of us prayed, as we usually do, on our knees and prostrate on the floor, but Innocent literally threw himself flat as though he had been violently struck by some powerful blow, and then burst into prayer so vehemently, so feelingly, so pathetically and wept with such indescribable groaning and sobbing that he shook in every fiber of his being and all but choked. How any of the others could pray, with all this pitiable petitioning to distract them, I do not know. As for myself, no formula of prayer was possible. All I could do was let my heart repeat this short refrain: 'Lord, if Thou dost not hear such prayers, what prayers of any saints can move Thee?' It seemed to me that, with one more sigh, the poor man would have prayed himself to death." The account goes on to claim that Innocent had been healed of his eye problem.

- <sup>17</sup> It is uncertain to what works Arnold is referring. See Quasten, Vol. 3, 457.
- <sup>18</sup> *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 3: there is no such reference found in chapter 9, but chapter 12 does reflect the theme which Arnold portrays here: "Nor merely from anger, but altogether from all perturbation of mind, ought the exercise of prayer to be free, uttered from a spirit such as the Spirit unto whom it is sent. For a defiled spirit cannot be acknowledged by a holy Spirit, nor a sad by a joyful, nor a fettered by a free." What Arnold is getting at here is a reciprocal idea, that the heart's intention is toward a spirit, and it flows out of such a spirit which is like the spirit toward which it flows.
- <sup>19</sup> *Marcarius*, 240: "As the body, when at work, is entirely occupied with the work on which it is engaged, and all the members of it help one another, so let the soul be entirely given up to asking and love towards the Lord, not wandering and carried about with thoughts, but with all its might endeavouring and gathering itself up with all its thoughts, and bent upon waiting for Christ. And thus He will lighten upon it, teaching it the true asking, giving it the pure spiritual prayer, which is worthy of God, and the *worship* which is *in spirit and in truth*. (translator's italics)
- <sup>20</sup> *Marcarius*, 112: "Go to prayer, and observe thy heart and mind, and determine to send up thy prayer to God pure, and look well there, whether

there be nothing to hinder it, whether the prayer be pure, whether thy mind is wholly occupied with the Lord, as the husbandman's with the husbandry, the married man's with his wife, the merchant's with his merchandise: or whether thou bendest thy knees to prayer, while others pluck thy thoughts asunder."

- <sup>11</sup> *Marcarius*, 57-58: this is not a direct quote, but Arnold's text does reflect Marcarius' writings here.
- <sup>12</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 36: the chapter number is somewhat illegible in the text, and although this exact reference cannot be located in this treatise on the Lord's Prayer, chapter thirty-one does contain the essence of what Arnold is referring to. See 153.
- <sup>13</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 33, 326: "Indeed, you must circumcise, not the flesh, but evil thoughts, and crucify self: and remove and sacrifice inordinate desires." This is found in hom. 33, not 32.
- <sup>14</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 434 (*Patrologia Graeca* 53-54).
- <sup>15</sup> *Fathers of the Church* Vol. 59, 9: "Now we have to offer sacrifice there where we are to pray. Hence there is no need, when we pray, for language, that is, for the spoken word, except, perhaps, to express one's thoughts, the way priests do, not so God may hear, but in order that men may hear and, by this verbal reminder, fix their thoughts upon God by a unity of heart and mind."
- <sup>16</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* series 1, Vol. 8, 73-74: this is not a quote but only an inference from the text.
- <sup>17</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 42, 392: here Arnold is merely making reference to Ambrose's citations of Matt. 6:6 and Ps. 141.
- <sup>18</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 300 (*Patrologia Graeca* 40:155-480).
- <sup>19</sup> *SS. Ecclesiae Patrum*, Vol. 28, 451.
- <sup>20</sup> *John Cassian: Conferences* trans. by Colm Luibheid (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), 116: "It [the Lord's Prayer] lifts them up to that prayer of fire known to so few. It lifts them up, rather, to that ineffable prayer which rises above all human consciousness, with no voice sounding, no tongue moving, no words uttered. The soul lights up with heavenly illumination and no longer employs constricted, human speech. All sensibility is gathered together and, as though from some very abundant

source, the soul breaks forth richly, bursts out unspeakably to God, and in the tiniest instant it pours out so much more than the soul can either describe or remember when it returns again to itself." Cassian is referring to the Egyptian Father Isaac.

