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THE PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS  
AND THE THEOLOGY OF PIETISM

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Historical Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Sacred Theology

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by

Breno I. O. Faber

May 1984

Approved by

David P. Daniel

Advisor

Wm. J. [unclear] 2/21/84

Reader

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION . . . . .	iii
Chapter	
I. PIETISM: CAUSES, INFLUENCES, AND LEADERS . . . . .	1
Influences on the Development of Pietism . . . . .	8
Philip Jakob Spener . . . . .	17
August Hermann Francke . . . . .	35
Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf . . . . .	42
II. THE PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS AND THE REFORM OF THE MINISTRY . . . . .	49
The Priesthood of All Believers . . . . .	51
The Reform of the Ministry . . . . .	65
III. SOCIAL WORK AND MISSIONS . . . . .	77
IV. PIETIST THEOLOGY . . . . .	110
Justification . . . . .	115
Regeneration and Sanctification . . . . .	124
Faith and Good Works . . . . .	128
The Means of Grace . . . . .	131
V. CONCLUSION . . . . .	145
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	153

## INTRODUCTION

Pietism, one of the most significant religious movements in Germany during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, is once again becoming popular among Christians today. Pietist themes and emphases have reappeared in the theology and practice of twentieth century Christianity, not only in the United States, but throughout the Christian world. Among these emphases are the need for Christians to clearly demonstrate their regeneration by living the sanctified life, by obviously utilizing the power of faith, and by gathering together with other "true disciples" in extra-ecclesial meetings or home-churches, an emphasis upon the experiencing of the Holy Spirit and the manifestation of His fruits and gifts, the reassertion of lay authority in both ecclesiastical and theological matters, and the advocacy of greater ecumenical fellowship based upon piety and practice rather than doctrinal statements. Many seem to see in these practices and emphases, possible solutions for the weaknesses and difficulties faced by the churches in the twentieth century. Even within Lutheranism, there are those who would argue that what is needed to improve its impact upon the world is a synthesis of the orthodox doctrine and pietist practice.

Pietism and pietistic emphases are becoming popular again because during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century the Pietists sought to revitalize Christianity in ways familiar to twentieth century Christians seeking to do the same. Pietism sought to foster a more vigorous personal and public piety among the people. They sought to

improve the education of ministers in practical piety so that they might better guide and edify their people. They sought to encourage the reading of the Bible, Christian education of the youthful and the mature, demonstrated social concern and responsibility in their philanthropic enterprises, and embarked upon ambitious programs of domestic and foreign missions. In a state-church environment where erastianism had led to spiritual smugness or apathy, the Pietists sought to reform the life of the church by reasserting the rights and responsibilities of the priesthood of all believers emphasized by Luther but neglected in seventeenth century German Lutheranism. They felt that this revitalization of the laity would lead to a reform of church and society. They believed, moreover, that this would require the improvement also in the education of clerics. In this the Pietists seemed to have achieved initial success in that the movement spread rapidly and widely. Yet, over the longer term, Pietism's attempt to reform the life and practice of the church did not effect truly permanent changes in society. It is the purpose of this study to demonstrate that one major cause for this was that Pietism, in its practices and emphases, transformed itself into a theological movement and promulgated a theology not totally consistent with classical Lutheranism.

Because the major concerns of the Pietists was the practice of a living faith and on the forms of Christian life and organization, many have held that Pietism did not have particularly significant theological consequences; that it should not be discussed within the history of theology because its primary emphasis was practical and not theological. Moreover, there have been those who have held that the Pietists were, on

the whole, faithful to Lutheran theology. But there are also those who severely criticize them for having forsaken the theology of Luther and the Lutheran symbols. They have been criticized for their legalism and ecumenical attitudes.

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to examine Pietist practice and theology in order to establish whether or not, by emphasizing the subjective elements of the doctrine of justification and the practice of piety, they deviated from the theology of Lutheranism. In order to answer this question, works by and interpretations of the leading Pietists were surveyed in order to establish what was the relationship between the practices of Pietism and the theology utilized to defend and define those practices and the theology of classical Lutheranism.

Philip Jakob Spener's Pia Desideria, Theologische Bedencken, and his The Spiritual Priesthood will be examined in some detail as will August Hermann Francke's Busspredigten, Der Grosse Aufsatz, Idea Studiosi Theologiae, Wort und Dienst Gottes, and Unweihsung zum Wahren Christenthum. Selected works by Nikolaus von Zinzendorf, Martin Chemnitz, Francis Pieper and C. F. W. Walther will also be utilized. Geographically, this study will be limited to German since it was the center of Lutheran Pietism during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This study is not a history of Pietism, however, but rather an attempt to understand how the practices of the Pietists arose from specific concerns and within a particular conception of the nature of the Christian faith and to see how this reflected their theological attitude. This study is limited, moreover, to an examination of three of the more significant figures of seventeenth and early eighteenth century

the more significant figures of seventeenth and early eighteenth century German Pietism, Spener, Francke, and Zinzendorf, each of whom demonstrated particular concerns and, as a result of those concerns, seems to have deviated from the theology of Lutheranism. Indeed, it is the thesis of study that while many of the Pietists considered themselves true Lutherans who were faithful to the doctrinal reformation of Martin Luther, they did not remain faithful to Lutheranism but, by their practices and emphases, eventually so modified their doctrinal position that the fundamental article of Lutheranism, the doctrine of justification, was threatened.

## CHAPTER I

### PIETISM: CAUSES, INFLUENCES, AND LEADERS

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European churches experienced a revival of moral and religious earnestness. The result of a growing dissatisfaction with theological neo-scholasticism, widespread formalism in worship and moral laxity, the desire for religious and moral reform manifested itself in movements such as Puritanism in England, Jansenism in France, and Pietism in Germany. All of these movements were attempts to effect a renewal of church and society by emphasizing the study of scripture and by encouraging the practice of Christian piety. In Germany, Pietism emerged among Lutherans as a response to the social, economic, and religious difficulties which resulted from the devastation wrought by the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).

On October 24, 1648, the Peace of Westphalia, signed by Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed political leaders brought an end to the Thirty Years' War. By the terms of the treaty, Reformed princes were to be considered as possessing the same privileges which had been granted to the Lutherans by the Peace of Augsburg of 1555. While the right of territorial princes to determine the religion of their subjects was retained, this jus reformandi exercitium religionis, was more carefully defined. Princes were not to impose a specific religious faith upon their subjects although they did possess the authority to regulate the public practice and expressions of religion. Individual "freedom of

conscience" was recognized by the Peace which extended to individuals the right to enjoy and practice such religion as they had practiced in 1624. While the princes could force dissenters to emigrate, in those territories where they were tolerated, they were to be granted civil, but not necessarily political, rights.<sup>1</sup>

The problem of secularized territories was settled by assigning them to those who had held them as of January 1, 1624: Protestant lands remained Protestant, Catholic lands, Catholic. However, the Peace extended to the Protestant bishoprics, the provisions of the ecclesiastical reservation of 1555. This meant that if a Protestant administrator converted to Catholicism, he had to resign his position. This had been a requirement for Catholic bishops and abbots since the Peace of Augsburg. The result of these provisions was that individual territories within the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation became virtually autonomous political entities. In many of these territories, moreover, the ruling sought to encourage religious homogeneity through his right of controlling ecclesiastical appointments and administration.<sup>2</sup> They considered clergymen to be officials of the state and demanded that they conform to the religious policies sanctioned by princely authority and this led to the emergence of erastianism and clericalism within many of the territorial churches in Germany.

Although the Peace of Westphalia did bring an end to the hostilities

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<sup>1</sup> Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany, Vol. I, The Reformation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), pp. 368-374.

<sup>2</sup> Philip Jacob Spener, Pia Desideria, with an Introduction by Theodore Tappert, ed. Theodore Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), pp. 3,5.

which had disrupted Europe for a generation, the devastation the war had visited upon Germany would not easily be erased. The economy was in shambles and the population was exhausted. Agriculture, industry and commerce had suffered substantially and the population had been reduced significantly. The war had reduced the population anywhere from twenty to fifty percent, with a corresponding loss of homes, livestock and businesses. For instance, Henneberg lost seventy-five percent of its inhabitants, sixty-six percent of its houses, and eighty-two percent of its cattle during the war<sup>3</sup> while in Wuertemberg, famine and war reduced the population from 450,000 to 166,000. In Halle, just as conditions began to improve, the dreaded black death struck in 1682 and reduced the population of the city by half. Social and economic discord was widespread as poverty increased. Little concern was shown for the vast numbers of discharged soldiers, widow and orphans, the sick, the wounded and the maimed. Not only would social discord spread, moral laxity became evident among all classes.

Immorality seems to have become a major problem in many regions of Germany after years of warfare. In Halle, thirty-seven of its two hundred houses were establishments of prostitution. Recreation consisted largely of excessive drinking and brawling. To men such as Philip Spener and August Francke, it appeared that sin was no longer being taken seriously, not even by the upper classes.<sup>4</sup> Francke, who was convinced that the devil was behind the rampant vice of his age and was

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<sup>3</sup> Oscar Kuhns, The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1914), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, pp. 58-75.

demonstrating his reign and power among the members of the "political estate."<sup>5</sup> He attacked kings, princes, lords, and magistrates as idlers, gluttons, immoderate drinkers, gamblers, fornicators. They were as eagles, lions, bears, and other cruel animals while their councillors and servants were as foxes, dogs, and wolves.<sup>6</sup> Spener saw in the corruption of the ruling classes the cause of the pollution of both society and church. If the church was to be reformed it would be necessary, as Francke put it, to educate "pious politicians" who would not seek luxury and frivolity but who would fulfill their duties with honesty and ability.<sup>7</sup>

But this would necessitate the rebuilding of the educational system in many German towns. Education and the proper discipline of young people had been neglected during the chaotic years of the war. Schoolmasters, teachers, and pastors were in short supply. More than a few schools and congregations were without teachers or pastors for years. It was not uncommon that one pastor might serve several congregations or be expected to fulfill the duties of teacher and cantor in addition to his normal duties. Nor did it seem that they were adequately prepared for their responsibilities. Spener, Francke, and other Pietists criticized clergymen for failing to recognize and deal with the problems of their parishioners, many of whom were deficient in instruction and who showed little interest in the church.

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<sup>5</sup> August Hermann Francke, Der Grosse Aufsatz (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), pp. 72, 80.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>7</sup> Martin Schmidt et al., August Hermann Franckes Wort und Tat (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1966), p. 41.

In many congregations it appeared that nothing more was expected of the parishioners than to indicate a rudimentary knowledge of a few chief parts of Christian doctrine, listen to sermons, receive the sacraments, even if only infrequently, and obey church ordinances. Francke spoke out strongly against the formalism he saw in the celebration and reception of the Lord's Supper. He criticized those who would not seek to live the Christian life they promised to live when they made their confession prior to receiving the sacrament.<sup>8</sup> He chastized the habitual tardiness for worship services of those who arrived during the singing of hymns or even during the preaching of the sermon.<sup>9</sup> Among those present so many fell asleep during sermons that the theologian Johann Gerhard was expressly praised at his funeral for never having slept in church.<sup>10</sup>

While Spener and his fellow Pietists recognized the social and economic causes of the immorality and religious formalism around them, they laid much of the blame upon the clericalism and erastianism which had emerged in territorial Lutheran Churches. Spener reacted against the increasing influence in and control of the church by political authorities and appointees. He wrote that "although their (the rulers) power was given to them in order to promote and not to suppress the church, they abused this power with an irresponsible caesaropapism and, whenever some ministers of the church, moved by God, propose to do

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<sup>8</sup> Francke, Busspredigten (Halle: In Verlegung des Waisenhauses, 1724), Part I, pp. 290-291, 126-127.

<sup>9</sup> Francke, Oeffentliches Zeugnis vom Werk, Wort und Dienst Gottes (Halle: Verlegung des Waisenhauses, 1702), p. 227.

<sup>10</sup> Tappert's introduction to Pia Desideria, p. 7.

something good, they arbitrarily obstruct it."<sup>11</sup> During his pastorate in Frankfurt, Spener sought to establish a more effective system of church discipline but had been hindered in its implementation because of the influence of civic officials in ecclesiastical matters. He considered the dominant role played by consistories in the governance of the church to have fostered an "irresponsible caesaropapism by which the princes controlled ecclesiastical affairs. He believed that the consistories, comprised of the clerics and lawyers appointed by and responsible to the ruler, had arrogated unto themselves rights which belong to the congregation and thereby had contributed to the decline in spiritual vitality and pastoral care. Spener was upset with a situation in which "the political estate makes most of the decisions without asking . . . the congregation,"<sup>12</sup> and held that "in the kingdom of the Lord as well as in the kingdom of the world, suffrage must be given according to the station and dignity of persons" but that the rulers must "give the lower ranks opportunity to speak their minds without prejudice and with more freedom than is given by the upper ranks."<sup>13</sup>

Spener held that not only were the consistories responsible for the deterioration of the Lutheran Church, but also the clergy as a group.<sup>14</sup> He wrote that "When you see a tree whose leaves are faded and withering, there is something wrong with the roots. So, when you see that the

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<sup>11</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 44.

<sup>12</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken und andere Antworten (Halle: In Verlegung des Waisenhauses, 1715), 1:74.

<sup>13</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, pp. 32-33.

<sup>14</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:228.

people are undisciplined, you must realize that no doubt their priests are not holy."<sup>15</sup> They often failed to preach to the needs of their congregations or had become so absorbed in theological controversies and doctrinal precisionism that they failed to speak a language their parishoners understood. Spener proposed that the fruits of faith were more important than extreme subtleties or quarrelsome disputation while Francke held that theological knowledge did not in and of itself effect a spiritual re-awakening. A drop of piety was, for him, worthier and nobler than an ocean of learning and knowledge.<sup>16</sup>

What was particularly distressing to Spener, Francke and their fellow Pietists was the failure of many clerics to be interested in spreading the gospel at home and abroad. The theological faculty at Wittenberg had stated that the task of the apostles had been to preach the gospel throughout the world but that Christians no longer had that responsibility. Those who do not believe in Christ do not believe because they have rejected the gospel. God does not have the obligation to give them another chance.<sup>17</sup> Spener and Francke, however, argued that Christ entrusted the Great Commission to all Christians and therefore argued that the restrictions and limitations of confessions had to be transcended in order to carry on effective Christian missionary work.

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<sup>15</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 44.

<sup>16</sup> William Fries, August Hermann Franckes Bedeutung fuer die Pädagogik, insbesondere fuer die Anstaltspädagogik. Vortrag gehalten auf dem Fuersorge-Erziehungstage zu Halle a. S. am 16. April 1914 (n.p.: n.p., 1914), pp. 49-50.

<sup>17</sup> James A. Scherer, "The Lutheran Missionary Idea in Historical Perspective," Lutheran World Federation Report, 11/12 (1982), p. 18.

The renovation of the church which the Pietists desired necessitated, in their view, a revitalization of the life of the church by reducing the influence of the state in ecclesiastical affairs and by fostering true personal piety and spiritual responsibility. They felt that the excessive control of the church by the state had been the major reason why the renovation of individual Christians and the practice of true piety had not followed the reformation of doctrine which had been the great work of Martin Luther. They would help to complete his reformation of doctrine by emphasizing the implementation of the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers which he had so clearly taught.

#### Influences on the Development of Pietism

Pietism was one of several religious movements which emerged in seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe which attempted to effect a renewal of moral and religious earnestness. In their attempts to bring about a renovation of church and society these movements crossed both national and confessional boundaries much as had late medieval mysticism whose literature would affect the leaders of Pietism and Puritanism. Johann Arndt, a Lutheran pastor in Germany during the first decade of the seventeenth century, was influenced by the writings of Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, Johannes Tauler, Thomas a Kempis and other medieval German and Dutch authors. In his very influential True Christianity he emphasized a mystical union with Christ as the basis of a living faith which went beyond merely accepting articles of faith to the practice of Christian piety. A similar reliance on mystical piety can be detected among some of the Puritan writers in England, such as

Lewis Bayly, Daniel Dyke, and Richard Baxter whose translated writings circulated among Lutherans in Germany. The similarity of emphasis between Pietism and Puritanism and the availability of English Puritan literature on the continent requires that the relationship of Pietism to Puritanism be established.

Although Spener noted that "what concerns moral and church ceremonies we have different things to learn from the others, but what concerns doctrine I see nothing,"<sup>18</sup> some scholars have regarded Pietism and Puritanism as similar and closely related. Elements common to both movements have been identified by such investigators as Ernst Troeltsch, Max Goebel, Heinrich Heppe, Johannes von Alther, August Lang, Julius Bodensieck and Theodore Tappert. Among the Puritan elements they discerned in Pietism was the teaching that "all pious Christians have the duty of scrutinizing their daily life."<sup>19</sup> In Francke's fostering of an ascetic life in his various social agencies and his emphasis upon self-examination, repentance, and moral living, some have detected the influence of English Puritanism. Concerning Spener, Tappert noted, in his introduction to his English translation of Pia Desideria that, as a student in Strassburg, Spener lived a reclusive, ascetic life. He would not participate in drinking bouts, fencing matches or dancing and, one day each week, he would not eat dinner thereby conforming, perhaps, to a suggestion made by Bayly in his Practice of Piety.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:228.

<sup>19</sup> Julius Bodensieck, (ed.), The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965), 3:1910.

<sup>20</sup> Tappert's Introduction to Pia Desideria, pp. 10-11.

The Puritan influence found its way into Germany through the not insubstantial body of its literature which was translated into German and circulated among theologians. Bayly's Practice of Piety, which first appeared in 1610, was published in an German translation in 1629. Containing a set of devotional exercises for morning and evening use, meditations on fasting and holy communion, and a series of prayers and consolations for the sick and the dying, the book was especially well-received by those who became Pietist leaders. Richard Baxter's Treatise on Self-Denial was translated into German in Hamburg in 1655 and contained, alongside a critique of indolent and impious clergy, an admonition to live a consecrated life. Emanuel Sonthom's Golden Treasure of the Children was published by a Strassburg press in 1632 and, according to Spener, it was printed in other Lutheran cities and welcomed by many theologians.<sup>21</sup> He also indicated that, during his childhood, he had come to know these works as well as Daniel Dyke's Self-Deceit which he thought were most helpful for his own spiritual edification and maturation.<sup>22</sup> As a pastor, Spener recommended these same works for personal reading and edification to other clergymen and for use in the collegio pietatis. However, he was not without reservations concerning these Puritan writings. He recommended that those who would make use of these books first be well-acquainted with biblical truth and Lutheran theology since the English writers were not clear about the doctrine of justification and often confused law and

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<sup>21</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:347.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:337-338.

gospel.<sup>23</sup> Dyke's Self-Deceit and Sonthom's Golden Treasure were also well known by Francke, who read them himself and recommended them for use in his congregations and charitable institutions.<sup>24</sup>

For Dale Brown, Erhard von Peschke, and Kurt Schmidt, Pietism owes much more to the influence of the general Reformed theological tradition rather than to Puritanism specifically. Peschke and Brown, for instance, saw Reformed elements in Francke's emphasis upon ethics, discipline, self-control, and his advocacy of love for one's neighbor.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Spener's concepts concerning the reform of the church seem, in their view, to owe more to Calvin than to Luther. While Luther believed that it was necessary to lay aside only those elements of the traditional practices of the church which contradicted scripture, Calvin felt that it was necessary to restore primitive Christian forms and practices.<sup>26</sup> Spener also thought this restoration of the purity of the ancient church was necessary and that there remained within Lutheranism many practices or traditions carried over from Catholicism.<sup>27</sup>

Kurt Schmidt further argued that this Reformed influence upon Pietism can be traced to the influence on Spener of Jean de Labadie, a French priest trained by the Jesuits who had become a Reformed pastor in

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Francke, Busspredigten, 1:191.

<sup>25</sup> Dale Brown, Understanding Pietism (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1976), p. 7. F. Ernst Stoeffler, German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1923), p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> Justo L. Gonzalez, A History of Christian Thought (New York: Abingdon Press, 1975, 3:280.

<sup>27</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:179-180.

Orange in 1657. Two years later he assumed a preaching post in Geneva and then, in 1666, accepted a call to the French-speaking congregation at Middelburg in Holland. There he wrote his Reformation of the Church through the Ministry. Spener, according to Schmidt, was influenced by this work and "had it at hand on his desk, or at all events made use of it,"<sup>28</sup> while he was writing his Pia Desideria. Spener indicated, however, that while he met Labadie in Geneva and quickly read the works which he had written in France when they were at the height of their influence, of the works published in Holland, few came into his hands and he had read little of them.<sup>29</sup> Spener did not, moreover, make any specific citations of Labadie's work as he would of the writings of the Puritans and of the medieval mystics. Kurt Aland, therefore, denied that Labadie had any significant influence upon Spener who was obviously much more dependent upon those writers he himself mentioned.<sup>30</sup>

In addition, Labadie's idea that pastors were the most logical agents to reform the life of the church certainly was not original for it can be found among many Lutheran authors of both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For instance, Johann Jacob Schuetz, who was trained in the spirit of Lutheran orthodoxy and who played an important role in early Pietism, noted that to the church of Christ other tasks are related, for example, the improvement and edification of pastors through seminars for candidates of theology who consecrate themselves to

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<sup>28</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 17.

<sup>29</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:293.

<sup>30</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 17.

the simplicity of the pure truth and the practice of the Christian life.<sup>31</sup>

Labadie's ideas also were not unique in Catholic circles. Francke cited the words of Bernard of Clairvaux, written to Pope Eugene: "Provide better pastors so you will have better sheep."<sup>32</sup> While there were some early Pietists who may have been influenced by Reformed thought when they argued that a person who had been baptized but did not demonstrate sanctification in his life was unregenerated,<sup>33</sup> there is no solid evidence that Spener and Francke were significantly informed by Reformed thought. Spener criticized those who failed to recognize that grace was not irresistible and that one could lose one's regeneration. Both Francke's emphasis upon ethics and Spener's understanding of ecclesiastical reform can be understood as manifestations of the concerns of the age in which they lived as the result of the particular influence of specific aspects of Reformed thought.

Another group of scholars, among them Albert Ritschl, Konrad Algermissen, and Theodore Tappert, has identified some Roman Catholic influences upon the leaders of Pietism. Ritschl examined the preaching and writings of the leading Pietists and concluded that Pietism was essentially a revival of medieval monastic and mystical piety.<sup>34</sup> This

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<sup>31</sup> Martin Greschat, Zur Neueren Pietismusforschung (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), p. 216.

<sup>32</sup> Francke, Werke in Auswahl (Berlin: Luther-Verlag, 1969), p. 108.

<sup>33</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:80-81.

<sup>34</sup> Albrecht Ritschel, Geschichte des Pietismus (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1880), 1:3-80.

evaluation was partly based on the fact that the Pietists emphasized the practical and moral aspects of the Christian faith rather than abstract or metaphysical elements and insisted on the priority of the will over reason, of piety over knowledge. These were elements which were characteristic of medieval Catholic mysticism.<sup>35</sup> These emphases could best be seen in Zinzendorf who emphasized a religion of the heart and Christian fellowship. During a study trip in 1719, Zinzendorf traveled to Paris where he met several important Catholic leaders including Cardinal Noailles. He later recalled his stay with Noailles noting "we were together for half a year with divinely joyfull hearts, without thinking anymore as to which religion the one or the other belonged."<sup>36</sup> Medieval Catholic mystical literature, especially the Theologia Germanica and the Imitation of Christ of Thomas a Kempis was often referred to, cited, and used by the Pietists. Spener himself recommended that these works should be used to correct the discipline of the youth of the church and should be read along with the Bible.<sup>37</sup>

Alongside the influence of the medieval mystics, that of Miguel de Molinos also had an influence upon the emergence of Pietism. In his Spiritual Guide Molinos held that it was through contemplation that the perfect Christian is to be distinguished from the imperfect one, an idea which would be echoed among the Pietists. Spener read and recommended this work of Molinos<sup>38</sup> while Francke was impressed by the emphasis upon

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<sup>35</sup> Gonzales, 2:243,310.

<sup>36</sup> Stoeffler, p. 135.

<sup>37</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 110. Theologische Bedencken, 2:850.