- <sup>77</sup> *John Cassian*, 138: "This prayer centers on no contemplation of some image or other. It is masked by no attendant sounds or words. It is a fiery outbreak, an indescribable exaltation, an insatiable thrust of the soul. Free of what is sensed and seen, ineffable in its groans and sighs, the soul pours itself out to God." Again, Cassian is quoting from Isaac.
- <sup>80</sup> *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 5, 449-450.
- <sup>81</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 122 (*Patrologia Graeca* 70:9-1450).
- <sup>82</sup> (Cyril) *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, Vol. 7, 156; (Chrysostom) *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, Vol. 3, 449.
- <sup>83</sup> *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 3, 681: "in the Lord's Prayer is comprised an epitome of the whole Gospel."
- <sup>84</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, Vol. 6, 52: Jerome makes no reference to the Lord's Prayer as "the daily prayer" in Ep. 39. However he does refer to daily prayer in general: "you give yourself daily to fasting, to reading, and to prayer." (Augustine) *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 4, 9.
- <sup>85</sup> *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* Vol. 3, 684 Arnold's reference should read chapter 10, not 9): "Since, however, the Lord, the Forseer of human necessities, said separately, after delivering His Rule of Prayer, 'Ask, and ye shall receive:' and *since* there are petitions which are made according to the circumstances of each individual; our additional wants have the right — after beginning with the legitimate and customary prayers as a foundation, as it were — of rearing an outer superstructure of petitions, yet with remembrance of *the Master's* precepts." (italics belong to the editor)
- <sup>86</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 10, 86 (found in ch. 30, not 28): "we are not ashamed, without a prayer leader because we pray from the heart . . ."
- <sup>87</sup> *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 1, 186: "and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability, and the people assent, saying Amen . . ."

- <sup>80</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 552 (*Patrologia Graeca* 84:53-64).
- <sup>81</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, Vol. 1, 545: "With regard to those who were as yet ignorant of divine truth, he [Constantine] provided by a second statute that they [pagan soldiers] should appear on each Lord's day on an open plain near the city, and there, at a given signal, offer to God with one accord a prayer which they had previously learnt. He admonished them that their confidence should not rest in their spears, or armor, or bodily strength, but that they should acknowledge the supreme God, as the giver of every good, and of victory itself; to whom they were bound to offer their prayers with due regularity, uplifting their hands toward heaven, and raising their mental vision higher still to the King of heaven, on whom they should call as the Author of victory, their Preserver, Guardian, and Helper. The emperor himself prescribed the prayer to be used by all his troops, commanding them to pronounce the following words in the Latin tongue."
- <sup>82</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, Vol. 14, 494, Canon 103 (Greek 106). *Of the prayers to be said before the altar*: "This also seemed good, that the prayers which had been approved in synod should be used by all, whether prefaces, commendations, or laying on of the hand, and that others contrary to the faith should not be used by any means, but that those only should be said which had been collected by the learned."
- <sup>83</sup> Here Arnold is commenting in Latin, the translation reading: "Thus Gregory of Turonensis remembers the prayers before the ascension of the Lord in which his triumph was celebrated. These were instituted by Mamerco the bishop when the city was terrified by great troubles. These included, without doubt, litanies and prayers. All these matters are spoken of in Sidonius Apollinaris, book seven, letter one, against the Goths." See *Sidonius: Poems and Letters* Vol. 2, trans. by W. B. Anderson (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1965), 287 ff.
- <sup>84</sup> This work is not cited in Quasten, Vol. 4, 355 f.
- <sup>85</sup> *Bernard of Clairvaux On the Song of Songs IV*, trans. by Irene Edmonds (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Pub., 1980), 6-7: "The affectus have their own language, in which they disclose themselves even against their