<sup>38</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:317-318.

humility, the trials of the religious life and the Christ-centeredness he found in the works of the Spanish mystic.<sup>39</sup> Elements of Molinos' mysticism seem to be reflected in Francke's distinction between the regenerated and the non-regenerated individual and in his stress upon individual efforts to overcome love for the things of this world.<sup>40</sup>

According to Ernest F. Stoeffler, the development of Pietism was influenced greatly by the works of the Lutheran mystic, Jakob Boehme. Boehme had become dissatisfied with Lutheran orthodoxy because he believed that its emphasis upon the efficacy of the word and the sacraments could lead individuals to view them as being efficacious by virtue of their very performance. He also disliked what he considered the excessive theological systematization of the orthodox theologians and their emphasis upon objective justification and the righteousness of Christ. Spener said that he was not well acquainted with the writings of Boehme and that he did not understand his views. Therefore he was hesitant to judge the issues on which Boehme disagreed with the Lutheran Church.<sup>41</sup> However, Spener was not completely ignorant of Boehme's ideas for he praised the latter's Aurora because it presented Luther's Reformation and work against the papacy.<sup>42</sup>

Perhaps the single most important religious influence upon the development of Lutheran Pietism during the seventeenth century was the

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<sup>39</sup> Stoeffler, p. 42.

<sup>40</sup> Dale Brown, p. 19.

<sup>41</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:321, 327.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323.

thought of Johann Arndt who, through his True Christianity, affected the religious life and thought of several generations following him. This work was one of the earliest German Lutheran devotional books written expressly for the common people. Arndt's purpose was to divert the minds of students and preachers from excessive polemics and controversy and to motivate Christians to practice faith and piety and thereby bring forth the fruits of faith. Spener praised this work and said that he did not know anyone who expressed the doctrine of repentance and regeneration as well as had Arndt.<sup>43</sup> "Repentance," said Arndt, "is nothing else but a death to sin; to the end, that being dead unto sin, we may live unto righteousness by faith, and obtain remission of sin in Christ."<sup>44</sup> Through this experience of grief and sorrow and individual would be brought to a new birth or regeneration which was the beginning of a fruitful life. The fruits and effects of the Christian's new birth consisted not of words but in the practice and doing of the Word. Christianity was to be put into practice. Arndt's work was prized by Spener who referred to it in his preaching, commended it to his congregations.<sup>45</sup> Francke was also well acquainted with this work which he considered indispensable reading alongside the scriptures and praised Arndt because he had called Germany to repentance.<sup>46</sup> Francke emphasized in his preaching and teaching the need for repentance which echoed Arndt

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 3:237.

<sup>44</sup> James O Bemesderfer, "Pietism: The Other Side," Journal of Religious Thought, 25, 2 (Autumn-Winter, 1968-69), 6.

<sup>45</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:827. 4:190.

<sup>46</sup> Francke, Busspredigten, 1:249, 251, 191.

who had written that "purity of doctrine and the Word of God is maintained not only by disputation and writing many books, but also by true repentance and holiness of life."<sup>47</sup> Arndt also produced other works which were read by the Pietists,<sup>48</sup> and which, according to Spener, were in accord with the scriptures and "directed toward an honest cultivation of true orthodoxy, not the vain reputation of an orthodoxy that consists merely of doctrinal statements, but a living knowledge of effective Christianity and of what such orthodoxy is aimed at, namely, the inner man."<sup>49</sup> Because of his influence upon the early leaders of Pietism, Johann Arndt can be considered to be the leading antecedent of German Pietism.<sup>50</sup>

#### Philip Jakob Spener

The history of the formation of Pietism is, to a very great extent, the history of the life of Philip Jakob Spener.<sup>51</sup> He was the "father of Pietism"<sup>52</sup> and one of the leading theological figures of the seventeenth century.<sup>53</sup> Born on January 3, 1635 in Rappolstein in Alsatia, he was

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<sup>47</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 100.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>50</sup> Dale Brown, p. 19.

<sup>51</sup> Erich Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf Verlag, 1978), p. 61.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>53</sup> John Ker, History of Preaching (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1889), p. 183. Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p. 445.

the eldest of eight children born to a steward, later a councilor of one of the counts of Rappolstein. The piety of his parents whose favorite devotional book next to the Bible was Arndt's True Christianity, deeply impressed Spener.<sup>54</sup> He himself reported that his parents left short nothing concerning his "pious education" and they sacrificed to provide for the education of their children. For their concern and his education Spener expressed thankfulness until his death.<sup>55</sup>

According to Paul Gruenberg, Spener's early religious education also was influenced by his godmother, Agatha von Rappolstein, and by his catechist, preacher, advisor and teacher, the court preacher Joachim Stoll.<sup>56</sup> Spener himself, in his writings, made several references to Stoll who he esteemed as a father and who he regarded as responsible for creating in him the first sparks of true Christianity, piety, and consecrated zealously. Spener also regarded Stoll as his first professor of homiletics and was greatly influenced by his preaching.<sup>57</sup> It also is probable that Stoll introduced Spener to the reading of Puritan writings which were then circulating in Germany. Stoll's impression on Spener was not limited only to religious matters for he influenced the youth's general formation. In his curriculum vitae

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<sup>54</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus, p. 62. Charles Michael Jacobs, The Story of the Church: An Outline of its History from the end of the first to the end of the nineteenth century (Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, 1925), p. 312.

<sup>55</sup> Johannes Wallmann, Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfaenge des Pietismus (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1970), p. 37.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., pp. 41-42.

<sup>57</sup> Wallmann, p. 53.

prepared for the University of Strassburg, Spener reported that, during his last two years in Rappolstein he worked through the principal parts of philosophy under Stoll's supervision and guidance.<sup>58</sup>

At the age of fifteen, Spener enrolled in the University of Strassburg where he spent eight years studying history, philosophy and theology. Regarded as an academy for the sons of princes and nobles, the university had a strong tradition of humanistic and historical studies. The historian Johann Heinrich Boecler, who became Spener's professor and mentor, was responsible for the humanistic tradition of the history faculty. Under his influence, Spener received excellent training in history. In speculative philosophy, then under the strong influence of Aristotelian metaphysica and logic, Spener saw little useful and he preferred the study of Seneca, Cicero, Plutarch, Diogenes and Xenophon.<sup>59</sup>

During the first decades of the seventeenth century the faculty of theology of the University was in decline. However, after the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, it rebounded and was considered, by the time Spener enrolled, one of the most distinguished schools of theology in Germany. Many of Spener's future adversaries and friends were students there at the same time: Johann Carpzov and Johann Fecht, both of whom wrote against Pietism; Ulmer Elias Veiel, who was a friend of Spener and who provided some material for Pia Desideria and Johann Horb, his future brother-in-law. Among his acquaintances were also

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 54-55.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 71.

Friedrich Breckling, Johann Gichtel and Johann Stenger who would later deviate from Lutheran orthodoxy. Thus, from the University graduated individuals who would take quite different theological paths during the second half of the sixteenth century: Lutheran Orthodoxy, Pietism and Mystic Spiritualism.<sup>60</sup>

It was as a student of theology in Strassburg that Spener developed his interest in spirituality by reading readily available collections of meditations. At the suggestion of his pastor, Joachim Stoll, he began to dedicate a portion of each Sunday, after services, to the study of writings which would be helpful to his meditations and the practice of piety. Among these writings were the Soliloquia et Meditationes Sacre by Senior Pritius, spiritual songs and poems by Johann Pist and Ernst Homburg, and Johann Gerhard's Meditationes Sacrae.<sup>61</sup> The publication of meditations in the Lutheran Church was not unusual during the seventeenth century but followed the tradition established by Arndt's True Christianity and Johann Gerhard's Sacred Meditations of 1606 which was republished during Spener's time in Strassburg.<sup>62</sup>

During Spener's stay at the University, the leading theologians included Johann Schmidt, Johann Dannhauer and Sebastian Schmidt. These three were regarded by Spener as the only true preceptors of his theological studies.<sup>63</sup> Of these three, it was Johann Schmidt who had

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., pp. 67-68.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>63</sup> Kurt Aland, Spener-Studien (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter and Co., 1943), 1:48, 58. Wallmann, p. 86.

the greatest influence on Spener and his spiritual development. Spener called him a "dear father in Christ," and recommended his writings to others.<sup>64</sup> Sebastian Schmidt, professor of biblical exegesis, whose commentaries on the scriptures were widely read during the eighteenth century, also influenced Spener. Schmidt gave particular attention to the Prophets because he felt that the preaching of Moses, Paul and Christ was based upon them. It was from him that Spener learned the method of interpreting the Bible which he would recommend to others.<sup>65</sup> Spener recommended this method to Paul Anton for his Collegium Philobiblicum in Leipzig and also to Francke. This method consisted of gaining a general view of a biblical book or chapter which led to the study of individual verses, first of the syntax and then of the meaning of the text. Only after this could individual words be properly examined. This historical grammatical method seemed to Spener to offer much more than the highly structured and dogmatic interpretations of the text by staunchly orthodox exegetes.<sup>66</sup>

However, among all of Spener's professors, Dannhauer was the most significant theologian of his age and was regarded by some as a second Augustine.<sup>67</sup> His influence upon Spener was primarily in the area of theological formulation for Spener does make reference to Dannhauer when discussing doctrinal matters. Dannhauer's views, as published in his

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<sup>64</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 105. Wallmann, p. 92.

<sup>65</sup> Beyreuther, p. 71.

<sup>66</sup> Wallmann, p. 94.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

Catechism Milk, Or Explanation of the Christian Catechism and in his Hodosophia Christiania, were reflected in the writings of Spener. It was Dannhauer who introduced Spener to theological polemics but also the need to reform ecclesiastical structure and to further piety. Yet, Dannhauer also expressed reservations concerning the enthusiasm with which the Strassburg ecclesiastical circles accepted Arndt's True Christianity. And while Dannhauer's Hodosophia Christiana, parts of which Spener seems to have memorized, did influence the latter's dogmatics, his utilization of Aristotelianism was uncongenial to the future Pietist leader.<sup>68</sup> While in Strassburg, Spener also was impressed by the discipline practiced in the church and the effectiveness of catechetical instruction.<sup>69</sup>

Kurt Aland, in his study of comparison between Spener's Pia Desideria and Dannhauer's Catechism Milk concluded that Spener made use of Dannhauer's work while he was writing Pia Desideria.<sup>70</sup> Another of Dannhauer's works which was praised by Spener was Christeis: "if anybody wishes to read about the remarkable virtues of the early Christians, and some ancient witnesses to them, I hardly know anything better to recommend than that Christeis of my distinguished professor, the sainted Dr. John Conrad Dannhauer."<sup>71</sup>

Another who had a strong influence on Spener was the profesor of the

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>69</sup> Walker, p. 445.

<sup>70</sup> Aland, pp. 59-62.

<sup>71</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:323.

orthodox University of Rostock, Theophilus Grossgebauer. He asked the question, "How can the Word of Truth be implanted in the people's hearts only through preaching?"<sup>72</sup> He criticized many of the clergymen of his age. They called themselves doctors, Grossgebauer complained, but preferred to be professors, and therefore emphasized theological controversies in their preaching. He felt that the sacraments were not administered correctly nor were the people informed as to their significance. The meaning of Baptism was not taught to children, confirmation was disregarded, people were not instructed in the meaning of the Lord's Supper, and the office of the keys was misused. This was one of the reasons why sermons proved less than effective in bringing about a real renovation of the life of the people, especially since many individuals came to church just before the sermon and left immediately after its conclusion.<sup>73</sup> In his Waechterstimme aus dem verwuesteten Zion of 1661, to which he attached a Tractat on the doctrine of regeneration, he insisted that the pastors should not give rest to their parishioners before they had sure evidences that the people had been regenerated.<sup>74</sup> This same emphasis would later characterize the work of Spener who also admitted that Grossgebauer's Waechterstimme opened his eyes to the defects in the church.<sup>75</sup>

However, there are also some differences between Grossgebauer and

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<sup>72</sup> Wallmann, p. 155.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., pp. 157-158.

Spener. Grossgebauer held that man must experience a struggle prior to conversion.<sup>76</sup> This idea was not characteristic of Spener but of Francke. Grossgebauer also held, in his Tractat, that Baptism does not have an effect upon regeneration which does not really begin until a child begins to mature, from about the age of seven.<sup>77</sup> Spener would regard this statement as a Puritan or Reformed influence on Grossgebauer and believed it was responsible for the denial of the legitimacy of infant baptism by some of the Pietists.<sup>78</sup>

Yet, in the final analysis, it seems that Spener based most of his work on the ideas of Luther and Arndt. Others may have been important influences but he viewed these two men as far exceeding all other leaders of the Lutheran Church in spirituality and intellect and regarded himself a disciple of both.<sup>79</sup> While it is known that the works of Arndt influenced Spener early in his life, his initial acquaintance with the major writings of Luther is a matter of debate. According to some investigators, including Theodore Tappert<sup>80</sup> and Martin Schmidt,<sup>81</sup> it was Dannhauer who introduced Spener to the study of Luther's works. However, an examination of Spener's writings indicates that that while a student and preacher in Strassburg he did not give evidence of a

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 154, 168.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 157.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., pp. 110-111. Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:714.

<sup>80</sup> Tappert in his introduction to Spener's Pia Desideria, p. 10.

<sup>81</sup> Wallman, p. 111.

substantial knowledge of Luther's works. Spener himself testified that it was very difficult to obtain Luther's works and that the only way one could get something about Luther was through quotations and references in other writings.<sup>82</sup> It was only during the first decade of his pastorate in Frankfurt, that is after 1666, that Spener had the opportunity to study Luther's works in some depth. It must be noted that even his former professor, Dannhauer, had only begun intensively to study Luther during the last year's of his life, as Wallmann indicates in his study of the various editions of Dannhauer's Hodosophia. He found that only in the second edition were extensive references to Luther made. The same is true of Spener's works. The references to Luther in Spener's early works are based primarily on Luther's Bible translation, especially his introduction to the book of Romans.<sup>83</sup>

Moreover, during the age of orthodoxy, no new edition of Luther's collected works appeared to replace those issued during the sixteenth century. Finally, at the request of the Saxon Duke, Friedrich Willhelm II, the Alteburg edition of Luther's works was published during the years 1661-1664.<sup>84</sup> Spener obtained the ten volumes of this edition and his citations of Luther were drawn from them. Later, Spener complained that the theological students in the universities still studied little of Luther although he did point out that Dannhauer, at Strassburg, utilized Luther's writings.<sup>85</sup> Thus, while Dannhauer might have

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82 Ibid.

83 Ibid. p. 113.

84 Ibid.

85 Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:510.

introduced Spener to an appreciation of Luther, insofar as contemporary literature allowed, the careful study of the Reformer's writings by both Dannhauer and Spener awaited the appearance of the Altenburg edition of Luther's works.

After Spener completed his studies in 1659 he visited, as was the custom, universities in Basel, Bern, Lausanne, Geneva, Lyons, Monbeliard, Freiburg and Tuebingen. When he returned from his travels, he was ordained on March 25, 1663 in Strassburg as a state assistant preacher. In 1666, however, he received a call to serve as the senior pastor of the clergy in Frankfurt-on-the-Main. His functions there included preaching and administering the sacraments at the early service in the city's principal Lutheran Church, to preside over meetings of the clergy of the city, to ordain and install pastors, to visit parishes, and to keep the records of pastoral activities. He also carried out an extensive correspondence, counseling many throughout Germany, especially members of the nobility,<sup>86</sup> for which he became known as "the spiritual counselor of all Germany."<sup>87</sup> His experiences as a pastor led him to conclude that people could not gain a sufficient knowledge of the Word of God or spiritual edification only by listening to sermons. He criticized the life of the church as formalistic. Doctrines were preached but scripture was often disregarded for the religion of the heart was neglected and moral laxity was everywhere manifest.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus, p. 70.

<sup>87</sup> Tappert's introduction to Spener's Pia Desideria, p. 12.

<sup>88</sup> Jacobs, p. 312.

Spener believed that discipline within the church was lax because of the jurisdiction was in the hands of government officials. He tried, for instance, to convince the authorities to forbid trade on Sundays but was ignored.<sup>89</sup>

Invited by Elector John George III of Saxony to become his court preacher in Dresden, Spener left Frankfurt in 1686. With the elector's permission, Spener began catechetical instruction in his own home, drawing people from all ranks. When the space in his home became too small, the elector made available to him his own chapel. But he was disappointed because the elector not only failed to attend church regularly, but was often drunk, for which Spener rebuked him. It was not unexpected, therefore, that personal difficulties emerged between the elector and his court preacher which contributed to Spener's decision to leave Dresden for Berlin in 1691. There he served as a member of the Lutheran consistory, as a visitor of the churches, and as state preacher in the Church of St. Nicholas. He remained in Berlin until his death on February 5, 1705.

The experiences of Spener as a pastor, especially in Frankfurt and Dresden, led him to become an innovator within the church. The "first considerable innovation,"<sup>90</sup> alongside his catechetical instruction, was the formation of the collegio pietatis. The idea of such meetings may have had their roots in some of Luther's own comments. In his German Mass of 1525, Luther proposed that there should be meetings of

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<sup>89</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus, p. 90.

<sup>90</sup> Walker, p. 446.

the people in addition to the worship services. In these meetings the people should pray, read, baptize, and do other Christian works. According to John McIntosh, the establishment of these little churches within the church, ecclesiolae in ecclesia were, in Spener's view, nothing more than an application of Luther's understanding of the universal priesthood.<sup>91</sup> However, Julius Bodensieck argues that "it was a suggestion made a century before by Bucer in Strassburg, that Spener took up."<sup>92</sup> Spener himself did not indicate where the idea for the collegio came from and it must be noted that such meetings were not an uncommon phenomena and could be observed elsewhere in Europe.

Spener began meeting with a group of interested individuals in Frankfurt in 1670 when he realized that merely preaching expository sermons on one of the pericopes was not sufficient to bring about the reform of the life of the church. Originally, the collegio pietatis was a kind of collegio privata for academics and politicians, almost a "continuing education" program. However, it soon became so popular that even common folk sought to participate. But, with their admission, some of the original membership left the groups. The practice of piety had not yet led to egalitarianism within the church. Spener's stated purpose for such meetings was that through the study of the word it would be possible "to train and meet the priesthood of all believers according to the model in I Corinthians 14"<sup>93</sup> and "to prepare the

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<sup>91</sup> John McIntosh, "Proposals for Godliness in the Church," Reformed Theological Review, 35, No. 3 (Sept. - Dec., 1976), p. 8.

<sup>92</sup> Julius Bodensieck, (ed.), The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965), 3:1902.

<sup>93</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:178.

Christian as leaven to influence others by a pious life and so to make the task of the pastor easier.<sup>94</sup> He cited as scriptural evidence Matthew 18:19-20; Colossians 3:16; I Thessalonians 5:11-14; Romans 15:14; and Hebrew 3:13.

In establishing the collegio pietatis, Spener had no desire to disrupt the established practices of the Lutheran Church. However, even during Spener's lifetime but especially during the later phase of Pietism's development, many of those who met in small, private gatherings were often motivated by a spirit of pride and self-righteousness.<sup>95</sup> They disregarded the original purposes of the collegio and transformed it into a means of separation from the organized, institutional church. These radical Pietists thought that they were a power unto themselves and that there was nothing the clergy could do that they also could not do. "If a pastor did not adhere to their views, they would at times nourish a conscious opposition of the spiritual priesthood of the laity to the special priesthood of the clergy."<sup>96</sup> An example of a group of radical Pietists were those who met under the leadership of the lawyer Johann Jakob Schuetz. A private gathering of academics and politicians, it created some difficulties for Spener. Their ideal was a brotherhood of man and in 1675 this group was joined by the only influential and publicly noted Pietist woman, Johanna

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 132.

<sup>95</sup> Georg Rietschel, Lehrbuch der Liturgik: Die Lehre vom Gemeindegottesdienst (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1951), p. 384.

<sup>96</sup> Lars P. Qualben, A History of the Christian Church (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1936), pp. 365-366.

Eleonora von Merlau, who was also briefly banished from Frankfurt. This group criticized the Lutheran Church and called it a Babel. The members did not attend public services and neglected the Lord's Supper. Finally, a part of the group separated themselves from the Lutheran Church and, accepting an invitation from William Penn, moved to Pennsylvania. Spener tried for a long time to maintain a relationship with this group but, in 1684, he published two tracts against their excesses, The Spiritual Priesthood and the Use and Abuse of Complaints about Christianity.<sup>97</sup> In the former, written in catechetical form, he sought to distinguish the rights of the laity from the responsibilities and duties of the clergy. "It is wrong," he said, "to conclude from a recognition of the church's faults that the teachings of the church are false, that it is not the true church, and that separation from its services and sacraments is justified."<sup>98</sup>

Furthermore, some of Spener's followers went beyond him in attacking dancing, theater, card playing, smoking, jesting and drinking. Spener himself and the Pietists were attacked by orthodox university theologians. More than five hundred controversial pamphlets against the

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<sup>97</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus, p. 105.

<sup>98</sup> The radicalism of some of the Pietists gave adversaries of the movement an opportunity to criticize Spener's endeavors to reform the Church. The words "Pietist" and "Pietism," for instance, were employed to criticize Spener and his followers, even though originally the word pietas was a Latin equivalent of the Greek word eusebia, "godliness." It was John Carpzov, the orthodox Lutheran theologian who scornfully used the word to characterize Spener's followers in Leipzig. See John Thomas McNeill, Modern Christian Movements (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1968), p. 35. George Brown, "Pietism and the Reformed tradition," Reformed Review, 23, No. 3 (Spring, 1970), p. 143.

Pietists appeared during the last decade of the seventeenth century.<sup>99</sup>

The orthodox theologian John Frederick Meyer held that these amusements were adiaphora and that the correct use of these things was allowed; only their abuse was forbidden.<sup>100</sup> Spener, on the other hand, felt that these amusements were becoming sinful because of the hold they could gain on a person. He held that

Dancing and theatrical performances are in themselves harmless and indifferent things, which have their time. Yet when we reflect how the preparation for such things enslave the heart and mind even days and months before, so that during all this time the pleasure of God must utterly give way to the lust of the world; when we reflect how even the enjoyment of these pleasures almost always transcends the limits of the pure innocent cheerfulness of heart, and how at such times only sensual and impure thoughts take possession of the human breast. . . . We might well hesitate in regarding such amusements as harmless and indifferent.<sup>101</sup>

Spener did not consider play in itself as something evil. It could be quite useful. Nor did he condemn dancing or the theatre and call for its elimination. But he did believe that these things should not be misused or abused. According to Dale Brown, "Spener's opposition to many of these diversions must be understood in the context of the ribaldry and debauchery of his times. He advised against them not because they were bad in themselves, but because of their associations with things much worse."<sup>102</sup>

In 1675 the Frankfurt publisher John David Zunner planned a new

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<sup>99</sup> Tappert's introduction to Spener's Pia Desideria, p. 23.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>101</sup> Bemserfer, p. 36-37.

<sup>102</sup> Dale W. Brown, p. 126.

edition of Arndt's sermons<sup>103</sup> and asked Spener to write an introduction for it. Spener utilized this opportunity to set down his ideas about the reform of the situation within the church.<sup>104</sup> He believed reform was necessary<sup>105</sup> for the situation in the church was much like it had been during the time of Luther.<sup>106</sup> Entitled Pia Desideria or Heartfelt Desire for a God-pleasing Reform of the true Evangelical Church, Together with Several Simple Christian Proposals Looking Toward this End, the introduction of Spener consisted of three parts. The first part<sup>107</sup> begins with a citation of Jeremiah 9:1 and Spener's observation that the church was in a state of spiritual misery. Sins were not being taken seriously and religious affairs were conducted, for the most part, in a superficial manner. The political authorities, by their "irresponsible caesaropapism," obstructed those clergy who attempted to do something good. Moral laxity was manifest in all social classes. The root of the problem was the corruption of the clergy. Many failed to take their work seriously and some were even guilty of openly scandalous lives. He deplored the introduction of scholastic theology in the schools which had come to replace biblical theology. Fruits of faith, not theological disputations were pleasing to God. It was no wonder

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<sup>103</sup> Aland, p. 1. John Ker, History of Preaching (New York: A.C. Armstrong and Son, 1889), p. 189.

<sup>104</sup> Aland, p. 2.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., pp. 62-63.

<sup>107</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, pp. 39-75.

that people failed to understand Luther's teaching of a living faith and failed to demonstrate love.

The second part<sup>108</sup> presents the possibilities of reform and the hope of better times for the church based on God's promises and the example of the early church. Spener sought to remove pessimism and to convince them that Christianity had been preserved throughout the war to fulfill its mission to the world. This mission would be accomplished if Christians again could be identified by their lives as had occurred in the life of the early church. In the final part<sup>108</sup> Spener presented his six proposals to reform the life of the Lutheran Church. First, because preaching was inadequate, he recommended increased daily reading of the Bible and the improvement of catechetical instruction. Based on Luther's view that all spiritual functions are open to all Christians, Spener felt that each Christian had the responsibility to study the Bible in order that he might better exercise his rights and duties as a Christian. Moreover, Spener urged that people should be taught that Christianity consisted not only in knowing, but in action. Believing that participants in religious controversies were as interested in defeating an opponent as in defending the truth, he urged that those who err should be corrected by prayer, good example, and modest and loving persuasion based on the simplicity of Christ's teaching.