will. Fear has its trembling, grief its anguished groans, love its cries of delight. Are the lamentations of mourners, the sobs of those who grieve, the sighs of those in pain, the sudden frenzied screams of those in fear, the yawns of the replete – are these the result of habit? Do they constitute a reasoned discourse, a deliberate utterance, a premeditated speech? Most certainly such expressions of feeling are not produced by the processes of the mind, but by spontaneous impulses. So a strong and burning love, particularly the love of God, does not stop to consider the order, the grammar, the flow, or the number of words it employs, when it cannot contain itself, providing it senses that it suffers no loss thereby. Sometimes it needs no words, no expression at all, being content with aspirations alone. Thus it is that the Bride, aflame with holy love . . . gives no thoughts to her words or the manner of her speech, but impelled by love she does not speak clearly, but bursts out with whatever comes into her mouth.”

- <sup>14</sup> *John Cassian*, 124: “The reason why our prayers ought to be frequent and brief is in case the enemy, who is out to trap us, should slip a distraction to us if ever we are long-drawn out.” Cassian is allegedly quoting from Isaac (chapter 36 of Conf. 9, not chapter 35 of Conf. 10).
- <sup>15</sup> This work is not cited in Quasten, Vol. 4, 355 f.
- <sup>16</sup> It is uncertain to what work Arnold is referring. See Quasten, Vol. 3, 457.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>18</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 4, 369.
- <sup>19</sup> This work is not regarded as authentic. See Quasten, Vol. 4, 505 (*Patrologia Latina* 50:895-1208).
- <sup>100</sup> There is nothing in hom. 52 which reflects this theme.
- <sup>101</sup> Again, no reference can be found here.
- <sup>102</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* series 1, Vol. 3, 542: “For also in prayer to God, men do with the members of their bodies that which becometh suppliants, when they bend their knees, when they stretch forth their hands, or even prostrate themselves on the ground, and whatever else they visibly do, albeit their invisible will and heart’s intention be

known unto God, and He needs not these tokens that any man's mind should be opened unto Him: only hereby one more excites himself to pray and groan more humbly and more fervently."

- <sup>114</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 10, 86. There is a reference here to praying with bare heads because they were not ashamed; however, this is found in chapter 30, not 28.
- <sup>115</sup> Arnold appears to be making only a general allusion to this work.
- <sup>116</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 10, 86 (found in ch. 30, not 28): "Looking up to Him, we Christians -- with hands extended, because they are harmless, with head bare because we are not ashamed, without a prayer leader because we pray from the heart -- constantly beseech Him on behalf of all emperors."
- <sup>117</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 10, 76: because the Christians assembled for prayer in open courts, without statues or altars and raised their heads and eyes to heaven, they were charged of "counting the clouds". Juvenal (14.96 ff.) ridicules the Jews similarly.
- <sup>118</sup> (1) *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 1, 12: "Let us draw near to Him with holiness of spirit, lifting up pure and undefiled hands unto Him . ." (2) *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 2, 480. (3) *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, Vol. 13, 426.
- <sup>119</sup> (1) *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 3, 685: this reference is found in chapter 13, not 11, where the "washing of hands" is mentioned. Tertullian sees no need for this custom, placing an emphasis upon the spiritual cleansing. (2) *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 7, 153: "But the washing of hands is a symbol that ye ought to be pure from all sinful and unlawful deeds; for since the hands are a symbol of action, by washing them, it is evident, we represent the purity and blamelessness of our conduct." (3) *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* series 1, Vol. 12, 262: "and as you would not wish to pray with unwashed hands, so neither do so without alms." This is not to say that Chrysostom was guilty of externalism, for he comments elsewhere on those who "are anxious to come in with clean garments and to wash their hands, but make no account of presenting their soul clean unto God." See hom. 51 in Matthew, 315. (4) *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, Vol. 7, 426 f.