Spener also held that the education of the clergy needed to be substantially modified and improved if the church was to be reformed. As he put it in his Impediments to Theological Study, there were three barriers to the proper study of theology: "the false notion that

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., pp. 76-86.

theology can be apprehended by scientific study alone, the crowding out of genuine theology by the dominance of philosophy and rhetoric, and the godless life of those engaged in the study."<sup>110</sup>

Spener finally proposed that preaching should be concerned with the inner man, faith and its fruits. The two essential parts of preaching were the substance of the sermon and the personality of the preacher.<sup>111</sup>

Spener insisted that the preacher should himself be a Christian and should speak from conviction. What the pastor preached should first be proved in his own life. "The most useful sermons are those in which there is least thought of self, and most thought of God and of the souls of men."<sup>112</sup>

But, as much as Spener desired a reform of the life of the church he did not think of himself as a reformer on the model of Luther. His goal was to accomplish what had already been begun in the past.<sup>113</sup> "He sought a reorientation of the Christian faith in terms of personal relationships, a return to many of the Reformation's insights that had gradually been obscured, and a restatement of the vitality of the Christian Gospel in its dynamic relevance for the everyday problems of the everyday man."<sup>114</sup> Kurt Aland wrote, concerning Spener's most

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., pp. 87-122.

<sup>110</sup> Tappert's introduction to Pia Desideria, p. 21.

<sup>111</sup> Ker, p. 192.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>113</sup> Friedrich Uhlhorn, Geschichte des deutschluthेरische Kirche (Leipzig: Doerffling and Francke, 1911), 1:245.

<sup>114</sup> Jaroslav Pelikan, From Luther to Kierkegaard (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950), pp. 80-81.

important publication, that the Pia Desideria is not important only for the beginning of Pietism, which it called into existence, but actually contains all which constituted the heart of the new movement and structured the disputes of the following decades.<sup>115</sup> Erich Beyreuther compared the significance of the Pia Desideria to that of Luther's Ninety-Five Theses.<sup>116</sup>

#### August Hermann Francke

August Hermann Francke was the foremost leader of the second generation of Pietists.<sup>117</sup> His significance in the movement has been described by Koppel Pinson:

What Melanchthon was to Luther and the Protestant Revolt, Francke was to Spener and the Pietist movement. Spener gave the movement its first impulses and direction; Francke systematized it, gave it a concrete expression in the form of definite constitutions, and provided it with the prestige associated with academic theologians.<sup>118</sup>

Francke was born on March 22, 1663 in the city of Luebeck. His father, Johannes, studied at the University of Koenigsberg and Rostock. He earned the degree of doctor in jurisprudence at the University of Basel. In 1660 Johannes and his family moved to Gotha, which at that

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<sup>115</sup> Aland, p. 66.

<sup>116</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus, p. 103.

<sup>117</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus, p. 123. John Philipp Koehler, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte (Milwaukee: Druck des Northwestern Publishing House, 1917), p. 159, notes that "Francke was of an energetic and obstinate temper."

<sup>118</sup> Koppel Pinson, Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism (New York: Octagon Book, Inc., 1968), p. 17. Paul Graff, Geschichte der Aufloesung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands bis zum Eintritt der Aufklaerung und des rationalismus (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1921), p. 66. Koehler, pp. 528-529.

time had become a center of religious and moral reform through men like Sigismund Evenius, who tried to unite orthodox theology and an emphasis upon Christian morality. The religious life of Gotha, as well as that of Francke, was shaped by Arndt's True Christianity.<sup>119</sup> Francke grew up, then, in an environment in which Lutheran orthodox theology and ethical responsibilities were emphasized.

At the age of sixteen, Francke enrolled in the University of Erfurt to study logic and metaphysics. After one semester he moved to the University of Kiel where he not only studied theology but also physics, philosophy and history. After three years he went to Hamburg for three months in order to study Hebrew with Esdras Edzardus and then, in order to improve his Hebrew, Greek and English, he travelled to Gotha. In 1684 he entered the University of Leipzig which was one of the centers of orthodox Lutheran theology. There he received instruction from such theologians as Adam Rechemberg, Johann Cyprian, Johann Olearius, Johann Carpzov and Johann Dornfeld and received his degree, Master of Arts. He also frequently attended the Sunday afternoon meetings of the Collegium Philibiblicum founded in 1686 with Carpzov's encouragement.<sup>120</sup>

In October 1687 Francke experienced what Erich Beyreuther has called the great change in Lueneberg,<sup>121</sup> when he preached on John 20:31, "but these are written, that ye might believe." According to Francke:

From that time on it was easy to deny ungodliness and worldly lust, and to live righteously and joyfully in this world. And

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<sup>119</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus, p. 41.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 132.

<sup>121</sup> Stoeffler, p. 11.

since I had once made an idol of erudition, I now realized that faith as big as a mustard seed is worth more than a hundred bags of erudition, and that all knowledge acquired at the feet of Gamaliel is to be accounted as dung as compared with the glorious knowledge of Jesus, Christ and Lord.<sup>122</sup>

This experience became the foundation of Francke's life and work and led him to shape his theological and educational goals, the formation of a life conformed to the will of God and of service to one's neighbor.<sup>123</sup> From this event in the Spring of 1690, Francke sought contact with the circle around Spener. At Hamburg he spent some time at the home of Johann Winkler where he was in contact with other influential Pietists, Johann Horb, and Abraham Hinklemann. With their encouragement, Francke traveled at the end of 1688 to Dresden to visit Spener.<sup>124</sup> There he stayed until the following February becoming a firm supporter of Pietist ideals. In his subsequent letters, Francke referred to Spener as "my dear father" and signed them as "your dutiful son."<sup>125</sup>

After his stay with Spener, Francke returned to Leipzig to assume leadership of his group meetings and to lecture in exegesis. His lectures were now much more concerned with edification and spiritual nurture than with instruction.<sup>126</sup> As a consequence, many students began to neglect lectures on systematic theology, the symbolical books, and

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<sup>122</sup> Beyreuther, Selbstzeugnisse August Hermann Franckes (Marburg: Verlag des Francke-Buchhandlung, GmbH, 1963), p. 25.

<sup>123</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus, pp. 133, 139.

<sup>124</sup> Francke did not become a Pietist until he had come into contact with Spener. Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus, p. 140.

<sup>125</sup> Stoeffler, p. 6.

<sup>126</sup> Jacobs, p. 313.

philosophy, preferring to attend those given by Francke.<sup>127</sup> Some of the orthodox theologians, however, Carpzov among them, opposed the growing influence of Francke who had to leave Leipzig. He moved to Erfurt where he held the position of deacon of the Church of St. Augustine. But Carpzov's hostility followed him and he lost this position in 1691.

With Spener's intercession, Francke was named pastor at Glaucha near Halle which provided Francke with a regular income. This was necessary since the position he had obtained at the university provided not remuneration. There he offered almost daily catechetical instruction for adults in the morning and for children in the evening. He also abolished public confession because he felt it was far too formalistic and superficial. He replaced it with individual conversations with the pastor. He also stressed the need for cooperation between home and church in the education of children. He usually preached three sermons during the week and two on Sundays. He also scheduled at least two sermons on repentance during each quarter of the year. He inaugurated pastoral visits to the homes of the parishioners which he used as an occasion for instruction, Bible reading and prayer. To assist the people in preparing themselves for Holy Communion, a special hour of preparation was held on Friday evenings after the prayer meeting.<sup>128</sup> In order to improve the life of all in the parish Francke also instituted meetings for instruction, modeled on the collegio pietatis.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Stoeffler, p. 6.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., pp. 32-33.

<sup>129</sup> Koehler, p. 528.

Already at Glaucha Francke's interest in educational reform as a means to effect religious revitalization was evident. He viewed the world of his day as being in a deplorable condition and believed that the fundamental cause of its deterioration was the inadequate educational system and the lack of effective university instruction. He believed it was necessary to reform the whole educational system and to renew it religiously and morally.<sup>130</sup> Teachers should be so trained that they would be models to their students for education without good examples was insufficient. "True godliness," he wrote, "is best imparted to tender youth by the godly example of the teacher himself."<sup>131</sup>

Francke hoped to encourage people to be concerned about the needs of others. To accomplish this goal he would transform Halle into a center of philanthropy and education in the Pietist mold. By the time of Spener's death in 1705, Halle had become the principal center of Pietism and it remained such until after Francke's death in 1727. Regarding the accomplishments of the Pietists in Halle Francke wrote in his Pietas Hallensis:

Here a foundation is laid for training up good workmen in all trades, good schoolmasters, good preachers and counselors, who of course hereafter will think of themselves the more obliged to serve everyone because they have both an experimental knowledge of God's providence from their youth and the benefit of a sound and solid education. . . . By such undertakings, therefore, the country will be cleared by degrees of stubborn beggars, thieves, murderers, highwaymen, idle wanderers and the whole pack of loose and debauched people.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Francke, Der Grosse Aufsatz, pp. 77-78.

<sup>131</sup> Stoeffler, p. 27.

<sup>132</sup> McNeill, p. 39. Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus, pp. 49, 50-52.

The role that Halle played in fostering the spread of Pietism was, however, not merely due to the leadership of Spener and Francke. The Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia, Frederick III and his son, Frederick William who became the first King in Prussia in 1701, were determined to increase their influence in the German lands. They believed a strong central political force had to emerge and that the government of their lands had to be centralized. As part of their political objectives, they utilized religion as a force within the state, encouraging the practice of religious toleration and peace among the Reformed and the Lutherans. Since the Pietism of Halle, more interested in the practice of piety than in theological disputation, held out the hope of a more peaceful society, it was favored by the court. Francke himself enjoyed the protection of Frederick III when he was appointed to Glaucha for the Elector forbade the orthodox theologians to preach against him. In addition, all theological matters had to be submitted to the consistory and from them to Frederick himself, who would make the final decision in matters of church administration.<sup>133</sup> Finally, in 1727, King Frederick William I ordered all pastors in his territory to study at least one year in Halle.<sup>134</sup>

Francke's theology,<sup>135</sup> as well as his educational program, was not concerned primarily with pure teaching, reine Lehre, but with that which

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<sup>133</sup> Stoeffler, p. 40.

<sup>134</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus, p. 151.

<sup>135</sup> Beyreuther has written an excellent study on the theology of Francke entitled Selbstzeugnisse August Hermann Franckes.

was useful, das Nuetzliche,<sup>136</sup> that which would have immediate relevance for the lives of Christian individuals. "Lives changed, a church renewed, a nation reformed, a world evangelized -- these were the great objectives"<sup>137</sup> of Francke. At the center of his understanding of theological education was his idea that the study of theology cannot be divorced from the life of piety. Candidates for ecclesiastical offices should not be permitted to demonstrate any moral weakness. They should strive each day to correct their own faults and should be generous, honorable, truthful, kind, patient, flexible, mild-mannered, friendly and honest. They should be clean, unaffected, puntual, happy and able to maintain their own house. They should be Christian gentlemen in every respect.<sup>138</sup> In order to train such individuals Francke insisted on five principles: "trials"(Anfechtungen), cross-bearing, obedience to God's law, trust in God, and joy. For Francke trials sent by God were occasions for testing and strengthening the faith of a Christian. If the Christian passed this test he would be a much better Christian. Francke also frequently referred to suffering and cross-bearing as an inexcappable part of Christian life. The cross became for him the central symbol of the Christian's experience. God's law does not merely move the Christian toward the experience of a new birth, it is confront the Christian daily and call him to love toward God and one's neighbor. Unlike Luther, Francke did not see the law as always accusing man or as a tyrant creating terror but as a force guiding the Christian to a pious

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<sup>136</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus, p. 153.

<sup>137</sup> Stoeffler, p. 7.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p. 29-30.

life.<sup>139</sup> Francke was, therefore, quite legalistic, and urged that the life of the Christian be simple and that worldliness be scorned. In his treatise of 1702, Short and Simple Instructions, Francke demonstrated that he had no appreciation for the usefulness of the play of children. He preached against dancing, card-playing and the theater.

Because his own experience of conversion had proved such a formative force in his life, Francke strongly emphasized the need for a new birth as necessary for effective ministry.<sup>140</sup> Francke emphasized, therefore, the subjective effects of justification rather than its objective reality. He was concerned not with what God had done in the past, but what he could and would do in Christian individuals. Francke, like Spener, emphasized the doctrine of regeneration as the fundamental element of his theology and considered it to be much more than justification. The transformation of a Christian's life was for him the truest sign of his regeneration and the encouragement of regeneration and sanctification was the chief task of the theologian and pastor.<sup>141</sup>

#### Nicholaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf

Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, the godson of Spener, was born in Dresden on May 26, 1700.<sup>142</sup> His father died that same year and three

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., p. 20. Beyreuther, Selbstzeugnisse, pp. 79-95. For details see Francke's Verbesserte Methode des Paedagogiums and his Idea Studiosi Theologiae.

<sup>140</sup> McNeill, p. 39. Koehler, p. 529.

<sup>141</sup> Beyreuther, Selbstzeugnisse, pp. 44, 153.

<sup>142</sup> Arthur James Lewis, Zinzendorf: The Ecumenical Pioneer (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), p. 12.

years later his mother, Charlotte Justine, went to live with her widowed mother, Henriette Catherine von Gerstorff. The following year Charlotte married a Prussian field marshall, Dubislav Gunomar von Natzmer and she left Nicolaus in the care of his maternal grandmother who would have a strong influence upon his spiritual development. According to Zinzendorf, she did not draw great distinctions between Catholics, Lutherans, and the Reformed, for all were her neighbors. She practiced her religion quietly, praying and paying God regard by bearing the cross He laid on her or in doing the work she had to do.<sup>143</sup> She was knowledgeable about theology and had some acquaintance with the Greek and Hebrew languages. Many of the leaders of the church were among her correspondants and Pietist leaders often visited her. She tried to implement Pietist principles in the life of her own household so that Zinzendorf grew up in a strong Pietist environment.<sup>144</sup>

Under the influence of his grandmother, Zinzendorf entered Francke's Paedagogium Regium on August 16, 1710 and remained there for six years. While in Halle he was greatly influenced by two major emphases of the Halle Pietists, their "concept of missions and the conception of ecclesiolae in ecclesia."<sup>145</sup> He would later recall his experience in Halle and note that he had been impressed and strengthened by the opportunity to daily hear edifying news about God in Francke's house, to speak with missionaries such as Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich

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<sup>143</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus, p. 179.

<sup>144</sup> Lewis, p. 21.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

Pluetschau, to see pious men who had been imprisoned or banished, and to see the functioning of the various institutions Francke had founded.<sup>146</sup> After Francke's death in 1727, however, his son and successor did not get along with Zinzendorf whom he felt had not yet been truly converted and regenerated.

Leaving Halle, Zinzendorf was sent by his guardian, Count Otto Christian, to the University of Wittenberg to study law and he completed his program there in 1729. Then, as was usual during the era, he embarked on a tour of various universities going to Utrecht by way of Dresden, Leipzig, Eisenach, Frankfurt, Mainz and Duesseldorf. During this journey his religious interest intensified as he sought out and visited Reformed and even Catholic leaders. After visiting several Reformed centers in Holland he traveled to Paris where he met some important Catholic leaders, among them Cardinal Noailles.

When Zinzendorf returned from his trip he desired to enter the ministry of the state church and to realize his idea that all Christians are brethren, members of Christ's kingdom.<sup>147</sup> His family, however, insisted that he become a diplomat and, in October 1721, he went to Dresden to work as a councilor of the king of Saxony. But his interest in religion continued and he began to hold open religious meetings at his home every Sunday from three in the afternoon until seven in the evening. Once a week he published a philosophical-religious paper called the Dresden-Socrates in which he attacked immorality, both of the

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<sup>146</sup> Francis DuBose, Classics of Christian Missions (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1979), pp. 80-81. Lewis, p. 26.

<sup>147</sup> Lewis, p. 31.

townspeople and of the court.<sup>148</sup>

As a consequence of his religious interests and of his Pietist experience in Halle and his experience with orthodoxy in Wittenberg, Zinzendorf realized that the Pietists and the orthodox Lutherans had certain elements in common. Indeed, he felt there was common ground present in all denominations, a "Christianity of the heart."<sup>149</sup> He felt that this common denominator existed despite differences in creed, forms of worship and church organization and that it was recognized by all people who shared in it in every place. It was the common meeting-ground of all churches and Christians.<sup>150</sup> He proposed, therefore, that the orthodox of Wittenberg and the Pietists of Halle should seek to find agreement but both groups rejected his suggestions. He was, in fact, criticized for his mysticism and his distortions of doctrine as well as for his idealistic project of effecting a reunion with Roman Catholicism and Greek Orthodoxy.<sup>151</sup>

At the end of 1721 Zinzendorf bought the estate of Berthelsdorf in upper Lusatia and developed a sense of responsibility for the material and religious well-being of the settlers on his estate, most of whom were Moravians. Under his leadership many innovations were introduced. In 1728 a monthly day of prayer was instituted and in 1731 the Lord's

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148 Ibid.

149 Ibid., p. 27.

150 Ibid.

151 McNeill, pp. 40-41. Beyreuther, Nicholaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf in Selbstzeugnisse und Bilddokumenten (Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1965), p. 58.

Supper began to be celebrated once a month. Beginning in 1727 various members of the community, including Zinzendorf himself who visited Copenhagen in 1731, undertook evangelistic tours throughout Europe. Indeed, so concerned was Zinzendorf for the missionary enterprise that he sought to establish at Herrnhut a kind of international association of regenerated people, drawn from all denominations. But this plan was opposed by the Lutheran Church of Saxony.<sup>152</sup> Therefore, between 1732-1736 he devoted much of his energies to the founding of the Moravian Church to serve as a witness to the whole world concerning the salvation in Christ and thereby to help the Lutheran Church overcome its ineffectiveness in mission work.<sup>153</sup> In 1737 Zinzendorf was consecrated a bishop by the two leaders of the Moravian Brethren, David Nitschmann and Daniel Jablonski.

But although Zinzendorf assumed a position of leadership among the Moravian Brethren, he was no trained or systematic theologian. He wrote no systematic theological work nor did he develop a well thought out comprehensive theological system.<sup>154</sup> His preaching and writing centered on a theology of the cross which was, however, not identical with that of Luther for it centered on preaching the fellowship of believers in and through Christ. To promote fellowship among all believers was the

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<sup>152</sup> Jacobs, p. 316. Koehler, p. 531.

<sup>153</sup> Beyreuther, Zinzendorf und die Christenheit - 1732-1760 (Warburg: Verlag der Francke-Buchhandlung, 1961), p. 45.

<sup>154</sup> Stoeffler, p. 141. Beyreuther, Studien zur Theologie Zinzendorfs (Marburg: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962), p. 7.

great passion and goal of Zinzendorf's life.<sup>155</sup> Ernest Stoeffler, Koppel Pinson and Dale Brown all describe his theology as emphasizing feeling and the heart. Religion, for Zinzendorf, was a matter not of the mind but of the heart, not of reasoning but feeling. It had little to do with theoretical or speculative theologizing but with religious apprehensions by the whole man. It was not thinking about but rather experiencing God's love.<sup>156</sup> Moreover, for Zinzendorf, Christ was not merely the revelation of God but the known God in His totality. Christ was the creator and sustainer of the universe, the Lord of history, as well as the Redeemer.<sup>157</sup> Zinzendorf in referring to the Trinity spoke of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit which he spoke of as Mother.<sup>158</sup>

Despite these and other aberrations and departures from Lutheran theology, Zinzendorf considered himself a Lutheran and, even if he was not a trained theologian, he believed he could identify what was necessary and useful for Christians.<sup>159</sup> But Zinzendorf made little reference to the means of grace as the distinctive emphasis and foundation of Lutheran life and worship and his followers never sought to join any Lutheran community. Indeed, their emphasis was upon fellowship with members of other confessions and the fostering of ecumenical attitudes. In 1741, for instance, Zinzendorf wrote "I can

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<sup>155</sup> Cyril Eastwood, The Priesthood of all Believers (London: The Epworth Press, 1960). p. 226.

<sup>156</sup> Stoeffler, pp. 144-145. Pinson, p. 24. Dale Brown, p. 159.

<sup>157</sup> Stoeffler, p. 146.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., pp. 147-149.

<sup>159</sup> Albrecht Ritschl, Geschichte des Pietismus (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1880), 3:254-255.

tie my testimony to no denomination."<sup>160</sup> For him and his Moravian Brethren, Christianity was not a question of creed, of articles of faith, of dogmas or ceremonies. These mattered little to them. Rather, Christianity was primarily a matter of the heart, of feeling, and of fellowship among all believers. For Zinzendorf the lack of unity and the continuance theological controversy within Christendom was a scandal. Nevertheless, he did not condemn the existence of confessional communities or denominations and regarded each of them as "'a school of wisdom' with its own particular contribution to make to the whole body of Christ." For him all the visible churches had only a relative value and therefore he attempted to gather together "a commonwealth of churches within the one church of Christ."<sup>161</sup> A consequence of Zinzendorf's emphasis on fellowship and ecumenism, was the conception of Moravians of Christianity as "an adventure in partnership or fellowship with all the children of God in every place."<sup>162</sup>

With Zinzendorf and the Moravians Pietism was transformed and went far beyond the proposals established by Spener in his Pia Desideria. The age of Pietism was over although its influence would continue to be felt for generations. Begun within Lutheranism to revitalize the life of the Lutheran Church, it became a trans-confessional movement and finally, an a-confessional movement. What began as attempt to revitalize the life of the church by emphasizing the need for sanctification forsook its Lutheran roots and changed theology by their emphases.

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<sup>160</sup> McNeill, p. 40.

<sup>161</sup> Lewis, pp. 14, 131.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS AND THE REFORM OF THE MINISTRY

Spener and Francke felt that the structure of the Lutheran Church in many of the German lands inhibited rather than fostered the development of true piety among the people. The ecclesiastical organizations were, as a consequence of the Peace of Augsburg and of Westphalia, dominated by the rulers through the consistories, composed of clerics and laymen, which they appointed. In addition clergymen, as state officials under the jurisdiction of the consistories, had to conform to the policies of the leaders of both church and state. Most of the significant ecclesiastical functions were entrusted solely to the clergy who were increasingly out of touch with the daily life of their parishoners. They often performed their religious duties in a superficial manner. Their preaching did not focus on encouraging the practice of piety among the people nor address the personal spiritual concerns of individuals. Rather, Spener, Francke and their fellow Pietists felt that pastors were more concerned with theological controversies and doctrinal precisionism than with providing spiritual nurture and guidance for their flocks. Spener said that "the so-called spiritual estate [clergy] could do as they pleased since nobody dared look at their cards or raise the least objection."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Philip Jacob Spener, Pia Desideria, with an Introduction by Theodore Tappert, ed. Theodore Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), p.93.

The ordinary layman, on the other hand, had no real influence upon the decisions made by the consistories and no voice in determining the policy or programs of the church to which he belonged. In addition, ordinary people received only a minimal religious education and their participation in the services and sacraments of the church was often formalistic. They seemed to demonstrate little interest in the church or in spiritual matters. According to Spener, the consequence of the established ecclesiastical structure was that "the so-called laity has been made slothful in those things that ought to concern it; a terrible ignorance has resulted and from this, in turn, disorderly life."<sup>2</sup> While he treasured the theological reformation wrought by Martin Luther during the sixteenth century, Spener and his fellow Pietists believed that Lutheranism had not achieved the renovation of morals and life which the Reformer believed would follow the pure preaching of the Gospel. As a result, they sought to carry on the work begun by Luther by carrying through a second reformation which would bring about the spiritual and moral renovation of Lutherans.

To renew the vitality of Lutheranism Spener and Francke believed it was necessary to effect reforms of the ecclesiastical structure and, even more, to emphasize the role of the spiritual priesthood of all believers while reforming both the formal education and practical training candidates for the ministry received. Spener considered himself to be building upon the theological principles established by Luther. He was not concerned with the reform of Lutheran theology but

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

with its demonstrable application by laity and clergy alike. He recommended

A more extensive use of the Word of God among the people; the establishment and exercise of the Spiritual Priesthood; [that] it is by no means enough to have knowledge of the Christian faith, for Christianity consists much more of practice; we must beware how we conduct ourselves in religious controversies; [that the] persons . . . called to the ministry . . . must be trained in our schools and universities; that sermons be so prepared by all that their purpose (faith and fruits) may be achieved in the hearers to the greatest possible degree.<sup>3</sup>

#### The Priesthood Of All Believers

According to Spener, the priesthood "is the right which our Saviour purchased for all men, and for which He anoints the believers with His Holy Spirit to serve God and their neighbor."<sup>4</sup> Every Christian became a member of both the royal priesthood and of God's Kingdom through the blood of Christ. Anointed with the Holy Spirit, the regenerated person is to serve God and his neighbor. Spener not only believed that each regenerated person had the power to serve his neighbor with his gifts, but that each Christian had the capacity and calling to participate in the mission of the Church in the world.<sup>5</sup> He was sure that all believers received from Jesus a gift with which they could help to edify His people and to build His kingdom.<sup>6</sup> Each regenerated person, he believed,

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 87, 92, 95, 97, 103, 115.