- <sup>109</sup> Not located.
- <sup>110</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 435 (*Patrologia Graeca* 55).
- <sup>111</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, vol. 10: I can find no reference to making the sign of the cross with raised hands in the *Apology: The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 3: no mention is made to the above custom in the work *On Prayer*, but Tertullian does endorse the custom in *The Chaplet*, chapter 3.
- <sup>112</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 300 (*Patrologia Graeca* 40:155-480).
- <sup>113</sup> (Taurinensis) *Corpus Christianorum* Vol. 23, 149; (Eusebius) *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* series 2, Vol. 1, 544; Arnold's reference merely explains the portrait of Constantine on the coins which had "the eyes upraised to heaven and the hands outspread as if in prayer": (Aringus) Paolo Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea novissima* (Romae, Expensia Blasij Diuersini, & Zanobij Manotti Bibliopolarus, Typis Vitalis Mascardi, 1651).
- <sup>114</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 19, 292: "But the soldiers ... by a faith which has sustained from that time to the present in battles with the enemy, knelt on the ground according to our own custom of prayer and turned to supplications to God." This is hardly an example of the martyrs' prayers, for these were soldiers in the Roman army who happened to be Christians. The incident is also referred to by Arnold earlier in this chapter where he cites Tertullian's account.
- <sup>115</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 10, 158-159: "Marcus Aurelius, during his German expedition, after prayers had been offered to God by his Christian soldiers, also obtained rain during the well-known drought. When have droughts failed to be removed by our kneelings and fastings?" During Aurelius' campaign against the Quadi and Marcomanni, the Roman army was completely surrounded. A storm broke which resulted in scattering the enemy and refreshing the soldiers.
- <sup>116</sup> (1) This work cannot be located. (2) *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* Vol. 3, 165-166. (3) *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 3, 336-337; here Tertullian is contrasting Moses' prayer posture in the battle against Amalek with a posture of kneeling and prostration, the former typifying the cross. (4) see Quasten, Vol. 2, 86 (*GCS* 30).
- <sup>117</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, Vol. 1, 42-43: "Moreover every time we fall upon our knees and rise from off them we show by

the very deed that by our sin we fall down to earth, and by the loving kindness of our Creator were called back to heaven.”

- <sup>112</sup> This work is not regarded as authentic of Eucherius: see Quasten, Vol. 4, 505 (*Patrologia Latina* 50:895-1208).
- <sup>113</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, Vol. 12, 189: the verse in Phil. 2:10: “every knee shall bow”, is discussed by Chrysostom, referring to this act as one of “intense adoration”: however, Arnold’s chapter is concerned with “kneeling”, whereas with Chrysostom the subject is “the tongues of men and of angels”.
- <sup>114</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 4, 402.
- <sup>115</sup> *Fathers of the Church* Vol. 19, 126: “his knees became as hard as those of a camel because of his constant bending forward on his knees in worshipping God ...”
- <sup>116</sup> *Fathers of the Church* Vol. 7, 125: in a recounting of a miracle of healing effected by St. Martin: “he first prostrated himself upon the floor and prayed.” Sulpicius’ account of St. Martin’s life does not indicate that prostration was a regular posture of prayer: but the closing chapters do indicate that he was fervently dedicated to fastings, vigils, and unceasing prayer.
- <sup>117</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 24, see chapter 8 (not 6), 436: “the rest of us prayed, as we usually do, on our knees ...” In chapter 8, Augustine recounts miracles which occurred while at Carthage.
- <sup>118</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 4, 398.
- <sup>119</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 550 (*Patrologia Graeca* 82:1283-1496). The Stylites were a class of ascetics who lived on the tops of pillars, of whom Simeon Stylites (d. 459) was the most famous.
- <sup>120</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 163 (*Patrologia Graeca* 94:728-737); Jean Baptiste Cotelier, *Ss. Patrum, qui temporibus*, ed. *alters auctior & adcuratior* ... (Amstelaedami, apud R. & G. Wetstenios, 1724).
- <sup>121</sup> This text by Flacius Illyricus was not accessible to me.
- <sup>122</sup> This work is not cited in Quasten, Vol. 2, 114 f.
- <sup>123</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, Vol. 14, 403, Canon 90: “We have received from our divine Fathers the canon law that in honour

of Christ's resurrection, we are not to kneel on Sundays. Lest therefore we should ignore the fulness of this observance we make it plain to the faithful that after the priests have gone to the Altar for Vespers on Saturdays (according to the prevailing custom) no one shall kneel in prayer until the evening of Sunday, at which time after the entrance for compline, again with bended knees we offer our prayers to the Lord. For taking the night after the Sabbath, which was the forerunner of our Lord's resurrection, we begin from it to sing in the spirit hymns to God, leading our feast out of darkness into light, and thus during an entire day and night we celebrate the Resurrection."