<sup>4</sup> Spener, The Spiritual Priesthood (Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication Society, 1917), p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken und andere Briefliche Antworten (Halle: In Verlegung des Waisenhauses, 1711), 3:102-103.

<sup>6</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken und andere Briefliche Antworten, (Halle: In Verlegung des Waisenhauses, 1715), 1:686.

had the power and capabilities given to him in and through faith, to participate more in the activities and work of the church. He did not perceive any biblical reason for the church to be composed of passive listeners. Rather, he emphasized that "if the Christians wish to be real Christians, they are in duty bound to fulfill the spiritual offices."<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, Spener also did not see any biblical justification or sanction for the erastianism and clericalism within many of the territorial Lutheran churches. He compared the situation within Lutheranism to that within the Roman Catholic Church where all of the ecclesiastical offices and authority as well as liturgical functions were assigned to the clergy. There was no place where laymen might study the Word, much less to instruct others in it, or to provide spiritual comfort to their neighbors. Such clericalism was one of the principal means by which papal Rome established its power over the people.<sup>8</sup> For Spener, God did not entrust ecclesiastical governance and action only to the clergy, but to the whole church. He believed that God established both laity and clergy to labor side by side in His church. Both were to depend on each other. The clergy, without the assistance of the laity, cannot fulfill their duties nor reach the goal of edifying the whole congregation. The laymen, on the other hand, without the orientation and guidance of the clergy, can do very little and only with difficulty maintain order.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, Spener argued,

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<sup>7</sup> Spener, The Spiritual Priesthood, pp. 12-13.

<sup>8</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 93.

<sup>9</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:412.

whether the pastorate and the pastoral care of a congregation should be exercised by one or more persons was not determined by God or the Scriptures. Rather, what God commanded was that no one in a congregation should remain without spiritual care and nurture.<sup>10</sup>

Spener argued that the duties of the "pastors" and "deacons" in the early church were quite different than the duties expected of their like-named counterparts in his own day. In the early church, he maintained, the deacons were entrusted with the responsibility to care for the poor (Acts 2:44,45; 4:32-37; and I Tim. 6:18), while in his time this was an obligation of the pastors.<sup>11</sup> Spener insisted that so many duties been entrusted to or were to be performed or directed by the pastors that a pastor could not alone accomplish all that was required or expected of him. It was impossible for one pastor to know and assist all the members of a congregation which could have hundreds of members. The solution to this problem, as Spener saw it, was that the pastor should spend much time instructing and training laymen to assist in the work of the ministry rather than asking for additional pastors to serve the congregation.<sup>12</sup> In addition, he was convinced that there were times when laymen were in a better position than a pastor to provide counsel and assistance to his friends.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, the congregation could best function if both cleric and laymen worked side by side in congregations

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 1:643-644.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 640-641.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 643-644.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 2:167.

for the renovation of both individuals and the church as a whole. The clergy should be concerned about and perform those functions connected with the public ministry while the laity should assist in those areas unrelated to the public exercise of ministerial responsibility.<sup>14</sup> In addition, he affirmed that:

No damage will be done to the ministry by a proper use of this priesthood. In fact, one of the principal reasons why the ministry cannot accomplish all that it ought is that it is too weak without the help of the universal priesthood. One man is incapable of doing all that is necessary for the edification of the many persons who are entrusted to his pastoral care.<sup>15</sup>

Spener believed that the renovation of the church required that individuals assist the pastors by exercising their rights, or better, their responsibilities as priests. He held that the Scriptures were given to all Christians for teaching, reproof, correction, discipline (2 Tim. 3:16), and for comfort (Rom. 15:4). Therefore, all Christian, each according to his gifts, had the right and responsibility to exercise his priestly functions. But this should not be done publicly before or on behalf of the whole congregation. Rather they were to perform their priestly responsibilities and obligations privately, so that the dignity and work of the public office of the ministry might not be hindered.<sup>16</sup>

Spener was concerned that the exercise of the rights of priesthood of all believers not interfere with or degrade the public office of the ministry. He sought to limit lay activity to those functions not

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 4:308.

<sup>15</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, pp. 94-95.

<sup>16</sup> Spener, The Spiritual Priesthood, p. 29.

strictly entrusted or attributed to the minister. For example, regarding the function of teaching, Spener stated: "shall anyone set himself as a teacher or allow others to appoint him as such? No; for this priesthood is common to all, and according to it each must be just as willing to learn from others as to teach in divine order."<sup>17</sup>

Christians should meet and share what God has enabled each to understand from the Scriptures and what would be useful for the spiritual edification of the others. When they deal with people un-informed on matters of faith, Christians are to instruct them in the Scriptures as far as they understand it. What they do not or can not understand they should not teach but seek out instruction from the pastor.

Christians should also admonish and exhort each other to practice what they learn from the sermons of the pastor and in their meetings (1 Thess. 5:14; Heb. 3:13; 10:24-26; Rom. 15:14). But, even more, believers should also comfort each other with the proclamation of the forgiveness of sins and, in cases of emergency, actually pronounce individual absolution (1 Thess. 4:18). Spener recommended that "in time of need, when no ordained minister can be had, they may also impart the comfort of the forgiveness of sins or absolution, Lk. 17:3,4; 2 Cor. 2:10)"<sup>18</sup> Christians should also exercise reproof of sin along with the proclamation of comfort. When they saw their brethren sin, they were to reprove them and show them their transgression, but with kindness and love (Lev. 19:17; Prov. 24:24; Matt. 18:15; Gal. 6:1-2; Eph. 5:11; 1

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

Cor. 14:24-25). Spener emphasized that all these priestly functions, should be exercised by all believers because "every Christian has the power and right to do these things among his brethren."<sup>19</sup>

In addition, he recommended that the congregations should be divided into groups under lay presidents and that they should participate in selecting their pastors. Laymen as well as pastors should be involved in synods and the elders of each congregation should join the pastor in exercising discipline within the congregation.<sup>20</sup>

Another function which Spener attributed to the layman was that of judging doctrine and preaching. He felt every Christian was to employ his status as a member of the royal priesthood and of God's kingdom (1 Pet. 2:9) not only to assist his neighbor in necessity, but also to help to preserve the office of preaching according to the Word of God. Every member of the congregation had the duty to maintain pure doctrine and to reprimand the preacher of error, indeed, if necessary, to resist him and warn the congregation. Therefore, laymen were to be instructed in and become thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures and Lutheran theology. In defense of his position, Spener cited Matthew 7:15 which indicated that Christ entrusted the responsibility of judging doctrine not to the prophets and teachers but to the disciples, to His sheep. In addition, according to 1 Thessalonians 5:21, all teachers and their teaching are to be subject to the judgment of their listeners' For Spener, the judgement of doctrine was given to the laity or those who listen, and

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:412.

they had the right to examine and observe the preacher's life.<sup>21</sup> In his attribution to the laity of the right and responsibility to judge doctrine and preaching, Spener held that he was following the example of Luther who had affirmed that

Christ takes the right and the power to judge teaching from the bishops, scholars, and councils and gives them to everyone and to all Christians equally, "My sheep know my voice" (John 10:4). Bishops, popes, scholars, and everyone else have the power to teach, but it is the sheep who are to judge whether they teach the voice of Christ or the voice of strangers.<sup>22</sup>

However, already during Spener's own life-time, some Pietists disregarded or denigrated the public ministry and the authority of the congregation to call and appoint a pastor. They claimed and arrogated to themselves the right to preach and teach. This was not in conformity with Spener's own attitudes for, even while strongly emphasizing the universal priesthood, he did not repudiate, question or seek to diminish the authority of the pastorate. He held that the pastorate, the public office of the ministry was necessary but that the congregation had the right to call and appoint its pastor for "all Christians are not called," he said, "to the public administration of Word and Sacraments, for which appointment by the congregation is required."<sup>23</sup> He also "never permitted a layman to administer the Sacraments, except emergency Baptism."<sup>24</sup> He argued that "it is not common to have a case of

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<sup>21</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken, 3:62-63.

<sup>22</sup> Martin Luther, Luther's Works, Vol. 39, ed. by Eric. W. Gritsch, gen. ed. Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), pp. 147-148.

<sup>23</sup> Spener, The Spiritual Priesthood, p. 13.

<sup>24</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:269.

emergency for the Lord's Supper as it is with Baptism. Moreover, children do not have any other means of salvation other than Baptism."<sup>25</sup>

Therefore he concluded that while a layman was allowed to baptize in case of an emergency, he was not to administer the Lord's Supper.

Spener also did not allow a layman to preach publicly in the congregation or even in the small group known as the Collegio Pietatis. The only exception he would allow was in the case of an emergency, as in the case of a burial, when no pastor could be present. In such a case, a layman, under the supervision of his pastor, could speak and announce the Word according to the interpretation of the church.<sup>26</sup> Normally, in church meetings or those of the collegio pietatis Spener indicated that the participants should meet "under the leadership of a minister, take up the Scriptures, read aloud from them, and fraternally discuss each verse."<sup>27</sup>

It should be noted, however, that as Pietism spread and sent missionaries abroad, these strictures of Spener had to be modified. One such modification occurred among lay missionaries sent to the West Indies. They were confronted with the question of who would baptize and administer the Lord's Supper? They utilized Luther's counsel and selected a suitable candidate from their midst and ordained him with the right publicly to preach the word and administer the sacraments.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:176.

<sup>26</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken, 3:269.

<sup>27</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 198.

<sup>28</sup> Erich Beyreuther, Zinzendorf und die Christenheit 1732-1760 (Marburg: Verlag der Francke-Buchhandlung, 1961), p. 91.

In his emphasis upon the priesthood, Spener was also concerned with the role of woman in the Church. According to Friedrich Uhlhorn, "Pietism has exerted, principally upon the female kind, a stronger power of attraction than upon the male kind, for the first time in the history of the Lutheran Church, beginning with time of Pietism, the female kind has some prominence."<sup>29</sup> The attitudes of Pietism towards women were influenced by Spener's concept that woman had the same right and duties to share the priestly functions which the Scriptures attributes not merely to males, but to all Christians. He held that

here is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female, but all are one in Christ Jesus, Gal. 3:28. In Christ, therefore, the difference between man and woman, in regard to what is spiritual, is abolished. Since God dignifies believing women also with His spiritual gifts, Joel 2:28-29; Acts 21:9; 1 Cor. 11:5, the exercise of them in proper order cannot be forbidden. The apostles themselves make mention of those godly women, who worked together with them and edified their fellowmen; and far from censuring them for this, they accorded them love and praise for it, Acts 18:26; Rom. 16:1-2,12; Phil. 4:2-3; Titus 2:3-5.<sup>30</sup>

Regarding woman teaching publicly in the congregation, Spener indicated that this was forbidden. However, outside of the public gathering of the congregation, the women could teach. For instance, a woman could even preach in a cloister of nuns, but not in a congregation where the preaching office has been established.<sup>31</sup> In Frankfurt, two women taught Bible lessons to children with applications made for daily life.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Friedrich Uhlhorn, Geschichte der deutschlutherische Kirche (1517-1700), (Leipzig: Doerffling & Francke, 1911), 1:295.

<sup>30</sup> Spener, The Spiritual Priesthood, p.31.

<sup>31</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken, 3:147-148.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 181-183.

There was also a report in Frankfurt that women were actually preaching. But when this was investigated, the authorities found nothing concrete.<sup>33</sup>

Spener generally emphasized that Christian women were to practice piety particularly in their daily life and in their roles as wives and mothers. During Spener's life-time, many husbands thought that it was against their honor and authority to be persuaded by their wives. Spener, however, said that while it is true that God gave the man authority over his wife, it was also true that she was to be his help-mate or auxiliary. That means that a Christian wife has the right, indeed the obligation, to speak to her husband in a Christian way when he is not living correctly and that her husband should listen to her.<sup>34</sup>

In her role as mother, a Christian woman was to raise her children according to God's will, even if they resisted. Pastor's wives had an especial obligation to be models of Christian virtue and womanhood. She should be exemplary in her practice of piety, in her dress, and in her social relationships. The spiritual edification of the people and the pastor's preaching should never be hindered by the clothing and appearance of the pastor's wife. For Spener, a pastor's wife, like the wife of Caesar, had to be above suspicion.<sup>35</sup> Her new nature and the practice of piety, the result of Christian regeneration, should be the chief adornment of the Christian woman.

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<sup>33</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:153-154.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 2:706.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 1:776-777.

Spener also realized that the laity could not efficiently fulfill their responsibilities and functions without a thorough knowledge of Holy Scripture. Therefore, he recommended "a more extensive use of the Word of God among the people."<sup>36</sup> Yet, merely reading the Bible at home was not enough for the proper spiritual edification of the people. It would be much better, Spener argued, if friends would meet sometime to review the sermon and to read the Scriptures. It was not possible for the preachers to adequately instruct the people from the pulpit unless people from the congregation, who have a better understanding of the Scriptures, work with and under the direction of the pastors to correct and reform the church through pious instruction. It was this attitude and preoccupation which led Spener to introduce those meetings which came to be known as the collegio pietatis.

The idea for such meetings may have had its roots in some of Luther's comments according to John McIntosh. In his Deutsche Messe (1525) Luther proposed that there should be meetings of the people in addition to the worship service. In these meetings the people should pray, read, baptize, and do other Christian works. The establishment of these ecclesiolae in ecclesia, especially within the context of a state church, was nothing more than an application of Luther's understanding of the universal priesthood.<sup>37</sup> However, Julius Bodensieck argues that "it was a suggestion made a century before by Bucer in Strassburg, that

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<sup>36</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 87.

<sup>37</sup> John McIntosh, "Proposals for Godliness in the Church," Reformed Theological Review, 35, No. 3 (Sept.- Dec., 1976), p.80.

Spener took up."<sup>38</sup> Who really was the author of the collegio pietatis remains unclear because Spener never indicated what might have influenced him. Moreover, such meetings were not uncommon and were a phenomena which could be observed elsewhere.

Spener began meeting with a group of interested individuals, which became the collegio pietatis, in Frankfurt in 1670 when he realized that merely preaching expository sermons on one of the pericopes was insufficient to reform the life of the church. Originally, the collegia pietatis was a sort of collegia privata for academics and politicians, a kind of continuing education program. However, it soon became so popular that even common folk sought to participate. With their admission, some of the original membership quit the group. The practice of piety had not yet resulted in an egalitarianism within the church. Spener's purpose behind such meetings was that through the study of the Word it would be possible "to train and meet the priesthood of all believers according to the model in 1 Corinthians 14<sup>39</sup> and "to prepare the Christian as leaven to influence others by a pious life and so to make the task of the pastor easier."<sup>40</sup> He cited as scriptural evidence Matthew 18:19-20; Colossians 3:16; 1 Thessalonians 5:11-14; Romans 15:14; and Hebrews 3:13.

Given Spener's emphasis on the study of the Scriptures, it is interesting to note that, during the first years, priority was not given

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<sup>38</sup> Julius Bodensieck, (ed.), The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965), 3:1902.

<sup>39</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:178.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 132.

to the scriptures. Rather the study of books on morality and sanctification predominated. Numbered among these works were Arndt's True Christianity, Tauler's Theologia Germanica, Kempis' Imitation of Christ, Bayley's Practice of Piety, and Baxter's Self Denial. However, by 1674 the study of the Scriptures themselves had replaced the reading of these works. In 1677 Spener began a study of Romans and then 1 and 2 Corinthians, one or one-half chapter being studied in each meeting. In 1679-1681 Colossians was studied while from 1681 to 1686 Galatians was examined as Spener went through it verse by verse. Moreover, instead of using the pericopes for his preaching, Spener began to freely choose texts to present the whole of the Bible to the people.

According to A. G. Voigt and Williston Walker<sup>41</sup> some Pietists made out of the collegio pietatis a separatistic movement transforming it into a church within a church. In Frankfurt, for instance, while Spener was pastor, he became quite disappointed when a group of Pietist separated themselves from the Lutheran Church.<sup>42</sup> Such attitudes led Spener to begin to question the utility of such meetings and subsequently decided not establish them in Dresden and Berlin. He asked that the people not use these meetings as an excuse to neglect public worship or hold it or the ministers in disdain.<sup>43</sup> In 1743 it was necessary to issue some regulations to maintain order, for example, lay

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<sup>41</sup> Spener, The Spiritual Priesthood, p. vi. Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p. 447.

<sup>42</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:390.; The Spiritual Priesthood, p. vi.

<sup>43</sup> Spener, The Spiritual Priesthood, p. 32.

preachers were to be under the direction and supervision of pastors; meetings could not be held during hours of worship; and certain books and hymns should be avoided.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the collegio pietatis, which had been instituted to rejuvenate the Lutheran Church, eventually became a medicine which was more dangerous than the disease it was suppose to cure.

Another means, alongside the collegio pietatis and preaching, which Spener utilized to instruct the people was catechetical instruction. According to Erich Beyreuther, German pietism was primarily a preaching movement but "it became, at the same time, also a catechetical movement."<sup>45</sup> Catechetical instruction in the Lutheran Church had been introduced by Luther. But, during and immediately after the Thirty Years' War, it disappeared in many congregations while in others it was merely a formal instruction which did seem to have any relevance for the lives of the people. Spener, however, realized that catechetical instruction was an efficient means for Christian edification, for engendering godliness and providing comfort. Therefore he began to emphasize it in order to help the children and young adults to better understand the Scriptures and the sermons.<sup>46</sup> The emphasis of his instruction was upon the bringing together of the mind and the heart.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Ernest Stoeffler, German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), p. 129.

<sup>45</sup> Erich Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf Verlag, 1978), p. 87.

<sup>46</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:50.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 689.

What the mind apprehended should penetrate the heart and lead to works of piety. Therefore, catechetical instruction was not limited to the memorization or questions and answers. Rather, people were instructed in such a way that they could understand and explain Christian doctrine in their own words.

#### The Reform Of The Ministry

For the renovation of the Church Spener and Francke believed that, besides establishing the priesthood of all believers, it was also necessary to reform the education and training of clergymen. The reform of the ministry was a fundamental necessity for Spener since it was, alongside the intrusion of secular, political authorities into the affairs of the churches, the second principal cause of the difficulties within Lutheranism. "When you see," Spener wrote, "that the people are undisciplined, you must realize that their pastors are without doubt not holy."<sup>48</sup> He went on to maintain that "ministers must bear the greatest burden in all these things which pertain to a reform of the church, and . . . it is of the utmost importance that the office of the ministry be occupied by men who, above all, are themselves true Christians."<sup>49</sup> Spener complained about the corruption of many pastors. In his view more than a few clerics did not understand or practice true Christianity. Their lives reflected a worldly spirit of carnal pleasure, lust of the eye, and arrogant behavior. Some clerics sought promotions and preferments and therefore wandered from parish to parish.

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<sup>48</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 44.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 103.

He also complained about the resurgence of scholastic theology and the religious controversies which troubled the Lutheran churches.

To reform this situation, Spener recommended that students of theology should be trained in pietistic schools and universities for in all other faculties there prevailed an un-Christian academic life where ambition, tippling, carousing, and brawling corrupted their proper instruction and moral formation.<sup>50</sup> Spener additionally proposed that the practice of true piety and practical theology should be emphasized alongside academic studies since "study without piety is worthless," and "the reality of our religion consists not of words but of deeds."<sup>51</sup> Moreover, they should be so trained that in their preaching they might attain its proper purposes, faith and its fruits to the greatest possible degree.<sup>52</sup>

These recommendations of Spener were implemented by his disciple, August Hermann Francke. "As Spener was the preaching giant of German Pietism," wrote Lewis A. Drummond, "Francke became its educator par excellence."<sup>53</sup> While Spener concentrated his endeavors on establishing and encouraging the exercising of the spiritual priesthood in the Lutheran Church, Francke focused his energies upon the education of pietist leaders, clergymen and teachers, in the schools and especially

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>53</sup> Lewis A. Drummond, "The Puritan-Pietistic Tradition: Its Meaning, History, and Influence in Baptist Life," Review and Expositor, 77, No. 4 (Fall, 1980), 488.

at the university at Halle. During the eighteenth century, Halle occupied the leading position in European Protestantism as the center of Pietism and Francke was chiefly responsible for the theological and pedagogical emphases of instruction there. Both he and Spener held that the emphasis on piety and practical rather than abstract or academic theology were the major requirements for the reformation of the public ministry. A student had to have the heart as well as the mind trained so that what he learned was also impressed upon his heart to produce works of piety. According to Spener, "whoever grows in learning and declines in morals is on the decrease rather than the increase [in spirituality] . . . Since theology is a practical discipline, everything must be directed to the practice of faith and life."<sup>54</sup> In God's kingdom, according to Francke, the most learned and wisest people are not always the best, and are not necessarily those who produce the noblest fruits because they seldom present a true humility of the heart. "God opposes the proud," he wrote, "but gives grace to the humble (1 Pet. 5:5)."<sup>55</sup>

Spener argued that clerics should live lives of piety because this was the instruction of St. Paul to Timothy and cited 2 Timothy 2:24, 1 Timothy 1:18-19; 3:2; 4:7,12; and Titus 2:7-8. The Holy Spirit will not live in a heart dominated by sin. Moreover, theology does not consist of mere knowledge but also of feelings and practice. Those who

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<sup>54</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 105.

<sup>55</sup> August Hermann Francke, Idea Studiosi Theologiae oder Abbildung eines der Theologie Beflissenen (Halle: in Verlegung des Waisenhauses, 1717), pp. 98-99.

transform words into works are truly blessed. As did the Levites in the past, so Spener felt the pastors of his day must also carefully nurture their own sanctification and the purification of their lives.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, professors should not favor those students who lived according to the world, even if they were quite accomplished in their studies but rather they should encourage and recognize those who lived pious lives, even if they were not as capable in their studies. In fact, these students are the only ones to be promoted. Francke's educational methods encouraged the practice of piety by setting aside specific periods of time for the practice of spiritual meditation and spiritual formation.<sup>57</sup> To assist the students in their practice of piety Spener suggested that they utilize those works which had earlier been employed in the collegia pietatis, namely the Theologia Germaniae, Arndt's True Christianity, and Thomas a Kempis' Imitation of Christ.

Furthermore, since theology was to be a practical discipline and not merely the accumulation of knowledge, Spener recommended that students were to be given concrete examples of how to practice and encourage piety. He urged that students should learn how to meditate piously, how to know themselves better through self-examination, how to resist the temptations of the flesh, how to control their desires and die to the world, how to observe growth in sanctification and how they should teach others to do these things. So that they could get practical experience students were involved in the catechization of children, in the

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<sup>56</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, pp. 105-106.

<sup>57</sup> Francke, Idea Studiosi, pp. 91-92.

Christian education of young people and adults, in visiting and comforting the sick, and in preaching. They were reminded again and again that the primary task of their preaching was the edification of their hearers.

With regard to preaching Spener felt that many pastors were more concerned with conveying the impression to their hearers that they were learned men. One result was that many of the people failed to understand their sermons. "The pulpit," he wrote, "is not the place for an ostentatious display of one's skill."<sup>58</sup> Rather, in the preparation and the delivery of their sermons, pastors should be more concerned with the ordinary people rather than with the few learned members of the congregation. Moreover, "our whole Christian religion consists of the inner or new man, whose soul is faith and whose expressions are the fruits of life."<sup>59</sup> Spener's desire was that sermons should be presented in such a way that faith should be strengthened. To do this, the preacher should emphasize that the Word and the Sacraments were concerned with the inner man and not be received with an outward formalism. People should not merely listen to the Word but were to allow it to penetrate their hearts. It was not enough to be baptized. People were also to believe in Christ and demonstrate their faith through good works. It was not enough to receive the Lord's Supper externally or formally without showing faith and sanctification. On the other hand, sanctification was not to be presented in sermons in such a

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<sup>58</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 116.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

manner that people should consider it merely as refraining from manifest outward vices and immoral practices. Rather, they should realize that the proper foundation of true piety was faith in Jesus Christ.