- <sup>100</sup> This work is listed as a lost pseudo-Justinian work in Quasten, Vol. 1, 206. It is uncertain whether Arnold was referring to another work or author.
- <sup>101</sup> See preceding footnote
- <sup>102</sup> I cannot find this exact wording, but the implication may be found in: "What writing has taught us to turn East at the prayer." *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, Vol. 8, 41. Here Basil is justifying various unwritten laws and traditions of the Church (e.g., the sign of the cross, the invocation at the displaying of the bread and wine at Eucharist). These customs come from the "unpublished and secret teaching which our fathers guarded in a silence out of the reach of curious meddling and inquisitive investigation." Basil names this as "dogma", as opposed to "kerygma", and compares dogma to the "holy of holies", kept away from the common folk.
- <sup>103</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 10, 51, the practice of praying towards the rising sun is cited by Tertullian. The other references were not accessible to me.
- <sup>104</sup> This work of Johann Arndt was not accessible to me.
- <sup>105</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, Vol. 8, 42: "Thus we all look to the East at our prayers, but few of us know that we are seeking our own old country, Paradise, which God planted in Eden in the East." The location of Eden is found in Gen. 2:8, the reference which Arnold also supplies.

- <sup>134</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 37, 353: “Thus is it that, when we worship God, we long for our ancient fatherland and gaze toward it — the east[.]” (Arnold’s reference should read ch. 12, not 13)
- <sup>135</sup> (Gregory of Nyssa) *Ancient Christian Writers*, Vol. 18 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 1954), 76: “But whenever we turn toward the East — not as if God were only there to be contemplated, for He who is everywhere is not particularly apprehended in any part, since He comprises all things equally, but because our first homeland is in the East, I mean our sojourn in Paradise from which we have fallen, for *God planted a paradise in Eden toward the East* -- when, therefore, we look to the East and recall to our memory how we were cast out from the bright regions of bliss in the East, we shall have reason to utter such prayer” (italics supplied by the editor). (Chrysostom) *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 10, 178; homily 13 is based on Gen. 2:8 but there is no mention here of the specifics of Arnold’s theme except for an exhortation to enjoy the pleasures of the garden of Eden. (Theodoretus) there is no reference to this work in Quasten, Vol. 3, 538 f. (Pseudo-Clement) also no reference to this work in Quasten, Vol. 1, 59 f.
- <sup>136</sup> (Clement and Athanasius) No references can be found here to Arnold’s theme. (Damascene) *Fathers of the Church* Vol. 37, 353. (Corripus) this work cannot be located in Quasten.
- <sup>137</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 455 (*Patrologia Graeca* 49:393-418).
- <sup>138</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 121 (*Patrologia Graeca* 69:9-678).
- <sup>139</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 4, 50 (*Patrologia Latina* 9:917-1076), and *SS. Ecclesiae Patrum*, Vol. 29, 30.
- <sup>140</sup> (Hilary) *SS. Ecclesiae Patrum*, Vol. 28, 280.
- <sup>141</sup> This reference cannot be located here.
- <sup>142</sup> *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 8, 156. This work is considered to be by Pseudo-Clement; see Quasten Vol. 1, 62.
- <sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 165 f.
- <sup>144</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, Vol. 6, 254 (Ep. 127); this letter of Jerome concerns Marcella and is addressed to her closest friend Principia: “She seldom appeared in public and took care to avoid the

houses of great ladies, that she might not be forced to look upon what she had once for all renounced. She frequented the basilicas of apostles and martyrs that she might escape from the throng and give herself to private prayer." When she was seized by the soldiers and taken to the basilica of St. Paul, where she later died, she expressed great joy and thanksgiving to God. In the next footnote Arnold continues this story of the "pious woman" but the citation in Augustine refers to the martyrdom of *Crispina* (not Marcella) who uttered similar expressions at her martyrdom.