The reform of the ministry by emphasizing practical theology and piety was, in many respects, a reaction against the all too frequent emphasis of the age of Orthodoxy on the acceptance and defense of pure doctrine and the confessions. August Tholuck, a professor at Halle during the nineteenth century held that

Pietism of Halle, in revenge for the long subordination of the interests of religious life, undermined the interest in theological science and authority of the creeds, diminished the importance of doctrinal differences, and by one-sidedness in teaching active faith, imperiled the sola fide of justifying faith.<sup>60</sup>

The theological curriculum advocated by the Pietists was pragmatic rather than theoretical in its emphasis. Those aspects of Orthodoxy which were not, in the view of the Pietists, oriented towards the sanctification of the Christian or the practice of piety were given only peripheral attention or disregarded completely. Church history became the study of the history of piety. Systematic theology and ethics were taught in a practical rather than an abstract or philosophical manner. First rank was given to exegesis. In the first year of his formal instruction, a student had to pass examinations on the Greek New Testament twice and on the Hebrew Old Testament once. The Scriptures were studied in the original languages without translations or extensive commentaries. The study of the Lutheran Confessions did not play a significant role in the theological education of the Pietists since many

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<sup>60</sup> Spener, The Spiritual Priesthood, p. ix.

connected with Halle held that the excessive emphasis upon the preaching of grace and justification in Lutheranism had led both to excessive controversies and a moral self-satisfaction.<sup>61</sup> David Michaelis, a student at Halle, indicated that during the time he studied there, one of the deficiencies was a lack of interest in the Symbolical books. He and his colleagues, he reported, never read them in the university.<sup>62</sup> Spener believed that if a student devoted much time to controversial matters or issues, "he will either be a bungling preacher, no matter how erudite he may be in polemics, or he must become a beginner, and start the study of theology all over again, and study it in a different way."<sup>63</sup>

Considering that the Pietists reacted against the confessional polemics of the early seventeenth century and that, in their reform of the ministry, the Lutheran Confessions seem to have had little relevance, the question must be asked, What was Spener's and Francke's concept of the church? What was their position concerning the confessions in the life of Lutheranism?

Spener proposed that individuals should be much more careful in religious controversies.<sup>64</sup> He did not totally disregard the confessions or the intra-Lutheran differences or the difficulties among them and the Reformed. However, he was desirous of more peaceful relationships among

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<sup>61</sup> Martin Greschat, Zur Neueren Pietismusforschung (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), p. 246.

<sup>62</sup> Friedrich August Tholuck, Geschichte des Rationalismus (Berling; Verlag von Wiegandt und Grieben, 1865), p. 33.

<sup>63</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, pp. 109-110.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

the various confessional parties within Germany. He himself gave evidence of such an attitude by utilizing and recommending books and other materials produced outside the circle of orthodox Lutherans and by arguing that, in so far as morals and church ceremonies were concerned, Lutherans had much to learn from others. Spener, nevertheless, held the Lutheran Church in high regard. He believed that since the Lutheran Church had preserved clearly the Word of God "she has a great superiority against all the sects and false religions, and can be recognized with good authority as the only true visible church of Christ."<sup>65</sup>

However, during Spener's own lifetime, many people felt that to leave the Lutheran Church and participate in the services of another denomination would make no real difference because the anti-Christ was also present in the Lutheran Church. Of such radical attitudes Spener did not approve.<sup>66</sup> But he never took the extreme position that the Lutheran Church was the only church in which true faith could be found or held that non-Lutherans could not be saved.<sup>67</sup> In comparison with the extreme confessionalism of some Lutherans during the early age of orthodoxy, Spener was more flexible in the matter of religious affiliation. Francke, on the other hand, was even more flexible for he held that it was not the Word and Sacraments, but the practice of piety which established the real difference between the children of God and the reprobates.<sup>68</sup> Thus, he condemned confessional separations and

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<sup>65</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 4:53.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:390.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:201.

<sup>68</sup> Francke, Idea Studiosi, pp. 51-52.

divisions and generally disregarded confessional particularism. He introduced his well-known ecumenical spirit into the parishes, schools and other institutions which he founded or in which he labored.<sup>69</sup> In Tranquebar, for instance, he established an ecumenical mission where confessional differences were ignored and joint Lutheran and Anglican work was carried on.<sup>70</sup> Therefore, while Spener did not emphasize the Lutheran confessions, he did not disregard them completely and held the Lutheran Church in high regard, more than any other denomination. Francke, on the other hand, was ecumenical in his concept of the church and regarded the practice of piety as the fundamental distinguishing mark between Christians and non-Christians.

In summary, Spener believed that, as a consequence of the erastianism and clericalism within many of the established territorial Lutheran Churches, the ordinary people had become spiritually lethargic and neglected active participation in the church. The people thought the clerics alone were called to perform the ecclesiastical functions and responsibilities, to work with the Word, to pray, teach, counsel, and evangelize, while the people's primary responsibilities were to accept what they heard. Spener's understanding of scripture and Luther led him to conclude that there was no theological justification for the erastianism or clericalism which obstructed the people's use of their

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<sup>69</sup> Wilhelm Fries, August Hermann Franckes Bedeutung fuer die Paedagogik insbesondere fuer die Anstaltspadaegogik. Vortrag gehalten auf dem Fuersorge-Erziehungstage zu Halle a. s. am 16 April 1914, (n.p.: n. p., 1914), p. 52.

<sup>70</sup> Martin Schmidt, and others, August Hermann Francke Wort und Tat (Berlin: Evangelische Verlaganstalt, 1966), p. 101.

rights and functions as priests. For him all Christians were made priests by the anointing of the Holy Spirit and blessed with gifts and the power to exercise their functions as believers of and in Christ. Therefore, they had the right, indeed the duty, to fulfill their functions in the mission of the church in the world. But their practice of these priestly rights and duties should be done under the supervision and authority of the public ministry of the word and the right of the congregation to call and install a pastor. In this sense Spener was in agreement with Luther who had written that "only he who is called by the common assembly . . . does this work in the stead of and as the representative of the common assembly and power."<sup>71</sup> Thus, what Spener desired was the help of laymen to assist the public ministry by exercising those functions which were not strictly or specifically relegated to the public ministers.

Spener also realized, however, that in order for the people to participate actively in the church it was necessary to instruct and adequately train them. He felt that the people's spiritual passivity was the result of the failure of the clergy to instruct them. Ignorant of the word of God, they could not teach others or evaluate the performance of the pastor, to support him in his labors or to admonish him when he neglected his duties. Spener was sure that if the people more fully and clearly understood the Scriptures, they would better exercise their functions as priests. He hoped that "if several persons in each congregation can be won for these two activities [a diligent use

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<sup>71</sup> Martin Luther, Luther's Works, Vol. 39, ed. by Erich W. Gritsch, gen. ed. Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963), p. 237.

of the Word of God and the practice of priestly duties] . . . a great deal would be gained and accomplished."<sup>72</sup>

But he was also convinced that preaching alone would not make known to the people their proper role within the church. Therefore he recommended personal reading of the Scriptures alone and in the company of friends and neighbors which would make the Bible truly a book of the people. He also strongly encouraged the catechization of both children and adults and instituted the collegio pietatis to provide a formal means for encouraging the study of the Scriptures, joint prayer, spiritual formation, and the training of the laity. Originally this institution was designed to instruct and train people of some position in society -- political leaders, professors, and ecclesiastical supervisors,<sup>73</sup> -- and had the probable intention of eliminating the erastianism of the age. Later on, however, it became a more open institution. As that occurred, some began, against the intent and will of Spener, to transform the collegia pietatis into an ecclesiolae in ecclesia, a church within the church. These separatistic pressures led Spener to avoid replicating the institution in his parishes in Dresden and Berlin.

The reform of the ministry, and in particular pastoral education, was largely the work of Francke and the university of Halle, where he was a professor. Both Francke and Spener believed that it was necessary to emphasize practical theology and piety over formal and systematic

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<sup>72</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 95.

<sup>73</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:223.

theological studies. Pastoral candidates were to be given instruction in the practice of Christianity and taught how to approach people in their particular situations so that they could motivate the people to become involved in congregational life. Their preaching should be focused on the needs of the people for spiritual formation rather than on disputed theological points. They should also emphasize that mere attendance at worship services or reception of the Lord's Supper was not sufficient for the true Christian. Rather the use of the means of grace was to result in visible signs of faith and sanctification.

Furthermore, the emphasis on the practice of piety as a sign of regeneration led Francke much more than Spener to de-emphasize the Lutheran confessions and the concern of orthodox theologians for pure doctrine. Williston Walker noted that "undoubtedly Francke's lectures [at the University of Leipzig] led some students to neglect other studies and to assume a critical attitude."<sup>74</sup> One result was that university authorities there restricted his activities.

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<sup>74</sup> Walker, p. 447.

CHAPTER III  
SOCIAL WORK AND MISSIONS

Spener regarded the practice of love as the distinctive mark of a true Christian.<sup>1</sup> But, "if we judge by this mark," he wrote, "how difficult it will be to find even a small number of real, true disciples of Christ among the great mass of nominal Christians."<sup>2</sup> As an illustration of proper Christian charity, Spener referred to the example of the early Christians in Jerusalem as narrated in Acts 2:44-45 and 4:32-37. There the rich practiced good works and used their property to help the poor, thereby witnessing to their love of God by showing love to their neighbors. The poor did not live only by the labors of their hands but were aided by their fellow Christians. As a result, there was no need for begging among them. "Now, however," wrote Spener, "things have come to such a pass that not only is begging very common . . . but most people do not know any other way of helping a needy neighbor than reluctantly to toss a few pennies to a beggar once in a while."<sup>3</sup> For him this was an indication that the church of his day had forgotten the true practice of love. While Christians might have a correct understanding of Christian doctrine, that was not enough to be called a true Christian. Doc-

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<sup>1</sup> Philip Jacob Spener, Pia Desideria, with an Introduction by Theodore Tappert, ed. Theodore Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), p.95.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 61-62.

trinal understanding should be accompanied by a transformation of life.<sup>4</sup> Spener and his fellow Pietists were concerned, therefore, not only with man's spiritual needs but also their intellectual, physical and social needs. They attempted to break down the strict social stratification of their age and give the ordinary people more dignity. They encouraged their active participation in church and society. They sought to alleviate the physical suffering of the poor by establishing philanthropic institutions and programs. They founded schools and offered public education. Finally, the Pietists would undertake a vast missionary enterprise.

The Pietists traced many of the difficulties in society and in the church to the failure of the upper classes to practice true piety. "Most of the deterioration in the Church," wrote Spener, "has its source in the two higher estates."<sup>5</sup> German society during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was characterized by stratification and within the Church three broad classes could be identified, the nobility and the middle class who possessed political rights, the clergy, and the remainder. The distinctions between them were arbitrary but rather rigid so that each class functioned within its own sphere and social intercourse between the classes was a great rarity. These social and economic distinctions were carried over into the churches. It was considered quite unacceptable, for instance, for a child of the middle or upper classes to be baptized with the same water used to baptize a child of a

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

common laborer.<sup>6</sup> Even in the schools the children of the burgher class were separated from those of the upper classes and the lower classes.<sup>7</sup> The "only group that made any effort," wrote Koppel Pinson, "to get closer to the lower classes and thus bring them into vital contact with other social groups were the preachers and writers of the Pietist tradition."<sup>8</sup> They entered into closer contact with the daily life of the common people and emphasized their participation in the religious and social life of their communities. They railed against the discriminatory attitudes of the upper classes. Gottfried Arnold declared that "the miserable child of a beggar . . . is just as valuable in God's sight as a prince."<sup>9</sup>

One of the first means employed by the Pietists to effect social as well as religious change was the collegia pietatis. While originally only the upper classes were involved in meetings during the early 1670s,<sup>10</sup> by 1675 participation was open to people of all vocations - - jurists, merchants, students, artisans and women. In this pious society master and servant prayed together,<sup>11</sup> although the women were separated

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<sup>6</sup> Koppel S. Pinson, Pietism As A Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism (New York: Octagon Book, Inc., 1968), pp. 104-105.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>9</sup> Dale W. Brown, Understanding Pietism (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1976), p. 58.

<sup>10</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken und andere Briefliche Antworten (Halle: In Verlegung des Waisenhauses, 1715), 3:223.

<sup>11</sup> Pinson, p. 113.

from the men and seldom participated in the discussions.<sup>12</sup> This change was not easily accepted, however, and protests were made against the participation of all classes in religious activities. Soon after many of the people from the upper classes refused to take part in the meetings of the collegia pietatis.<sup>13</sup> But these societies did bear fruit and it is interesting to note that in congregations of Pietist persuasion, the lower classes were emerging as leaders. An investigation of the list of elders shows that among the crafts represented were carpenters, weavers, cutters, shoemakers, and potters.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to seeking the reform of social relationships and church organization the Pietists sought to encourage and edify the lower classes through popular, devotional and catechetical literature. Christian Gerber's History of The Regenerated in Saxony (1725-1737) presented stories not only of the upper classes but also about a servant girl, a widow, the wife of a merchant, and even a peasant. Johann Heinrich Reitz's History of The Regenerated of 1717 gave accounts of the conversions of illiterate people while J. J. Moser's Old and New From the Kingdom of God (1733-1735) presented the religious experiences of artisans, soldiers and peasants.<sup>15</sup> But as much as the Pietists bring

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<sup>12</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken und andere Briefliche Antworten (Halle: In Verlegung des Waisenhauses, 1711), 3:147.

<sup>13</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:67.

<sup>14</sup> Paulus Scharpff, History of Evangelism (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966), p. 28.

<sup>15</sup> Pinson, p. 109.

about the improvement of the lower classes they did not seek to abrogate established authority nor were they advocates of social or economic egalitarianism. Spener held that God, in his wisdom, had established social classes and some individuals were, by His will, to be subjects, others rulers, some servants, others lords. Social distinctions represented differences between the responsibilities with which individuals were entrusted.<sup>16</sup> What Spener and his fellow Pietists seem to have desired was increasing the participation of the common people in the religious life of the community and encouraging a sense of Christian social responsibility among all classes.

The Pietists also expressed their concern toward the lower classes by establishing a variety of philanthropic institutions and programs. Spener, for instance, in cooperation with the civil authorities, established programs in Frankfurt and Berlin to assist those who were suffering from the immediate and long-range effects of the Thirty Years' War. In Berlin in 1702 a hospital was built which eventually developed into the Berliner Charite, an orphanage and insane asylum (Irrenhaus). In 1704 eighty-one orphans and eight widows were supported in and through these institutions with housing, food, clothing and instruction. Fifty-one orphans received clothing; 128 discharged soldiers were assisted weekly; 108 sick people received medicine and care while 154 people received a complete suit of clothes once a year. Over one hundred funerals were financed and 1355 travelers received some form of assistance.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, II, p. 221.

<sup>17</sup> Klaus Deppermann, Der Hallesche Pietismus und die Preussische Staat unter Friedrich III (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961), p. 60.

But it was Francke who was "numbered among the great humanitarians both for his social-pedagogical contributions and for his work in evangelism."<sup>18</sup> For him the incomprehensible love and mercy of God toward man and the anticipation of the last judgment were encouragements for Christians to relieve the suffering of the poor.<sup>19</sup> He believed that the emphasis upon spiritual care should not lead to a neglect of the physical needs of one's neighbor which is required by the whole of scripture. Indeed, if anyone fails to love his neighbor who is in need, then his Christianity is suspect. To care about the physical needs of others is evidence that one possesses the right faith and proper love.<sup>20</sup> He complained about the situation after the war.

Hardly anyone bothers about the poor widows and orphans and about the needy and forsaken in general. God has commanded us to do so but it is generally taken for granted that each person has merely himself to look after. . . . Here and there a few old hospitals and poorhouses still stand. . . . Thousands of poor children are allowed to go wild, great numbers of adult beggars wander through the country without anyone's considering the harmful consequences of the disorder, immorality, complete absence of education and discipline and the resulting idleness which mark their existence.<sup>21</sup>

To change this situation and to relieve the suffering of the people Francke decided to establish a variety of philanthropic institutions in

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<sup>18</sup> Clyde Manschreck, A History of Christianity (Grand Rapid: Baker Book House, 1964), 2:277-278.

<sup>19</sup> Friedrich August Tholuck, Geschichte des Rationalismus (Berlin: Verlag von Wiegandt und Grieben, 1865), p. 87.

<sup>20</sup> Martin Schmidt, and others., August Hermann Francke (Berlin, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1966), p. 97.

<sup>21</sup> Pinson, pp. 115-115.

Halle. He founded an orphanage, which became a model for others, and a home for widows. It was Francke's influence which led Frederick William I to establish in 1712 a orphanage for the children of his soldiers.<sup>22</sup> Other institutions modeled on that of Francke's were established in Stettin, Koenigsburg, Stargard, Zuellichau, Glaucha and other places.<sup>23</sup> Francke took in orphans and poor children to train them up in the way of correct faith and life,<sup>24</sup> while he founded a home for widows "not only to maintain these poor widows when broken with age, but to instruct them how they ought to pray for the welfare of the city . . . and the whole Catholic Church."<sup>25</sup>

The importance of the Pietist philanthropic assistance was directly related to the great economic problems of the age. Parents often were not only economically distressed but they suffered even more when they saw their children suffering and were unable to help. Whoever helped their children and relieved their pain made an impression upon their hearts. It was this attitude which brought the Pietists close to the common people. According to Dale Brown, Pietism, by its philanthropic activity, exercised the biblical injunctions to give alms, share a cup of water, and to demonstrate concern for the poor and the unfortunate. However, such activity could represent "a paternalism in which giving relieves misery only slightly and is manipulated to encourage to conform

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>23</sup> Tholuck, p. 90.

<sup>24</sup> August Hermann Francke, Der Grosse Aufsatz (Berlin: Academie Verlag, 1962), p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> Brown, p. 134.

to the middle-class value system of the benefactors."<sup>26</sup> Spener and Francke did not want to encourage people to depend solely on philanthropy to relieve their distress. They sought to help people help themselves and one of the great achievements and socio-religious contributions of Pietism was the establishment of a variety of educational programs and institutions. Spener, while not as effective an organizer as was Francke, believed that a good education for young people would be most helpful to the church<sup>27</sup> and society.<sup>28</sup> Spener's ideas were effectively implemented by Francke in Halle. "Spener was the plow that turned the soil," wrote Paulus Scharpff, but "it was A. H. Francke who soon thereafter sowed into it the fertile seed."<sup>29</sup> In 1695 Francke established an orphan's school, the royal Pedagogium, and a German grammar school. In 1697 he inaugurated instruction in a Latin school while in 1702 he founded the Gynaceum for girls and, in 1714, the Ostindische Missionsanstalt for the training of missionaries. In addition, he established teacher training schools such as the Seminarium Praeceptorum and the Seminarium Selectum Praeceptorum.<sup>30</sup> Besides these foundations, Francke also established a Bible society which would produce Bibles priced low enough so that almost anyone could afford one, a bookstore and an apothecary shop, partly for economic reasons and partly to train students to help in the mission fields.

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., pp. 148-149.

<sup>27</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:395. 1:707.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 3:151.

<sup>29</sup> Scharpff, p. 28.

<sup>30</sup> Pinson, pp. 135-136.

Francke also had political objectives for his educational undertaking. "This may put sovereign magistrates," he declared in his Pietas Hallensis, "in good hopes, that from such and like endeavors, may proceed the best and most faithful subjects fitted for their service, who also many prove instrumental in due time in retrieving others from their vicious course of life."<sup>31</sup> If the social and religious situation was to be reformed, it was necessary, he believed, to produce educated and "pious politicians" who would not seek luxurious living but would fulfill their duties responsibly with honesty.<sup>32</sup> For that purpose he established his school for the nobility at Halle which would be, according to Scharpff, "a school of political science for training the gentry, nobility and other outstanding sons and daughters; it was to be a source of the truly Christian state."<sup>33</sup>

Furthermore, Francke felt that the Christian education of the youth of Germany was inadequate. The parents had difficulty because they could not find individuals who would guide them in the correct education of their children. The schools were so deficient that even if a child received a little good instruction at home, he would soon lose it.<sup>34</sup> Thus, he believed it was necessary to develop a new system of education so that the demands of both public and Christian education might be satisfied. He was certain that when this goal was attained, the people

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>32</sup> Schmidt, and others, p. 41.

<sup>33</sup> Scharpff, p. 30.

<sup>34</sup> Francke, Der Grosse Aufsatz, pp. 76-80.

educated in the Pietist schools would exert considerable influence in society and thereby reform both it and the religious situation.<sup>35</sup>

To achieve this goal Francke, as well as Spener, considered it necessary to emphasize the practical aspects of education and not merely theoretical studies.<sup>36</sup> In his educational reform, according to Ernest Stoeffler, Francke proposed that education was no longer to be centered on the study of many books but on the formation of the individual. The purpose of the schools was not merely to transmit information but to transform the character of the students. The methodologies employed were to be flexible and adapted to the needs of specific individuals. The curriculum would not be based upon traditional patterns but be more pragmatic in its orientation. Above all, every child, even the most underprivileged orphan, was to be given an opportunity to develop his own innate abilities.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the educational reforms of the Pietists were intended to emphasize the cultivation of piety and the control of the will rather than merely training the intellect. "Mere understanding not directed by a good heart," said the Pietists educator Johann Friedrich Flattich (1713-1797), "makes one haughty and works for danger, perversity and harm."<sup>38</sup> Francke's particular contribution to the history of educational thought was his view of its role in the shaping of the human will. Pinson observed

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>36</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 95.

<sup>37</sup> R. Ernest Stoeffler, German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), pp. 36-37.

<sup>38</sup> Pinson, p. 140.

Education for him was essentially the influencing of the will; Christian education essentially the determination of the will to live according to the will of God. He believed that the will influenced understanding and not understanding the will.<sup>39</sup>

In his attempt to educate the will and engender true piety, however, Francke advocated the use of rigorous discipline and stressed the need for obvious repentance in his institutions, principally in the orphanage he founded. He believed that the whole life of the Christian was to be lived under the cross in suffering and thereby imitate the life of Christ. Apart from suffering the way to heaven did not exist. Suffering enabled individual Christians to grow spiritually. Therefore, the Christian should be happy when he endured suffering for in it the faith of the believer would be examined and exercised.<sup>40</sup> Francke also held that true regeneration and entrance into God's kingdom normally occurred through pain and suffering. This ascetic attitude of Francke toward the world was made manifest in his severe limitations upon the play of children, in his harsh judgment of non-Pietists as irreligious, and in his neglect of intellectual challenge and growth in Christian education.<sup>41</sup>

The same methods followed by Francke in his educational institutions was also adopted by some at the University of Jena which had an orientation similar to that of Halle. At Jena the true repentance and regen-

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Schmidt, p. 48.

<sup>41</sup> Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p. 449.

eration were greatly emphasized and persons were encouraged to feel terror for their sins. Liborius Zimmermann, for example, studied in Jena at that time and, according to Friedrich Tholuck, "eating, drinking and sleeping was denied him in his penitential struggle . . . in which he tasted little peace of the soul."<sup>42</sup> As a result of these methods children who had grown skeptical of the Pietist program frequently would come out of Francke's institutions or rebel against their Pietist parents. In 1709 Francke himself recognized that "the younger generation was not more inclined to agree with the Pietist methods."<sup>43</sup> Spener, however, had been a bit more understanding of the nature of children and felt that it was necessary to allow the children the right to give wrong answers and not to punish them after each mistake but to engender through love and understanding a joy and interest in their studies.<sup>44</sup>

The Pietists were also quite interested in educating women and girls, a rather uncommon interest for the age. The established schools and offered education for females as well as founding other philanthropic institutions for them. "In Francke's schools," Erich Beyreuther observed, "there were 2300 children, one thousand of them girls. The first high school for girls was founded in Halle . . . And gradually there was offered there, for the first time, education in the university

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<sup>42</sup> Tholuck, p. 36.

<sup>43</sup> Friedrich Uhlhorn, Geschichte des deutschlutherische Kirche (1517-1700), (Leipzig: Doerffling und Francke, 1911), 1:314.

<sup>44</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:51.

for females."<sup>45</sup> At the time of Francke's death in 1727 there were 167 male teachers and eight female teachers in Halle.<sup>46</sup>

In evaluating the impact of Pietist educational programs in Germany Francke said that in the domestic estate (Hausstand), many people came into contact with the word of God. Families met in groups to study the scriptures and to share their Christian experiences. Biblical knowledge increased in many places as the result of good preaching and effective catechization. Sermons and literature concerning education were published in Halle and placed in schools, churches and homes.<sup>47</sup> In addition, the secular authorities, were devoting more attention to both education and social assistance and several of Francke's institutions were financed, at least in part, by the upper classes.<sup>48</sup> In 1709 King Friedrich I of Prussia suggested to Francke that new charitable institutions, particularly a new home for orphans, be established.<sup>49</sup> As Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William III protected the Pietists of Halle against the criticisms of the Wittenberg theologians.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, in 1729, Frederick required that all theologians were to spend at least one semester at Halle and to secure a good written recommendation from

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<sup>45</sup> Erich Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf Verlag, 1978), p. 154.