- <sup>137</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, Vol. 8, 633; Arnold is referring to the Latin edition which corresponds to the current numbering as Ps. 138. Here Augustine is recounting the martyrdom of Crispina and her prayers and rejoicing before God. The theme here is that one is to confess before the Lord with a humble and contrite heart. Cf. also p. 105 for a more direct reference of Augustine to inward prayer: "For there is a secret groaning, which is not heard by man . . ."
- <sup>138</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 455 (*Patrologia Graeca* 49:393-418).
- <sup>139</sup> Not located.
- <sup>140</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, Vol. 8, 136: "it is from 'the land of Jordan, and from Hermon,' that I remember thee. And because he so remembers with humility, he shall earn his exultation to fruition, for he is not 'exalted' in himself, who 'glories in the Lord.'"
- <sup>141</sup> Also known as the Messalians, from the Syriac *mesallein*, comparable to the Greek *euchitai*, 'praying ones'. This group arose in the second half of the fourth century at Edessa and in neighbouring areas around Mesopotamia. They were condemned in 431 by the Council of Ephesus. They were known for emphasizing the Scripture passage I Thess. 5:17 "Pray without ceasing" See Quasten, Vol. 3, 162-163.
- <sup>142</sup> This work is not cited in Quasten, Vol. 3, 429 f.
- <sup>143</sup> *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 4, 56: "Accordingly, the apostle [Paul] added (the recommendation of) a temporary abstinence for the sake of adding an efficacy to prayers, that we might know what is profitable 'for a time' should be always profitable. Daily, every moment, prayer is necessary to men." The context of Tertullian's work is concerning the advantages of being celibate.

- <sup>174</sup> Jean Baptiste Cotelier. *Ss. patrum. qui temporibus.*
- <sup>177</sup> This work is not cited in either Quasten or the *Corpus Christianorum.*
- <sup>178</sup> *John Cassian.* in Conf. 9, chapter 2, where Cassian calls for a "total and uninterrupted dedication to prayer." See all of Conf. 9 "On Prayer" for it has obviously been a resource for Arnold's general approach to prayer. It should be noted that while Arnold is quoting Cassian in order to instruct the believer, Cassian himself was writing to those within the monastic community. See also Ower Chadwick's "Introduction" (p. 11 f.) where he summarizes Cassian's views on prayer.
- <sup>179</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.* series 1, Vol 8, 107: "Are we to be 'without ceasing' bending the knee, prostrating the body, or lifting up our hands, that he says, 'Pray without ceasing'? Or if it is in this sense that we say that we 'pray,' this, I believe, we cannot do 'without ceasing.' There is another inward kind of prayer without ceasing, which is the desire of the heart. Whatever else you are doing, if you do but long for that Sabbath, you do not cease to pray. If you would never cease to pray, never cease to long after it."
- <sup>180</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.* series 2, Vol 9, 239: "Now it may be objected that this is impossible owing to conditions of human infirmity, which require time for repose, for sleep, for food: so that our bodily circumstances preclude us from the hope of attaining happiness, inasmuch as we are distracted by the interruption of our bodily needs from our meditation by day and night. Parallel to this passage are the words of the Apostle, *Pray without ceasing.* As though we were bound to set at naught our bodily requirements and to continue praying without any interruption! Meditation in the Law, therefore, does not lie in reading its words, but of pious performance of its injunctions; not in a mere perusal of the books and writings; but in a practical meditation and exercise in their respective contents, and in a fulfilment of the Law by the works we do by night and day, as the Apostle says: *Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.* The way to secure uninterrupted prayer is for every devout man to make his life one long prayer by works acceptable to God and always done to His glory: thus a

life lived according to the Law by night and day will in itself become a nightly and daily meditation in the Law" (italics supplied by the editor). Cf. *SS. Ecclesiae Patrum*, Vol. 27, 231; Vol. 28, 445.