<sup>46</sup> Pinson, p. 136.

<sup>47</sup> Francke, Der Grosse Aufsatz, pp. 106-108.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., pp. 108-110.

<sup>49</sup> Pinson, p. 117.

<sup>50</sup> Conrad Bergendoff, The Church of the Lutheran Reformation (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967), p. 158.

the university.<sup>51</sup>

The influence of Pietist educational philosophy was spread throughout Germany and Europe by the teachers and administrators provided by Halle to parochial and public schools. In Wuerttemberg the educational reform of 1729 seems to have been a consequence of Pietist influence while the organization of schools and orphanages in Stettin was carried through by a student of Francke's, Johann Christoph Schlinmeyer. In Holstein, an educational system was developed by two students from Halle, Peter Hansen and Georg Johann Conradi and on February 1, 1699, a school for poor children in Koenigsberg opened.<sup>52</sup> The educational influence of Pietism was, therefore, wide-spread, and was not merely limited to German speaking lands. In London, a Dr. Woodward, who seems to have been influenced by the Pietists, preached on education and his sermon was translated and sent to Switzerland and France.<sup>53</sup> Also in London, during 1678-1679 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, whose founding was influenced by Pietism, had some 40,000 children enrolled in their charity schools.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, educational foundations following the model established by Halle were also created in Russia, Sweden, India, Poland, Holland, and America.<sup>55</sup>

Pietist influence was not limited only to the founding of philan-

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<sup>51</sup> Scharpff, p. 41.

<sup>52</sup> Pinson, pp. 143-144.

<sup>53</sup> Francke, Der Grosse Aufsatz, p. 125.

<sup>54</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte, p. 163.

<sup>55</sup> Scharpff, p. 31.

thropic and educational institutions, however, but also led to the establishment of a vast missionary enterprise. Martin Schmidt argued that a result of the teachings and activities of the Pietists "was the renewal of the church in the form of a vast teaching mission."<sup>56</sup>

In 1651 the theological faculty of the University of Wittenberg had expressed its attitude towards foreign missions and the evangelization of the world in a most negative fashion. It declared that the task assigned to the apostles did not pertain to the Christians which followed them. Unbelief in Christ by so many in the world was due to the fact that those who did not believe had rejected the Gospel. It was not necessary, therefore, to provide them with another opportunity. Furthermore, they argued, European Christians were not responsible for non-Christians throughout the world; it was the rulers who had the right and the duty to see that the Gospel was preached to them.<sup>57</sup> The Pietists disagreed mightly. They argued that the Great Commission of Matthew 28:19 was universally valid and applied to each and every Christian.<sup>58</sup> The reformation, Spener declared, should not remain hidden behind walls but should spread God's kingdom throughout the world.<sup>59</sup> Francke believed that "the main mission of the church is that of getting people to heaven,"<sup>60</sup> while Zinzendorf helped to re-establish the

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<sup>56</sup> Stephen Neill and Hans-Ruedi Weber, The Layman in Christian History (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963), p. 154.

<sup>57</sup> James A. Scherer, "The Lutheran Missionary Idea in Historical Perspective," Lutheran World Federation Report, 11/12 (1982), p. 18.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>59</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:183.

<sup>60</sup> Stoeffler, p. 37.

Moravian Church in order to announce the salvation gained by Christ to the whole world and thereby help overcome the lack of concern for mission in the Lutheran Church.<sup>61</sup>

The Pietist missionary enterprise was, in large part, a consequence of Francke's achievements and programs in Halle. "While the pietistic movement under Spener was still on the defensive," wrote Paulus Scharpff, "under Francke's direction it now took on an offensive position."<sup>62</sup> Francke saw the world in need of the Christian witness and felt that it was the joint responsibility of European Protestantism to supply that need.<sup>63</sup> To accomplish this goal, he emphasized missions in his schools. "The principal means," he wrote, "to make an efficient improvement in all estates is a right seminary . . . from which well-nurtured plants and trees can be taken . . . and transplanted to all nations."<sup>64</sup> He seems to have been influenced by the words of Bernard of Clairvaux to Pope Eugenius: "Provide better pastors so you will have better sheep,"<sup>65</sup> and by the example of Jesus sending His disciples to all the world.<sup>66</sup> Francke transformed his schools into nurseries of missionaries who, after they were educated and trained, were sent out throughout the world and were important agents for the spread of

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<sup>61</sup> Beyreuther, Zinzendorf und die Christenheit - 1732-1760 (Marburg: Verlag der Francke-Buchhandlung, 1961), p. 45.

<sup>62</sup> Scharpff, p. 29.

<sup>63</sup> Stoeffler, p. 34.

<sup>64</sup> Francke, Werke in Auswahl (Berlin: Luther-Verlag, 1969), p. 109.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

Pietistic Christianity. According to Arno Lehmann, "the most powerful factor of a mission is the men who are involved in it and do the job. Almost all of them came out of Halle" and were indoctrinated there.<sup>67</sup>

Mission was taught to the children daily from their very first years in school and was emphasized through special services and programs within the congregations.<sup>68</sup> Literature on missions was produced for use in schools and for popular consumption including Stories and Illustrations of Mission, Instructions for the Inclusion of Mission in Education,<sup>69</sup> New Story of the Evangelical Establishment of Missions, and Missionary Reports of the East Indian Mission Establishment by Halle.<sup>70</sup> The reading of the Bible and biblical history by children was also introduced in the schools in order to encourage interest in mission work,<sup>71</sup> while Francke published the Halle Report which was the first missionary journal for scholars and theologians.<sup>72</sup> The encouragement of Bible reading was part of the missionary thrust of Pietism as was the production of thousands of tracts published for the people. During a one and a half year period he spent in Erfurt, Francke distributed more than nine hundred Bibles and New Testaments.<sup>73</sup> Up until 1723, the

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<sup>67</sup> Schmidt and others, August Hermann Francke Wort und Tat, p. 95.

<sup>68</sup> Martin Kaehler, Schriften zu Christologie und Mission (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1971), p. 277.

<sup>69</sup> Kaehler, 277.

<sup>70</sup> Schmidt, and others, p. 99.

<sup>71</sup> Uhlhorn, p. 290.

<sup>72</sup> Kurt Aland, Pietismus und Bibel (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1970), p. 90.

<sup>73</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte, p. 162.

Pietists produced more than a half million tracts and other types devotional literature.<sup>74</sup> In addition, every two years, a conference of the Missionary Union of Students was held in Halle during Easter which many young people attended.<sup>75</sup> In implementing his concerns for mission, Francke established specific goals and institutions. The Collegium Orientale, founded in 1702, was to prepare missionaries to awaken the Greek and Eastern churches by introducing them to oriental culture and language. At one time five students from Greece were connected with the institution<sup>76</sup> while some students were sent to Russia and Constantinople.<sup>77</sup>

Francke had a tremendous influence upon the development of missions as Pietist missionaries travelled to Finland, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Hungary, into the Balkans, the Near East, South Africa, England and, eventually, to America.<sup>78</sup> The activities of the missionaries not only led to conversions of non-Christian peoples to Christianity, they also encouraged the development of closer relationships among German Protestants, especially outside of Germany. In England, for example, the Lutheran court preacher, Anton Boehme, drew together German Lutherans and Reformed who had emigrated from the Palatinate. Boehme also translated into English letters from the Halle missionaries which

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<sup>74</sup> Schmidt, and others, p. 99.

<sup>75</sup> Kaehler, p. 277.

<sup>76</sup> Francke, Der Grosse Aufsatz, p. 96-96.

<sup>77</sup> Francis W. DuBose, Classics of Christian Missions (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1979), p. 77.

<sup>78</sup> Scharpff, p. 31.

would influence John Wesley.<sup>79</sup> In sending forth missionaries, Francke worked closely with missionary societies and political authorities.

The sending of missionaries to foreign fields began in 1705 when King Frederick IV of Denmark sought two missionaries for his colonies on the Indian sub-continent. In answer to this request, two missionaries, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Pluetschau were sent from Halle to Tranquebar in South India in 1706. Their methods of mission work can be characterized as based on five principles. 1. Church and school were to be established together for, in order to read the scriptures, individuals had to be educated. 2. The Bible was to be translated into the language of the people. 3. Preaching was to be directed towards the specific needs of the people in their own cultural setting; therefore, Ziegenbalg made a careful study of the religious beliefs of the region. 4. The focus of the work was to be spiritual regeneration not social relief. The objective of a definite, personal conversion of individuals was to be the primary objective of their work since many poor people seemed to be interested only in obtaining physical relief for their distress. 5. As soon as possible, an Indian Church with her own indigenous ministry was to be established.<sup>80</sup> The missionaries established a publishing house to produce literature Tamil and Portuguese. A Tamil New Testament and a Tamil hymnal with forty-eight hymns would be printed as well as a translation of Luther's Small Catechism. In 1716 the first

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Stephen Neill, A History of Christian Missions (New York: Penguin Books, 1980), pp. 229-230.

seminary in India was established as the mission enterprise expanded.<sup>81</sup>

During the eighteenth century, no less than sixty foreign missionaries went forth from the University of Halle and other associated Pietist institutions to carry on their missionary program throughout the world.<sup>82</sup> In America, Lutheranism also owes much to the influence of the missionary endeavors and programs of the Pietists of Halle. The most note-worthy among the early leaders of Lutheranism in America, Henry Melchior Muehlenberg had studied at Halle. He was sent to America to serve the Germans there in 1742 at the instigation of Ziegenhagen, the Lutheran preacher at the German court Chapel in London.<sup>83</sup> Francke's son, G. A. Francke, who had succeeded his father, also hoped that Muehlenberg would counteract the influence of "some non-Halle ministers [who] came from Germany,"<sup>84</sup> and the activities of Zinzendorf in Pennsylvania whose attempts to unite Protestant groups in Pennsylvania appeared threatening to the leaders at Halle.<sup>85</sup> In America, Muehlenberg and Zinzendorf became opponents and disagreed on a variety of issues, especially the Office of the Keys and the Lord's Supper.<sup>86</sup> While,

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<sup>81</sup> Julius Richter, A History of Missions in India (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), pp. 106-110, 114, 285. John C. Theissen, A Survey of World Missions (Chicago: Moody Press, 1961), p. 19. Arno Lehmann, It Began in Tranquebar (Madras: The Diocesan Press, 1956).

<sup>82</sup> Walker, pp. 448-449. Dubose, p. 79.

<sup>83</sup> Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Three Centuries of Advance A.D.1500 - A.D. 1800. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1939), 3:200.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 201.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte, p. 211.

Muehlenberg, according to Robert Scholz, "wanted to protect the marriage of justification and sanctification, too often divorced in the lives of many Christians, . . . by emphasizing sanctification in a church preoccupied with justification."<sup>87</sup> Muhlenberg had a high regard for the ministry of word and sacraments and the doctrinal tradition of Lutheranism. But, while Zinzendorf had been raised as a Lutheran, he had become the leading lay leader of the Moravian Brethren. His attempts to persuade Lutherans in America to join with the Moravians had led to the controversy with Muehlenberg. The influence of Halle Pietism on American Lutheranism was furthered when the principal theologian and founder of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther fell under Pietist influence while at Leipzig. There he came into contact with the writings of Spener and Francke and while they greatly influenced his concern for the practice of true piety, he had a greater appreciation for the doctrinal formulations of the orthodox Lutheran theologians and he would depart "from the more latitudinarian Pietism of his day."<sup>88</sup>

Some of the work of the Pietist missionary effort was carried on by non-theologians. Spener, while he was in Berlin, greatly influenced the merchant Stanislaw Ruecker through his preaching. Ruecker took it upon himself to travel throughout his homeland, Silesia, for fifteen years during which time he distributed about forty-thousand Bibles, New

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<sup>87</sup> Robert F. Scholz, "Was Muhlenberg a Pietist?" Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, 52, No. 2 (Summer, 1979), p. 51.

<sup>88</sup> Brown, p. 161.

Testaments and Catechisms.<sup>89</sup> On the small island of Langeness, the schoolmaster, Christian Carstensen, became the founder and leader of a movement that spread to other islands situated off the coast of Schleswig-Holstein.<sup>90</sup>

The individual most active in fostering foreign missions and the leading Moravian Pietist was Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf. Unlike Francke, he did not emphasize penitence and discipline but the love of Jesus which, for him, was the main teaching of the scriptures. The religion of Zinzendorf, wrote Koppel Pinson, can be summarized as a religion of the heart. More than any other in the Pietist tradition, Zinzendorf emphasized the emotional reactions of the heart and emotion of love.<sup>91</sup> Ernest Stoeffler said that "personal religion," for Zinzendorf, was "a matter of feeling, not of reasoning. Its locus is not the head, but the heart."<sup>92</sup> Zinzendorf believed that this love was present in all churches, independent of their differences. Therefore he held that the church existed primarily to promote fellowship among those who are regenerated and the mission of the church would be accomplished only through regenerated believers.<sup>93</sup> To achieve this goal he helped to re-establish and organize the Moravian Church in 1727 on his estate in Herrnhut, Saxony. This community believed "the evangelization of the

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<sup>89</sup> Scharpff, p. 41.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., pp. 41-42.

<sup>91</sup> Pinson, p. 24.

<sup>92</sup> Stoeffler, p. 144,

<sup>93</sup> Cyril Eastwood, The Priesthood of all Believers (London: The Epworth Press, 1960), p. 226.

world was the most pressing of all the obligations that rested on the Christian church, and that the carrying out of this obligation was the common affair of the community."<sup>94</sup>

As a consequence of their emphasis upon Christian witness and fellowship, the Moravian's mission work had a decidedly non-confessional character. Zinzendorf was not interested, however, in a formal union of the churches but rather a united witness of God's children from all different churches.<sup>95</sup> The Moravians did not try to bring people into their own church but wanted to be an influence which would help to accomplish the transformation of other churches. "Their motive," said A. Perchenet, "was not to spread Moravianism but to be of service to other churches by directing souls to Christ within their own denomination."<sup>96</sup> Confessions, articles of faith, doctrine -- all these mattered very little to them. The most significant aspect of Christian life for them was the fellowship of regenerated individuals. "Lutherans, Reformed, Brethren --all were in Herrnhut, and the Moravian or Herrnhut congregation was to include them all."<sup>97</sup>

The practice of non-confessionalism was an official decision taken by the synods of the Moravians. The Synod of Marienborn, in 1740, affirmed that "unlike the Lutherans, we however, construct no confession

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<sup>94</sup> J. Herbert Kane, Understanding Christian Missions (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1974), p. 144.

<sup>95</sup> Kurt Aland, Pietismus und Moderne Welt (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1974), p. 157.

<sup>96</sup> A. Perchenet, The Revival of the Religious Life and Christian Unity (London: A. R. Mowbray and Company, 1969), p. 90.

<sup>97</sup> Bergendoff, p. 165.

of faith which may not later be altered."<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, an individual member of the Moravian Church could follow his own confessional inclinations, whether Lutheran or Reformed, according to the Synod of 1747 which declared that "everyone should continue in that which was peculiar to . . . the three divisions of the Brethren - - the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Moravian and should each abide by their original confession and have their own bishop."<sup>99</sup> These decisions led Zinzendorf to establish the so-called "diaspora." It was made up of people who were thought to be regenerated and united by their fellowship rather than by a common confession of doctrine. Their function was to go from home to home emphasizing Christian experience rather than theology.<sup>100</sup> As a consequence of the "diaspora," Zinzendorf could establish in Herrendyk, Holland, an ecumenical congregation where Reformed, Mennonites, Jansenists, and even Carthusian monks, could meet together.<sup>101</sup> Zinzendorf also prevented his missionaries from confessionalizing the missions they established because he thought that people should believe in Christian church as referred to in the third article of the Apostle's Creed.<sup>102</sup>

Most of the members of Moravian missions were drawn from the lower levels of society, from a segment of the population usually disorganized

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<sup>98</sup> Pinson, p. 24.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Michael Collins Reilly, Spirituality for Mission (New York: Orbis Books, 1978), p. 90.

<sup>101</sup> Beyreuther, Zinzendorf und die Christenheit 1732 - 1760 (Marburg: Verlag der Francke Buchhandlung, 1961), p. 115.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p. 17. Eduard Niemann, Das Siebzehnte Jahrhundert (Hannover: Carl Meyer, 1868), p. 78.

and degraded. The missionaries, too, came from the humbler classes and were often laymen with no formal university training in theology, unlike those Lutherans sent out from Halle. The first two missionaries, David Nitzschmann and Leonard Doeber, sent to West India, were a carpenter and potter respectively. Their purpose was to evangelize Negro slaves who were regarded by many in Europe as having less value than a pet. "Has a Negro slave a soul?" "This question," wrote Beyreuther, "was discussed with theological argumentation in the European churches."<sup>103</sup> When other churches sent missionaries to the Caribbean islands, the Moravians already had evangelized more than thirteen thousand slaves.<sup>104</sup> Almost without exception the missionaries were drawn from the ranks of artisans peasants, and mechanics. At one time, for instance, six men, artisans and peasants, were brought before Baron von Schwanberg while two mechanics were led to the stake in Prague because of their activities.<sup>105</sup> In 1771 the Moravians started a mission in Labrador between the Atlantic Ocean and Hudson's Bay and the majority of the fifteen people in the company were handworkers.<sup>106</sup>

It is interesting to note that even some of the Negro slaves became missionaries. For instance, a certain Belinda of the West Indies was

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<sup>103</sup> Beyreuther, Zinzendorf, p. 12.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>105</sup> Augustus Charles Thompson, Moravian Missions (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882), p. 25-26.

<sup>106</sup> Gustav Warneck, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1901), p. 62.

noted as working for the faith,<sup>107</sup> as did the slave Anthony.<sup>108</sup> However, it must also be noted that not all Moravian missionaries were of the lower classes. Some of were quite well educated. John Jacob Schnick graduated from the University of Koenigsberg, Matthew Hehl from Tuebingen, and Pyrlaeus from Leipzig.<sup>109</sup> The Moravians sent physicians and teachers to Estonia and Lithuania and, during their free time, the volunteered to assist the local pastors. After some years, it was claimed that three thousand Lithuanians and eleven thousand Estonians were regenerated while many schools and meeting houses were established.<sup>110</sup>

Regarding the missionary methods employed by the Moravians, an insight can be obtained from Zinzendorf's Pagan Catechism. He recommended that missionaries should first examine the local situation, understand what were the major problems of the people, and only then begin their work, first through individual visits and exhortations and then they were to introduce public preaching.<sup>111</sup> As soon as possible, portions of the Gospels should be translated into the language of the natives. They should never baptize, however, until they were as sure as a man could be that the candidate was a genuine Christian who had

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<sup>107</sup> Thompson, p. 117.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>109</sup> Beyreuther, Studien zur Theologie Zinzendorfs (Marburg, Neukirchener Verlag, 1962), p. 141.

<sup>110</sup> Beyreuther, Zinzendorf und die Christenheit, p. 135-136.

<sup>111</sup> Neill and Weber, p. 35.

demonstrated his faith by his life.<sup>112</sup> Among the Indians, slaves, Estonians, and Lithuanians, however, Zinzendorf recommended that the missionaries should first live their Christian life without preaching so that the people would ask them about their life-style. At that the missionaries should speak about Jesus.<sup>113</sup>

In 1740, however, the Moravians made a change in their missionary methods as they began work among the natives of Greenland. According to the Historical Sketches of the Missions of the Moravians written by John Holmes, this change was related to the preaching of the law and the gospel. In the beginning, the Moravians usually spoke to the heathen about the existence, attributes and perfection of God and then tried, by enforcing obedience to the divine Law, to prepare the people to accept the gospel. This method proved quite ineffective. Therefore, the missionaries decided to preach Christ without first laying down the law as the foundation for repentance and were amazed by the results.<sup>114</sup>

Furthermore, the Moravians were concerned with the intellectual and physical needs of the people whom they sought to evangelize. Their philanthropic and educational assistance was inaugurated with a school founded at Berthelsdorf in 1723. In 1725 a school for the children of the nobility was founded in Herrnhut but was, two years after, transformed into an orphanage. At Wetterau, a nursery, a school for boys, a school for girls, a Paedagogium, or teacher training school, and a

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<sup>112</sup> Henry Charles Robinson, History of Christian Missions (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), pp. 54-55.

<sup>113</sup> Beyreuther, Geschichte, pp. 207-208. Perchenet, p. 238.

<sup>114</sup> Robinson, p. 52.

seminary were established. The orphanage at Herrnhut had the responsibility of providing for the instruction of poor children and not just the care of parentless children,<sup>115</sup> as did that established at Okak in Labrador.<sup>116</sup> In Lithuania, an orphanage was built, together with a seminary and from the orphanages came individuals who would later work in the schools and churches.<sup>117</sup> Even music was made to serve the cause of evangelization. Part of Pietism's success in missions, argued Eduard Nieman, was their concern for the spiritual and physical care of the needy, their providing Bibles and Christian literature, and music.<sup>118</sup> Pietist music and hymnody was directed towards engendering an emotional response in the people. Hymns emphasized the subjective experiences of repentance and forgiveness, of faith and assurance, and included songs of testimony, praise for God's love, and prayers for God's blessing and consolation.

Zinzendorf and the Moravians had their energies consumed by the work of mission. "In two decades the little church of the Brethren called more missions into life than did the whole of Protestantism in two centuries."<sup>119</sup> The Moravian Church had sent out two to three thousand of its members as foreign missionaries and as Edward Pfeiffer wrote, "It is the only church that has the unique distinction of having a considerably

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<sup>115</sup> Pinson, p. 136.

<sup>116</sup> Thompson, p. 245.

<sup>117</sup> Beyreuther, Zinzendorf und die Christenheit, p. 137.

<sup>118</sup> Niemann, p. 130.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

larger number of her members in her foreign fields than in her churches in the home lands."<sup>120</sup> Nevertheless, they extended their work far too quickly and widely and soon their aims exceeded the number of missionaries they had or the resources available to aide them. The Moravian missionaries also seem to have placed more emphasis upon the emotional response to their message rather than upon establishing a solid institutional structure which would allow for their work to become on-going. Missions begun among the Samoyedes and the Lapps as well as those in Persia, China, Ceylon, East Indies, Constantinople, the Caucasus and even in Egypt eventually had to be given up.<sup>121</sup> The difficulties faced by the Moravians arose from the fact that they seem to establish a greater number of ambitious goals than they could reasonably accomplish with the resources at their disposal.

In summary, the Pietists viewed Christianity not as a complicated system of doctrine but as a way of life which would transform the life of people in this world and lead them to love and glorify God. They believed that faith and works were inseparable; it was impossible for one who had true faith not to do good works. Spener considered love as the characteristic mark of a Christian and cited the words of Christ in John 13:35, "by this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another." However, he went on to say, this should not be "merely a pretended love that is hugged to one's heart in unfruitful

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<sup>120</sup> Edward Pfeiffer, Mission Studies. Historical Survey and Outlines of Missionary Principles and Practice (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1920), p. 83.

<sup>121</sup> Dubose, p. 85.

embrace but a love that manifests itself openly; 1 John 3:18 'Let us not love in word or speech but in deed and in truth.'<sup>122</sup> In addition, Spener held that "love demands that I use what is mine . . . to offer it as community property which . . . my neighbor cannot demand by civil right but which, according to the divine right of love, I dare not withhold and keep to myself as long as my neighbor's needs cannot be met in another way."<sup>123</sup>

Spener felt that very few individuals, even among the Lutherans, remembered that the glory of God and the welfare of one's neighbor should be the object of a Christian's everyday life. The practice of charity was not sacrificial but was "out of their abundance."<sup>124</sup> This was, for Spener, a clear indication that the people did not understand Luther's teaching about living faith as he explained it in his preface to Romans:

Faith, however, is a divine work in us. It changes us and makes us to be born anew of God (John 1:13). It kills the old Adam and makes altogether different men of us in heart and spirit and mind and powers, and it brings with it the Holy Spirit. O, it is a living, busy, active, mighty thing, this faith, and so it is impossible for it not to do good works incessantly. It does not ask whether there are good works to do, but before the question rises it has already done them and is always at the doing of them.<sup>125</sup>

The Pietists, by emphasizing a living faith, disregarded class distinctions present in the churches and thereby helped to give the

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<sup>122</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 57.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 65.

ordinary people more dignity through encouraging their participation in ecclesiastical and social affairs. But it must be noted that they were not alone in their concern for the lower classes and the spiritual edification of the people. There were Lutheran pastors such as Martin Schalling and Philip Nicolai who not only maintained orthodox Lutheran doctrine but who also encouraged the study of doctrine and the Catechism by the people in churches, schools and homes. They also instructed the people in the liturgy and attempted to practice effective church discipline. Men such as Grossgebauer and Quistorp, professors at Rostock, organized visitations, contacted political authorities and revised church and school orders, trying to establish decent order, practice and discipline within the Lutheran Church.<sup>126</sup>

The Pietists also were concerned for the physical and intellectual needs of the people and sought to demonstrate their faith by founding philanthropic and educational institutions and programs. Spener's concern for those who were suffering from the effects of the Thirty Years' War was demonstrated in Frankfurt and Berlin. Francke transformed Halle into the educational and philanthropic center of the Pietist movement and there sought to train students who would care about the whole man. Zinzendorf, following the example of Spener and Francke understood the mission of the church was to bring about a closer fellowship among Christians who demonstrate their love through evangelism and social ministry.