- <sup>171</sup> *Marcellus*, 17: "Let not him who prays judge the labouring brother because he is not at prayer. Let not him that is at work judge the one who is praying or say, 'He lies by, while I am working.' Let not him who serves judge some one else, but let each one do whatever he is doing to the glory of God."
- <sup>172</sup> *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 4, 27.
- <sup>173</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 4, 393 (*Patrologia Latina* 42:21-50).
- <sup>174</sup> Refer. to Arnold's edition.
- <sup>175</sup> This work is not listed in Quasten, Vol. 4, 153 f.
- <sup>176</sup> *Corpus Christianorum, Exposito Psalmorum I-LXX*, 169 f.
- <sup>177</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, Vol. 9, 337: "This very circumstance then it was which at the time astounded the the keeper of the prison, that being so forcibly confined, he, through prayer alone, prevailed to shake the foundations, and throw upon the doors of the prison, and to unbind all the prisoners."
- <sup>178</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 3, 36: "If God neglects the human race in this world, why do we daily stretch forth our hands to heaven? Why do we seek the mercy of God with unceasing prayers?"
- <sup>179</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 21, 210: "In fact, he [Ponticianus] was a Christian and a faithful one, accustomed to go on his knees before Thee, our God, in frequent and lengthy prayers in church."
- <sup>180</sup> *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 4, 108; this is from *On Fasting* and concerns Tertullian's defense of the necessity of fasting from Scripture. He defends the Montanists against attacks on their fastings which came from the "pyschici" (Catholics), and he in turn accuses the latter of gluttony in their rejection of fastings. It is ironic that Arnold quotes Tertullian here because in this chapter Tertullian is specifically addressing and defending the practice of stations and hours of prayer. The irony is that while Tertullian admits that prayer is not to be restricted to a time and place, he is justifying here the practice of prayer at special times and

places: “why should we not understand that, with absolutely perfect indifference, we must pray always, and everywhere, and at every time: yet still that these three hours, third, sixth and ninth – as being more marked in things human – have likewise ever been of special solemnity in divine prayers?”

- <sup>1</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, Vol. 2, 105.
- <sup>17</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 3, 243.
- <sup>171</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, Vol. 6, 38: “No meal should be begun without prayer, and before leaving table thanks should be returned to the Creator. We should rise two or three times in the night, and go over the parts of Scripture which we know by heart. When we leave the roof which shelters us, prayer should be our armor; and when we return from the street we should pray before we sit down, and not give the frail body rest until the soul is fed.”
- <sup>172</sup> *Marcellinus*, 65: “. . . and it comes to pass that being all day engaged he gives himself to prayer for an hour, and the inward man is rapt in prayer into the unfathomable deep of that other world in great sweetness . . .” Arnold’s quote is accurate, although in his version one is rapt to *God*, not prayer.
- <sup>173</sup> This reference cannot be located here.
- <sup>174</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 4, 163.
- <sup>175</sup> *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 3, 682: “We make petition, then, that He supply us with the substance of His will . . . because the sun of His will is the salvation of them whom He has adopted.”
- <sup>176</sup> See Quasten, Vol. 4, 164 (*Patrologia Latina* 15:1607-1944).
- <sup>177</sup> Not located.
- <sup>178</sup> *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 5, 213; this concerns one named Ponticianus, who prayed: “Give me chastity and self-restraint, but not just yet.”
- <sup>179</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, Vol. 9, 239: “The way to secure uninterrupted prayer is for every devout man to make his life one long prayer by works acceptable to God and always done to His glory.”
- <sup>180</sup> *SS. Ecclesiae Patrum*, Vol. 28, 445.
- <sup>181</sup> (Beda) *Corpus Christianorum*, Vol. 120, 194 f.; (Aug.) see Quasten, Vol. 4, 369 (*Patrologia Latina* 40:11-100).



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