Nevertheless, Pietism often went beyond the Lutheran emphasis upon

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<sup>126</sup> Niemann, pp. 22-23, 47.

good works flowing freely from the Christian's justification through faith. They are done freely out of love for God and one's fellowmen. However, frequently the Pietist so emphasized the necessity of good works that they seem to constrain people to do them. Francke, for instance, emphasized the need for piety and repentance in an often legalistic manner. Spener's followers attacked amusements and made an individual's avoidance of such worldly pleasures a sign of their Christianity. But if good works are forced or compelled and do not flow freely from the heart, are they truly good works.<sup>127</sup> Indeed, Francke and the other Pietists rebuked sin mightly and terrified people with the proclamation of the wrath of God against sin but often neglected to preach the corresponding joy of which results from Christ's work of justification and the Gospel promise of the forgiveness of sins. Indeed, this did result in difficulties for the Pietist so that the Moravians eventually changed their emphasis in preaching and began to preach the Gospel without laying the foundation for true repentance by preaching the law. They also went far beyond Spener in emphasizing the concern for one's neighbor positively and negatively. Positively, they undertook an ambitious missionary enterprise both within Europe and overseas. Negatively, they so deemphasized the content of the Gospel and scriptural doctrine that religion became primarily a matter of feeling and not of doctrine. Despite the many benefits Pietism brought to seventeenth century Christianity, it did effect a change in theology.

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<sup>127</sup> Martin Chemnitz, Ministry, (Word, and Sacraments. An Enchiridion, edited, translated and briefly annotated by Luther Poellet (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1981), p. 97.

While Pietism began as a Lutheran movement their concerns and emphases led them to reinterpret and transform Lutheran doctrine.

CHAPTER IV  
PIETIST THEOLOGY

Spener was not concerned primarily with formal systematic theology<sup>1</sup> but with what he believed was a divorce between theological formulations and the daily life of the people. According to Spener, Lutheranism had turned on to a wrong path during the era of orthodoxy and the renovation of the lives of Christians within the church had not followed as a result of the reformation of doctrine effected by Martin Luther. Many of the clergy and the laity misunderstood the doctrine that one is justified by grace and saved through faith.<sup>2</sup> As a consequence of the concern of orthodox theologians to preserve the doctrine of justification by grace alone, less emphasis was given to the need also for individual Christians to grow in sanctification. Therefore Spener believed that upon the foundations of the first reformation of doctrine brought about by Luther a second reformation of life had to be built.<sup>3</sup> He himself indicated that his reformation would not be concerned with the reform of doctrine,<sup>4</sup> because that had already been accomplished by

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<sup>1</sup> Philip Jacob Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken und Andere Briefliche Antworten (Halle: In Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1711), 1:77-78.

<sup>2</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken und Andere Briefliche Antworten (Halle: In Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1712-1715), 4:200.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 3:180.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 1:654.

Luther. Rather, Spener felt that it was necessary to go beyond the declaration of the truth of objective justification and to emphasize the doctrine of regeneration and the practice of piety to reform the life of the church.

Because Spener emphasized the practice of piety, almost all church historians have taken the position that Pietism "cannot be discussed as history of theology but only as history of piety, because its primary performances do not lie in the theological field but in the practice of piety."<sup>5</sup> If, moreover, it is maintained that Spener accepted Lutheran theology and was not concerned with the reform of doctrine it would be logical to conclude that Pietist theology was faithful to Lutheran theology and that Pietism had little theological significance. But was this indeed the case? Was the essential difference between Luther and Spener and the Pietists merely one of emphasis, the former emphasizing justification, the latter regeneration and the practice of love? Or did the emphases of Spener and his fellow Pietists actually change the understanding of Lutheran theology? Did Pietism deviate from Lutheran doctrine and establish a different theological position? If so, then it would mean that Pietism does deserve discussion within the history of theology and that it was a theological and not just a practical movement.

The fundamental issue between traditional Lutherans and the Pietists was the relationship of the doctrine of justification and regeneration. The Pietists emphasized the doctrine of regeneration and the renovation

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<sup>5</sup> Horst Weigelt, Pietismus-Studien (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1965), p. 90.

of the life of individual Christians so much that they were suspected or accused of having modified the doctrine of justification, the article on which, according to classical Lutheran thought, the church stood or fell. Therefore, it is necessary to examine whether or not the emphases of the Pietists upon practical piety and the doctrine of regeneration actually did lead to a transformation of their understanding of the doctrine of justification.

The term regeneration is often used as a synonym for conversion (John 5:1. "Whoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God"). This conversion is effected by the Holy Spirit through "the washing of regeneration" (Titus 3:5). The Lutheran symbols also utilize the term "regeneration" for conversion as Francis Pieper notes in his Christian Dogmatics.<sup>6</sup> Spener, also, held that regeneration was a synonym for conversion and wrote that "a non-regenerated person cannot be converted or regenerated without the Holy Spirit."<sup>7</sup> In this, Spener was within the mainstream of Lutheran thought. On the other hand, it must also be recognized that regeneration or conversion are not to be identified as synonymous with the concept of justification for "not everything that belongs to conversion belongs likewise to the article of justification."<sup>8</sup> Conversion or regeneration is subordinate to the doctrine of justification and is connected primarily with the subjective

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<sup>6</sup> Francis Pieper, Christian Dogmatics (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1951), 2:402,498-499.

<sup>7</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken, I:227.

<sup>8</sup> Concordia Triglot. The Symbols of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, with a historical introduction by F. Bente, (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1922), p. 252.

aspect of that doctrine.

According to classical orthodox Lutheran theology, justification consists of two aspects, objective and subjective justification. The objective justification of all mankind was achieved through the suffering death and resurrection of Jesus Christ in Jerusalem. God "reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ; and had given to us the ministry of reconciliation; to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and had committed unto us the word of reconciliation (2 Cor. 5:18,19). This objective act of justification, of reconciliation, of the forgiveness of the sins of all mankind, does not refer to a change which occurred in human individuals, but in God's attitude towards human beings. God forgave the sins of each person and of the whole world because of His grace and on the basis of the sacrifice of Christ.<sup>9</sup> Objective justification means that the reconciliation of man and God occurred and exists independently of any individual's conversion. It is exclusively an act of God's love towards man without man's participation. When Christ said "It is finished" (John 19:30), all humankind was objectively justified before God. Man's reconciliation to God was a divine act and the forgiveness of sin occurred without man's participation. Therefore, conversion is not to be identified with the doctrine of objective justification.

However, this objective justification does not remain merely an objective, historical reality. Each person can have the profit of it.

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<sup>9</sup> Pieper, 2:348.

Christ sent the Holy Spirit and instituted the church to announce this gospel of reconciliation. Through the preaching of the gospel, the Holy Spirit works faith in individuals through which the benefits of objective justification are attributed to the individual. Thus, subjective justification is the personal reception and application of the benefits of objective justification through the instrumentality of faith. When a person hears and, by the power of the Holy Spirit working through the word, believes in the gospel proclamation, when he puts his trust in the vicarious satisfaction which Christ has made for the sins of the world (Rom.3:23,24) he is subjectively justified.<sup>10</sup> According to Francis Pieper:

Objective justification means that God is already reconciled with man. The reconciliation is an accomplished fact, just like the creation of the world. 'We were reconciled to God by the death of his son'(Rom. 5:10). . . . As Christ's death lies in the past, so also our reconciliation is an accomplished fact (2 Cor. 5:19). . . . The resurrection of Christ is the actual absolution of the whole world of sinners (Rom. 4:25). At that time we were objectively declared freed from sin. . . . Subjective justification means that the message of this finished reconciliation is brought to us by the gospel, 'the Word of Reconciliation' (2 Cor. 5:19) and thus the subjective reconciliation takes place only by faith (Rom 3:28).<sup>11</sup>

In orthodox Lutheran theology, however, it is not unusual for the term "regeneration" to be used as a synonym for this subjective aspect of justification. According to the Augsburg Confession, "Regeneration means the remission of sins and the person's adoption by God. Thus, regeneration can also mean justification (Titus 3:5)"<sup>12</sup> Luther likewise

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<sup>10</sup> John Theodore Mueller, Christian Dogmatics (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934), p. 367.

<sup>11</sup> Pieper, 2:347-349,503.

<sup>12</sup> Concordia Triglot, p. 251.

viewed subjective justification in terms of human regeneration when he wrote "Whoever believes in Christ, that He was born, died, was buried for us, and rose again from the dead, that man is regenerated, or born again."<sup>13</sup> Spener thus follows Luther and the Lutheran Confessions in that he used the term "regeneration" as a synonym for "subjective justification." He also argued that justification, regeneration and renewal are inter-connected.<sup>14</sup> Because Spener usually employed doctrinal formulations which were similar to those of Luther and the Lutheran Confessions, it must be asked whether or not his emphasis upon regeneration and sanctification was incompatible with classical orthodox Lutheranism.

#### Justification

Spener did not deny the Lutheran concept of justification but considered it the central doctrine of Lutheran theology<sup>15</sup> and maintained that he accepted it as it was explained in the Lutheran symbolical books.<sup>16</sup> "I know, believe, and teach," he wrote, "that our justification before God occurs only by grace in Christ. I understand that justification is a merit of Christ only, without any of our works and merits."<sup>17</sup> Not only did he maintain his orthodox Lutheran understanding of objective justification, he also held that his understanding of sub-

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<sup>13</sup> Pieper, 2:499.

<sup>14</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken, 1:132.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 2:30.

<sup>16</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:184.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 4:43.

jective justification was in accordance with orthodox Lutheran teaching. "Our justification happens when God forgives us our sins and gives us the right of eternal life," he wrote. "It is not by works or even by the works of living faith but only by faith in divine grace that Christ's justification is attributed to us (Rom. 5:18)."<sup>18</sup>

Spener held that faith is the means or the channel through which objective justification is attributed to a person. It is the function of justifying faith, moreover, to serve as a bridge between Christ and a person and makes it possible for the person to receive and apply Christ's objective justification. The Lutheran Confessions teach that "the sole office and property of faith is that it is the means or instrument by and through which God's grace and the merit of Christ in the promise of the gospel are received, apprehended, accepted, applied to us, and appropriated."<sup>19</sup> In the same sense Spener held that justifying faith is a receptive power which receives Christ's justification.<sup>20</sup> Through faith objective justification becomes subjective justification and regenerates a human being.

This regeneration, according to Spener, is effected by the Holy Spirit through word and sacrament by faith and consists of "a complete transformation of man through faith" with the result that "a new creature . . . is accomplished in him so that the regenerated person does not merely do things other than before, but is internally changed

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 1:116. Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken, 3:235.

<sup>19</sup> Piper, p. 438.

<sup>20</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken, 1:129-130.

and is godly-minded. Thereby his faith is known."<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, all of the elements which constitute regeneration are attributed instantaneously to the person and remain with the person while he has faith. Some of these elements, justification and adoption, for example, are also instantaneously fulfilled. Spener held that regeneration is instantaneous and, in certain measure, a complete act of the Holy Spirit when he wrote:

Where regeneration is properly understood it consists of three parts: the beginning of faith, justification and adoption, and the creation of the new man. And because this happens at once, it has, in certain measure, its accomplishment. . . . Justification and adoption is in itself accomplished because each one lives under the imputation of Jesus' justification, which can be nothing but completely imputed and which does not have grades. And whoever is adopted as a child is nothing but a complete child as a child can be. . . . So far is regeneration accomplished.<sup>22</sup>

This view of the instantaneous accomplishment of a person's justification and his adoption by God through his regeneration is also maintained by the orthodox Lutheran theologian, Martin Chemnitz, who said that "regeneration indeed, that is, adoption and the forgiveness of sins, is complete and finished in believers immediately after baptism, and yet it nevertheless extends through the whole life of a man."<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand, some of the elements attributed to a person in his regeneration are not fulfilled, Spener argued, in this life. For instance, according to both Spener and Francke, in regeneration only the

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 1:178.

<sup>22</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:305.

<sup>23</sup> Martin Chemnitz, Ministry, Word, and Sacraments, An Enchiridion, edited, translated and briefly annotated by Luther Poellet, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1981), p. 116.

beginning of the restoration of God's image occurs in man. Regeneration is only the beginning of the process of renewal and sanctification which continues throughout the whole of a person's life and is only finally accomplished in heaven.<sup>24</sup> This is not incompatible with the teachings of the Lutheran Confessions for, as Martin Chemnitz and Johann Gerhard held, "regeneration is, in fact, a new and second creation accompanied by renewal. In the man who is thus renewed there takes place the restoration of the image of God, which is begun in this life and completed in the life to come."<sup>25</sup>

Spener closely ties this sanctification to the faith effected by regeneration. Faith has both a justifying and sanctifying function. The justifying function of faith is to receive and apprehend objective justification and to apply it to the person. It is thus fulfilled at the moment of regeneration. The sanctifying function of faith, however, which is to produce works of love in the life of the Christian, only begins with regeneration. Thus, faith for Spener is at one and the same time both fulfilled and only begun. For instance, Spener held that while there is but one origin to faith, in justification, faith is a receptive power and in the remainder of life it is a power which produces works of love.<sup>26</sup> This, too, has been maintained by orthodox Lutheran theologians. Johann Brenz held that "faith has, so to say, two

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<sup>24</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:305. 4:117. August Hermann Francke, Die Noethige Pruefung sein selbst vor dem Gebrauch des heiligen Abendmahls (Augsburg: Gaspar Mantz, 1737), p. 55.

<sup>25</sup> Martin Chemnitz and Johann Gerhard, The Doctrine of Man (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962), p. 38.

<sup>26</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken, 1:129-130.

hands, one reaches up and grasps Christ with all His blessings and thus we are justified; the other reaches down and performs works of love and thus show that it is true faith. But in that way we are not justified."<sup>27</sup> Thus, Spener was in the mainstream of orthodox Lutheran thought when he held that regeneration consists of the accomplishment of subjective justification and was, at the same time, the beginning of sanctification and the restoration of God's image. Both are functions of faith which is given and preserved through the means of grace by the work of the Holy Spirit.

Nevertheless, Spener and his Pietist followers were dissatisfied with the almost exclusive emphasis upon objective justification by the orthodox Lutheran theologians. They believed that Lutheran orthodoxy had so preached objective, forensic justification that they gave little attention to the appropriation of that justification through subjective justification or regeneration or to the living out of regeneration in this life. This one-sidedness in presenting the doctrine of justification among orthodox Lutheran theologians was, in the view of the Pietists, responsible for the lack of true moral vitality and Christian charity within the church. Indeed, they believed that the doctrine of justification was being incompletely and, therefore, improperly, presented. Spener wrote:

When only forensic justification is emphasized without any other proceeding from it, as the so-called effective or practical justification, then the foundation of our teaching of justification is overturned and its heart is violated. . . . Effective or practical justification . . . consists in the

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<sup>27</sup> Pieper, 2:434.

action through which the divine grace trains and makes the sinner able for justification; there belongs the operation of repentance and also the desire of grace and faith. What follows faith and justification is, namely, the creation of a new man, the beginning of the sanctification which is necessary to be carried on in the whole life through daily renewal, which originates indeed in an adhering and inhabiting justice which the Holy Spirit never mentions as justification.<sup>28</sup>

Spener claimed that Lutheran orthodoxy was not emphasizing the gift of faith and the necessity of personal justification nor the consequences of the same in the life of the Christian. They failed to declare that regeneration was the beginning of the restoration of God's image which was necessarily to be carried on and out in the daily life of a Christian as he utilizes the forgiveness of sins and the power of faith. He believed, along with his fellow Pietists, that most of the people, including even many of the clergy, did not truly understand what it meant to be justified and saved by faith. In theoretical doctrinal terms, the people knew the article of justification very well. But they did not know how to apply it in their lives. They could not, therefore, truly be comforted nor were they encouraged to seek to change their lives and do good works.<sup>29</sup> The act of justification by Christ was understood by most people as an historical fact which occurred a long time ago without much relevance to their own daily life. According to Klaus Deppermann:

The whole direction of Orthodoxy surely had the preaching of 'Christ for us,' that is, an external historical Christ who did all and suffered for us. The 'Christ in us,' however, who has

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<sup>28</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken, 1:93-94.

<sup>29</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 4:200. Letzte Theologische Bedencken, 2:400.

to implant in our hearts his priestly light and royal membership, that Christ has been abandoned.<sup>30</sup>

The term, "Christ for us" implies or refers to the objective or forensic justification accomplished by Christ. "Christ in us" refers to subjective justification and its consequences for and in the life of a person. Both were maintained by orthodox Lutheran doctrine. But, the religious circumstances that followed the death of Luther had led many to focus their attention more on the objective elements of justification, the "Christ for us," rather than also vigorously preaching alongside the "Christ in us."

After the death of Luther, Lutheranism lacked a strong single leader with the result that several distinct theological parties emerged within Lutheranism. On one side were the Philippists and Crypto-Calvinists; on the other, was the very conservative Genesisio-Lutheran party. Between these parties a series of doctrinal controversies arose which, in the final analysis, focused on the doctrine of justification. During these controversies of the mid-sixteenth century another group emerged which sought to preserve Lutheranism from extremism. It was this group, led by such as Chemnitz, Selnecker, and Andreae, which was responsible for the elaboration and definition of orthodox Lutheran theology in the Formula and the Book of Concord. But, after the appearance of the Book of Concord, controversies with the Catholics and the Reformed increased which likewise led to heated discussions of doctrines related to the issue of justification. Therefore, the religious circumstances of the

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<sup>30</sup> Klaus Deppermann, Der Hallesche Pietismus und der Preussische Staat unter Friedrich III (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961), pp. 16-17.

second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries necessitated the strong emphasis upon justification by the orthodox Lutheran theologians who viewed it as the heart of scriptural teaching and the doctrine on which the church would stand or fall.

It was this which led local pastors and Lutheran church leaders and theologians to emphasize the preaching of objective, forensic justification. But Spener held that while justification was clearly taught by the Lutheran Symbols and by theologians and pastors, few, even among the learned, truly understood it accurately or fully.

I have tried earnestly for many years. Certainly most of the preachers mention justification and defend it, but thereby they do not mention the power of faith, and that through it alone we are justified, namely faith as a heavenly light from God which really regenerates us and transforms us into another person. This is the point in which God has given me, until now, the major favor, that where I preach or write about the power of regeneration and our justifying faith, I not only feel more power and joy in me, but also, other people have perceived that in such action a totally different life happens in me.<sup>31</sup>

Therefore, Spener and his followers, by emphasizing regeneration or subjective justification rather than objective justification were demonstrating their concern with what God does now in an individual rather than with what God did for all humankind in the past. They were not denying objective justification but were trying to provide a corrective so that the necessary corollary of subjective justification be maintained by Lutheranism. They proclaimed that regenerated persons were not only justified a long time ago in history but that they were justified in the present and were, therefore, to live new lives of faith. They were now new persons, whose sins were forgiven, and by

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<sup>31</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken 1:131.

faith had received the power through the presence of the Holy Spirit in the regenerate. Accordingly, each regenerate person has a role and a capacity to perform some function within the church and to do good works in the world. This is evident by the attributes Spener ascribed to regeneration: the practice of love as a mark of regeneration and the fruit of faith,<sup>32</sup> regeneration does not exist without power,<sup>33</sup> the regenerated person is a complete child of God,<sup>34</sup> the new man has predominance over the old,<sup>35</sup> the regenerated are not subjugated to the law but put to death the deeds of the flesh,<sup>36</sup> the regenerated person is dominated by the Holy Spirit,<sup>37</sup> Christ's justification is attributed to the regenerate person and becomes his.<sup>38</sup> Since these are the results of justification and are the characteristics of regeneration, the person has the duty and obligation to fulfill these functions in the church and the world. Regeneration as the implementation and application of justification is to lead individuals to participate in the improvement of the world.

Thus far, Spener and those Pietists who followed him theologically were not unfaithful to orthodox Lutheran formulations even though they

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<sup>32</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 96.

<sup>33</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:179-182, 336.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 1:336.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 3:230-231. 1:179.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 1:168-169.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 1:179.

did concentrate their attention upon the present state and actions of the regenerated person. They focused their attention on what was occurring within Christian individuals rather than upon what had transpired in the past as Christ demonstrated the grace of God towards man. Their emphasis, moreover, was in response to their perception of the religious-social situation of their day. Believing that many orthodox Lutherans failed to put into effect their justification because the subjective element of justification had not been effectively preached, they sought to re-establish the preaching of regeneration as the basis for encouraging growth in sanctification among Christians. It was this which, as Pietism spread, would lead to a transformation in their understanding of Lutheran theology. Instead of maintaining the Lutheran emphasis upon the conjunction of justification and regeneration, the former being the cause and surety of the latter, the Pietists began to emphasize the connection between regeneration and sanctification and utilized the latter to confirm and prove the former. They would transform Lutheran theology by emphasis.

#### Regeneration and Sanctification

Because Spener believed that the teaching and practice of sanctification had been neglected during the early seventeenth century,<sup>39</sup> he began to preach and teach the necessity of sanctification. But, in his presentation of the need for sanctification, he began to attribute sanctification to regeneration and not to justification.<sup>40</sup> He held that

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 3:431.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 4:117. 3:717-718. 1:38.

salvation but not sanctification came from justification.<sup>41</sup> He was trying to counteract the assumption by many that personal justification by faith consisted also of an accomplished and complete salvation so that nothing more needed to be done by a Christian. He therefore held that the concept of regeneration consisted of something not accomplished and complete, that is, that the life of sanctification had to be carried on by Christians throughout their lives. Alongside the emphasis of orthodox Lutheranism upon justification and faith as something which has been accomplished, Spener and the Pietists emphasized the elements of regeneration which had not yet been accomplished. Spener held that while complete salvation comes from justification, from regeneration proceeds only an incomplete sanctification. This began the movement away from the understanding of the relationship between sanctification and justification maintained by Lutheran orthodoxy. According to Martin Chemnitz, justification and sanctification "cannot be separated according to difference of time. Yet, in the order of significance or nature, justification precedes and renewal follows, which is the fruit or consequence."<sup>42</sup>

The attribution of sanctification to regeneration in the thought of the Pietists led them to hold that without the power of the Spirit of Christ no one could be regenerated. In the Christian life the Spirit of God is dominant and can be demonstrated by his abhorrence and fleeing of evil and the seeking and doing of good. The Christian does not serve

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 1:116.

<sup>42</sup> Chemnitz, Ministry, Word, and Sacrament, p. 79.

sin nor does he live according to the flesh and, even though the struggle between the spirit and the flesh continues through his entire life, his life is characterized by the predominance of the Spirit of God.<sup>43</sup> Spener held that, according to the scriptures, Christians were to mortify the works of the flesh and walk in the Spirit (Rom. 8:13; Gal. 6:16), that they abstain from evil and do good (Psalm 34:14), and that being dead to sin they live unto righteousness (Rom. 6:2,8; 2 Pet. 2:24). Sanctification was a sign, therefore, of true regeneration because, as Spener put it, the recognition of the regenerated person is not by words but by the practice of good works.<sup>44</sup> This means, that since a person receives the Holy Spirit and is regenerated for the purpose of a new life producing good works as an expression of faith, his faith and regeneration should be perceived and confirmed by the works that he performs.

It was this emphasis which seems to have been the foundation of the preaching of sanctification by the Pietists and their attempts to motivate Christians to live out their faith. According to Spener the law demands and is the rule of sanctification. He also maintained, in agreement with orthodox Lutheran theology, that the law cannot give the power or motivation to live a sanctified life because the whole life of sanctification depends upon the gospel.<sup>45</sup> Scripture established that one function of the law is to serve as a rule by which a Christian would

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<sup>43</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:168-169.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 3:587.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 1:38.

know which works to do and which were to be avoided so that he might properly serve God. Thus, Spener was in agreement with the scriptures and the Lutheran symbols when he held that the foundation of the Christian life is that man is not motivated by fear and obligation but by love to God and the Saviour<sup>46</sup> and that while it is necessary, at certain times and in certain places, to stress more the law, according to the life of the people, final emphasis has to be upon the gospel.<sup>47</sup>

But Spener did, at times, create difficulties as he sought to correctly apply law and gospel in seeking to motivate Christians to sanctification. For instance, he wrote that "the law provides the rule for good works and many wonderful impulses to attain them."<sup>48</sup> This implication that the law can provide an impulse for good works, for the motivation of the Christian life, was further elaborated when he wrote:

I dare all and everyone to practice the law in the hardest way possible, with thunders and scoldings. . . . I do not teach a Pharisaic or external justice, but the internal sanctification which comes from regeneration and which makes man (by the compulsion of the law) not to do other things but to become another person internally. This way to motivate sanctification I do with such earnestness that it sometimes becomes a thorn in the conscience. . . . I also present the consolation of the Gospel . . . but always show them the practice of continual self-examination.<sup>49</sup>

There is, in this passage, a confusion of law and gospel which arose as a natural consequence of the Pietist emphasis upon sanctification rather than upon justification. Spener's tendency to use good works as

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 3:118.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 1:38.

<sup>48</sup> Spener, Pia Desidera, p. 87.

<sup>49</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 3:717-718.

a measure of faith and regeneration would be further transformed by his followers so that faith was no longer presented merely as the simple acceptance and trust in the meritorious work of Christ but as a human accomplishment. The long-range result of this was that people began to doubt the gospel assurance of their salvation and failed to find consolation for their troubled consciences. The Pietists would so emphasize good works and condition faith and regeneration to the practice of piety that Christians began to believe that simple faith in Christ's work of justification and reconciliation was not sufficient for salvation. As they held that sanctification was a the mark of regeneration, the Pietist began to teach that good works are the sure sign of regeneration, faith and salvation.

#### Faith and Good Works

According to Spener, faith is the only means by which we partake of the benefits of Christ. Without faith we do not have the profit of Christ and God's grace for faith is nothing more than the hearty confidence in Christ and is given to us by the Holy Spirit for our justification, salvation and sanctification.<sup>50</sup> He also correctly distinguished between the justifying and sanctifying functions of faith when he wrote that:

justification itself, faith has nothing to do with love because in justification faith is not viewed as an active work but a receptive power. In the remaining work of regeneration and renewal, faith and love have their mutual works and one helps each other. But in their origin, both are and remain a heavenly power.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken, 1:315.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 1:129-130.

Spener's concept of faith was, therefore, in accord with scripture and the Lutheran Confessions. But, in his preoccupation with the practice of love, he himself and, even more, his followers, over-emphasized the sanctifying function of faith. To describe the union between faith and love Spener compared them with the union of light and a burning fire. He also said that as fruit belongs to the essence of the tree, so good works belong to the essence of faith. Good works are the witness of faith and when they do not follow, then faith is false. Therefore, faith and love are inseparable.<sup>52</sup> This emphasis upon the sanctifying function of faith was based upon the concept that regeneration and faith were not without power. Therefore, it was impossible for faith not to do good works incessantly. So far Spener was in accord with Luther whom he quoted:

Faith, however, is a divine work in us. It changes us and causes us to be born anew of God (John 1:13). It kills the old Adam and makes altogether different men of us in heart and spirit and mind and power, and it brings with it the Holy Spirit. It is a living, active, mighty thing, this faith, and so it is impossible for it not to do good works incessantly. It does not ask whether there are good works to do, but before the question arises it has already done them and is always at the doing of them.<sup>53</sup>

Obviously, Spener is in the tradition of orthodox Lutheranism when he argues further that "Paul said to the Colossians (2:12) that faith is efficacious through the power of God and overcomes death. Since this faith is a new life, it necessarily produces new movements and works."<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 1:230.

<sup>53</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, pp. 64-65. Martin Luther, Works of Martin Luther (Philadelphia, Muhlenberg Press, 1932), 6:451-452.

<sup>54</sup> Apology to the Augusburg Confession, Art IV. Book of Concord, edited and translated by Theodore Tappert, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), p. 143.

Yet, he and his followers so emphasized the practice of love in good works that faith in Christ was often obscured and the practice of works were presented in such manner that they appeared to be almost a necessary condition to preserve one's regeneration. For instance, Spener wrote that:

As a child grows to become an adult so a regenerated . . . person has to grow, do more and more (1 Thes. 4:1,2; Eph. 4:15,26) and strive for perfection (Phil. 3:12-14; Heb. 6:1). But he who does not want to grow will lose his regeneration. Therefore, the regenerated person must be diligent to do good works (Titus 2:14) and strive to produce many fruits of the Spirit.<sup>55</sup>

It is, as Spener notes, the teaching of scripture that Christians are to do good works, not an arbitrary decision but as necessary and required (Rom. 8:12; 13:5,8; 1 Cor. 9:16; Luke 7:10). But scripture also teaches that good works are not to be done by constraint or necessity (2 Cor. 9:7; Phil. 14; 1 Pet. 5:2). This means that good works, done by necessity or constraint are not really being done with a ready heart and are not being motivated by the gospel. The Pietists, however, often emphasized good works as a necessity in the life of a regenerated person and Spener himself argued that if a person would be a real Christian he was bound to fulfill his functions as a Christian.<sup>56</sup> While this could be understood in a way not inconsistent with orthodox Lutheran theology, Francke went further to emphasize sanctification as a sure mark of repentance while Zinzendorf based the church on the practice of piety rather than upon faith in the work and merits of Christ.

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<sup>55</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken, 1:42.

<sup>56</sup> Spener, The Spiritual Priesthood, pp. 12-13.

As a consequence of their emphases, people found less and less comfort in the assurance of salvation proclaimed by the gospel. This was evident when, as noted in the previous chapter, not a small number of children were said to have left Francke's philanthropic institutions with some scepticism.

#### The Means of Grace

That the Pietists began to change the Lutheran understanding of regeneration is not only shown by their emphasis upon works as a sign and assurance of regeneration but also in their attitude towards the means of Grace. According to Spener, it was through the means of grace, word and sacrament, that the Holy Spirit works in the hearts of Christians.<sup>57</sup> A person's regeneration occurs and depends completely on the work of the Holy Spirit who comes by God's grace through the Word and Holy Baptism. No individual can prepare himself to receive the Holy Spirit.<sup>58</sup> The means, moreover, by which the Holy Spirit regenerates individuals is not the law, which only demands regeneration, but the gospel, which brings and accomplishes regeneration.<sup>59</sup> Thus far was Spener in agreement with orthodox Lutheran teaching which held that "regeneration is wrought not only by Baptism (Tit. 3:15), but also by the Word of the Gospel (1 Pet. 1:23)."<sup>60</sup> Orthodox Lutheran theology taught that the preaching of the word and the administration

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<sup>57</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 4:376.

<sup>58</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken, 1:227.

<sup>59</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:3-8.

<sup>60</sup> Pieper, 2:500.

of the sacraments are the principal functions that the church ascribes to the public office of the ministry. In his preaching, moreover, Spener said, the minister has to follow the example of Christ and the apostles who emphasized the gospel in their ministry. This is because the gospel is the means by which faith is generated and through which God offers His grace. It is through the Gospel that the Holy Spirit, with all his gifts, is given to individuals. The law, on the other hand, has the function, according to both Spener and classical Lutheranism, to show man his sinfulness and lead him to repentance. Francke also held that God gave the law for external order in public life, as a mirror, so that people can see their sins and the justice of God's wrath, and as a rule and norm for the whole life of individuals, serving as a tutor to lead them to Christ.<sup>61</sup>

Nevertheless, the Pietists emphasis on regeneration did affect the understanding of the relationship between and the application of law and gospel. Some scholars<sup>62</sup> state that the Pietists applied a perfectionist emphasis upon the third use of the law as a definite rule of the Christian life. Spener himself said that he did not require perfection before regeneration but certainly rectitude and integrity should follow it.

I do not require perfection for regeneration but hold that it [regeneration] happens first. Where one has experienced

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<sup>61</sup> Francke, Einleitung zur lesung der Heiligen Schrift (Halle: Gedruckt und Verlegt in Waysenhause, 1729), pp. 12-13.

<sup>62</sup> James O. Bemesderfer, "Pietism: The Other Side," The Journal of Religious Thought, 25, No. 2 (Autumn-Winter, 1968-69), p. 32. Robert F. Scholz, "Was Muhlenberg a Pietist?" Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, 52, No. 2 (Summer, 1979), p. 61.

renewal and has extinguished the greatest part of the old nature, there I require, however, that they oppose hypocrisy with complete rectitude and authentic integrity.<sup>63</sup>

Spener also established the difference between legal and evangelical obedience. Legal obedience consisted of the fulfillment of the law by the person's own power, which was impossible. Evangelical obedience consisted of faith in Christ who fulfilled the law for us. He said that Christians want to keep the law but, because the flesh is sinful and weak, it is not possible to keep it perfectly. Therefore, the whole life of the Christian is a complete living in God's mercy.<sup>64</sup> But, as a consequence of his de-emphasis of the proclamation of objective justification, Spener seems to confuse at times the application of law and gospel and utilized the third use of the law as a means to motivate sanctification. However, it was Francke who went even further and argued that "some people are stimulated by the gospel, others by the law."<sup>65</sup> The principal theme in his ministry was repentance and, according to Chemnitz, "repentance is properly not the teaching of the gospel but of the law."<sup>66</sup> The emphasis upon repentance was common in Francke's institutions in Halle, principally in the orphanage. It was also strongly taught at the University of Jena. This emphasis upon repentance and on law is evident in a series of questions and answers prepared by Francke:

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<sup>63</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:336.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 2:973-74.

<sup>65</sup> Francke, Oeffentliches Zeugnis vom Werk, Wort und Dienst Gottes (Halle: In Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1702), p. 176.

<sup>66</sup> Chemnitz, Ministry, Word, and Sacraments, p. 54.

Can you be sure that all of your sins are forgiven in Christ? Yes, of this I can be absolutely sure (Rom. 8:1). But can you be sure that your sins are forgiven if you do not want to improve your life? No, I have to improve my life (Acts 26:18; Rom. 6:2ff). In what does the improvement of life consist? When I dedicate myself to deny the ungodly nature and worldly desires and make the effort to live a modest, righteous and pious life in this world.<sup>67</sup>

Francke, more the Spener, seems to have confused law and gospel, faith and good works by establishing the assurance of the forgiveness of sins on the living of a modest, righteous and pious life rather than upon faith in the work of Christ. This could lead to uncertainty of forgiveness and reconciliation. Indeed, Francke, writing of God's grace, noted that "His grace does not make me sure, but awakes me daily to renew myself always more and more in the spirit of my disposition."<sup>68</sup> Thus, Francke does not appear to maintain the surety of forgiveness only on the basis of God's grace but linked it to the necessity of the sanctified life.

The peculiar emphasis of the Pietists on sanctification and regeneration also showed itself in their understanding of the sacraments. For Spener a sacrament was "a divine action in which heavenly and divine grace is given and attributed to something earthly."<sup>69</sup> He held that "the power of the sacraments does not depend upon the intention of the administrator or even on the faith of the church in which it is administered, but on the Word and institution of Christ."<sup>70</sup> This clearly is

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<sup>67</sup> Francke, Umweisung zum wahren Christenthum (Dresden: Buchdruckerei von Ernst Blochmann, 1831), pp. 6-7.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>69</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:92.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 4:541.

consistent with Lutheran doctrine which indicates that the validity of the sacrament is not dependent upon the faith of either administrator or recipient. However to receive the benefits of the sacrament, one is to be in faith. Even when the Sacrament of the Altar is received by a person without faith, it has a powerful effect, albeit for the condemnation of such a recipient. For Spener, the Lord's Supper has a double promise. One is its essence, which is absolute and unconditional and which every partaker receives. The other is the benefits of the sacrament and depends upon the faith or the partaker. Christians and non-Christians alike receive the body and blood of Christ. But the benefits are given only to the Christians because they have true faith.<sup>71</sup>

Baptism, according to Spener, is a "washing of regeneration and renewal in the Holy Spirit and effects the forgiveness of sins, delivers from death and the devil, and gives eternal salvation."<sup>72</sup> This understanding is in agreement with the views of Luther, Chemnitz and the orthodox Lutheran theologians.<sup>73</sup> Spener also maintained the orthodox Lutheran idea that Baptism was a covenant established by God with the baptized individual. From His side, it is a covenant of grace. From the individual's side it is a covenant of faith and good conscience. "It will be in vain," Spener wrote, "that you comfort yourself in your Baptism and in its promise of grace and salvation if, for your part, you do not remain in the covenant of faith."<sup>74</sup> Therefore, for Spener, the

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 740.

<sup>72</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 63.

<sup>73</sup> Chemnitz, Ministry, Word, and Sacraments, p. 115.

<sup>74</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 66.

benefits of Baptism and the Lord's Supper can be said to be conditioned by the faith of the recipient.

However, some of Spener's followers and the later Pietists disregarded "infant baptism in favor of a later conversion experience."<sup>75</sup> They believed that many individuals who were baptized did not preserve their baptismal alliance<sup>76</sup> and were not living a regenerated life since the marks of regeneration could not be found in them. Therefore, they concluded that Baptism had been ineffective.<sup>77</sup> For example, Grossgebauer, influenced by Puritan and other Reformed sources, concluded in his Tractat that "baptism was only a sign of regeneration in those who were regenerated through faith," and therefore denied the power of baptism, holding that it did not effect faith in children.<sup>78</sup> But Spener himself had no doubts about the complete regeneration of children in their baptism.<sup>79</sup> He did criticize some of his fellow Pietists and said that they did not understand that it was possible to lose the regeneration which a person receives at baptism and that it was possible, by God's grace, to regain that lost regeneration, however, only through the word.<sup>80</sup> The low regard in which some Pietist held infant baptism was

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<sup>75</sup> Dale W. Brown, Understanding Pietism (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1976), p. 50.

<sup>76</sup> Francke, Busspredigten (Halle: In Verlegung des Waisenhauses, 1724), 1:290.

<sup>77</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken 1:80-81.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:165.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:690.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:93.

not shared by Spener. Yet it was his emphasis on works which had helped to create such a view, an understanding which essentially repudiated the work of the Holy Spirit and of objective justification.

The Lord's Supper, on the other hand, was for Spener "the sacramental, oral, and not merely spiritual eating and drinking of the body and blood of the Lord . . . in, with, and under the bread and the wine."<sup>81</sup> The benefits of the Supper were the forgiveness of sins, the strengthening of faith, and union with Christ. The real presence of Christ in the Supper was never especially emphasized by the Pietists, probably due to the fact that it was one of the main doctrinal controversies between the Lutherans and the Reformed. The Pietists reacted against the doctrinal controversies of the age and had irenic and ecumenical attitudes toward other Protestant churches. In fact, Francke seems to have adopted Reformed attitudes towards the Lord's Supper when he emphasized the historical remembrance of Christ in its celebration.<sup>82</sup> This was not in accordance with the Lutheran Confessions which held that the historical remembrance of Christ is not the most significant element of the Lord's Supper. Rather, "to remember Christ is to remember His benefits and to realize that they are truly offered to us. It is not enough only to remember history."<sup>83</sup>

Especially significant was the growing practice of some Pietists, especially Zinzendorf, to emphasize the concept of fellowship in the

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<sup>81</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 63.

<sup>82</sup> Martin Schmidt, and others, August Hermann Francke Wort und Tat (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1966), p. 5.

<sup>83</sup> Augsburg Confession, Art. 24, Book of Concord, p. 59.

celebration of the Lord's Supper. Zinzendorf's ecumenical attitudes and his understanding of the church as characterized not by a specific doctrinal statement or confession but by signs of regeneration and the practice of love affected his view of the Sacrament of the Altar. Among the Moravian Brethren it was common, as mentioned previously, for an individual to preserve his own confession and participate in the sacraments of congregations composed of people holding a variety of other confessions. Yet, according to the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the church does not consist primarily in the fellowship of outward signs, but consists in the inward communion of eternal blessings in the heart.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, the major concern of the Pietist had to do with who was worthy to participate in the Lord's Supper. They reacted against what they believed was a casual or formalistic reception of the sacrament by individuals. Spener thought that many people:

Hardly consider whether their spiritual life may be strengthened thereby, whether they proclaim the Lord's death with their hearts, lips, and life, whether the Lord works in and rules over them as they have left the old Adam on his throne. This can only mean that the dangerous error of the opus operatum, for which we condemn the papists, has in some measure been reintroduced without our really being aware of it."<sup>85</sup>

Therefore Spener recommended that when a person wished to prepare himself for the Lord's Supper, he should describe the condition of his conscience to his pastor or fellow Christians, as in the collegio pietatis and should always act according to their counsel. Through this, progress would occur in sanctification. But, while Spener considered

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<sup>84</sup> Book of Concord, p. 169.

<sup>85</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 67.

faith as a condition for worthy participation in the Lord's Supper, Francke emphasized repentance and sanctification.

Often they [the Christians] do not diligently consider their sanctification, or their performance, ideas, words and deeds. . . . Many of God's children do not realize that man must render an account for each word and work, good or bad.... What they say here they will hear there, what they spread here in sinfulness they will find there. In summary, how they sow here, they will reap there. . . . What we miss here in our Christianity we will miss in eternity."<sup>86</sup>

There is no doubt that a sanctified life demonstrates a worthiness for the reception of the Lord's Supper. But to live a life of good works is not the primary pre-requisite nor is it enough for the proper reception of the Sacrament of the Altar. Proper reception is based on repentance for sin and confidence in what the sacrament offers and gives. Yet Francke seems to have often confused law and gospel, faith and good works, justification and sanctification. In discussing worthy participation in the Supper, he emphasized not faith and trust, but sanctification as the sign of repentance. He gave the impression that forgiveness depended upon what a Christian does and not upon the objective justificatory work of Christ and the regeneration worked by the Spirit. This is evident in Francke's view that it should not be allowed for a person to participate a second, third, and fourth time in the Lord's Supper if he is still committing the same sins as when he participated the first time.<sup>87</sup> Francke seems to have emphasized the sinful acts much more than the sinful nature of individuals and required sanctification of life as the proof of true repentance and regeneration.

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<sup>86</sup> Francke, Busspredigten, pp. 127-128.

<sup>87</sup> Francke, Die Noethige Pruefung, p. 19.

The people who were truly worthy to participate in the Lord's Supper, in his view, were those who improved in the practice of love and good works and who decreased in sinful actions. Thus, worthy participation in the Lord's Supper came to be identified with and conditioned by the sanctification of an individual rather than by his faith and confidence in the promise of Christ. According to Chemnitz, a worthy participation in the Supper

does not consist in a man's purity, holiness or perfection. Consider of what nature the act of this Supper is. Be endowed with the kind of heart that seriously acknowledges his sins and errors, and shudders of the wrath of God, and does not delight in sin.<sup>88</sup>

Finally, Francke held that if a pastor knows that someone lives in public sin but still admits him to the Supper, then both pastor and communicant sin.<sup>89</sup> Spener, on the other hand, held that it was not merely the pastor's responsibility but that of the whole congregation to judge who is unworthy to participate in the Supper, since the sacraments and their benefits were given to the whole church. Therefore it is its duty to decide for whom the Sacrament would not be beneficial and whether or not they should be dispensed by the minister.<sup>90</sup> In this, the Pietists sought to encourage and implement, in a practical way, both the priesthood of all believers and the exercise of church discipline.

In summary, although the practical and theological emphases of the Pietists sought to bring about a reform of the life of the church as a

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<sup>88</sup> Chemnitz, Ministry, Word, and Sacraments, pp. 131-132.

<sup>89</sup> Francke, Oeffentliches Zeugnis, p. 177.

<sup>90</sup> Spener, Theologische Bedencken, 1:253.

continuation and completion of Luther's reformation of doctrine, their emphasis upon the doctrine of regeneration and the Christian life did tend to weaken their presentation of the doctrine of objective justification. In many respects, they confirmed that Luther was right when he held that the doctrine of justification was the central doctrine of the church which had to be maintained and defended. Martin Chemnitz also observed that:

this one article above all distinguishes the church from all other (sects) and their superstitions. . . . Indeed, this article is, as it were, the fortress which most excellently safeguards the entire Christian doctrine and religion. If this article is obscured or vitiated or destroyed, it is impossible to retain pure doctrine in other articles. But when it is kept sound, all idolatrous notions, superstitions, and corruptions in nearly all other articles will fall of themselves.<sup>91</sup>

Spener did not deny the Lutheran formulation of the doctrine of justification. Rather, he felt that it had been so emphasized that the reform of the life of the church had been inhibited. But what he believed was only a corrective emphasis upon the subjective element of justification and the doctrine of regeneration and sanctification, led first to confusion and then to a distortion of the chief article of Lutheranism. By demanding that some external signs of faith be present in the believers in order to determine whether or not they were truly regenerated Spener, but especially his followers, began to point to these signs as an assurance of regeneration. But true proclamation of the gospel consists in offering the free forgiveness of sins which had been purchased by the blood of Christ while true faith is the acceptance of and trust in Christ and this forgiveness. According to Francis

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<sup>91</sup> Pieper, 2:515.

Pieper, wherever objective justification is not sufficiently emphasized, "there the Gospel is turned into a handbook of instructions, of works; and faith is no longer simple acceptance of the reconciliation which Christ has consummated but is turned into a human accomplishment."<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, Martin Chemnitz stated that the doctrine of justification is not correctly taught when its parts are not equally emphasized as, for example, that we are saved freely by Christ's grace and mercy, not by works, and without the law. It is necessary to emphasize each part that "due and proper honor be attributed to Christ and to the grace of God, that conscience might have a sure and firm comfort, and that the distinction between law and Gospel might be clear."<sup>93</sup> The Pietists, by emphasizing much more subjective justification, concentrated more on the activity men than upon the work of Christ, thereby obscuring Christ's honor and God's grace.

Another consequence of their emphasis upon the regeneration was their tendency, in their preaching and teaching, to confuse law and gospel,<sup>94</sup> especially by Francke and Zinzendorf.<sup>95</sup> The confusion of law and gospel, faith and good works was also evident in the attempt by the Pietists to make regeneration demonstrable by emphasizing the necessity of good works as a proof that the Holy Spirit had worked and was working

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., pp. 349-350.

<sup>93</sup> Chemnitz, Ministry, Word, and Sacraments, p. 79.

<sup>94</sup> Spener, Pia Desideria, p. 87; Theologische Bedencken, 3:717-718, 111. Francke, Oeffentliches Zeugnis, p. 176.

<sup>95</sup> Schmidt, p. 42.

in the life of an individual.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, the Pietists at times seemed to make the surety of the forgiveness of sins and the comfort of gospel for troubled consciences conditioned upon an improvement in the life of a believer demonstrated by the performances of good works.<sup>97</sup>

In an attempt to provide a corrective for moral laxity during the age of orthodoxy, the Pietists, by emphasizing regeneration and the practice of piety much more than objective justification, eventually established a different theological position. They returned to a position that Luther had so vehemently rejected as unscriptural during the sixteenth century. Pietism, in attempting to carry on Luther's reformation and bring about a renovation of life, actually ended up threatening the very kernel and foundation of Luther's reformatory activity, that individuals are justified by grace through faith.

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<sup>96</sup> Spener, Letzte Theologische Bedencken, 1:42.

<sup>97</sup> Francke, Unweisung, pp. 6-7.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

Spener's program to reform the life of the Lutheran Church in Germany after the Thirty Years' War was not concerned with reforming the theology of Lutheranism but with the manner in which it was applied to the lives of individuals. Therefore, the basic question investigated in this study was "Did Pietism, by emphasizing regeneration and the practice of piety, deviate from Lutheran theology and establish a different theological position?"

Some interpreters of Pietism have concluded that Pietism did not substantially affect the interpretation of Lutheran theology because its primary interest was practice and not doctrine. It sought only to reform certain practices and emphases within the Lutheran church. However, this study indicates that a different conclusion be maintained and that those scholars who have detected a deviation from Lutheran theology by the Pietists are correct. The Pietists, even though they considered themselves Lutherans and generally indicated their allegiance to Lutheran doctrinal formulations which they employed, did not always remain faithful to the orthodox Lutheran understanding of the relationship of doctrine and practice. To be sure, Spener himself sought to retain Lutheran doctrine without alteration in formulation but did try to emphasize certain aspects of Lutheran doctrine which he felt had been overlooked or ineffectively presented. Among the Pietists, he remained the most faithful to the Lutheran tradition. His concern for the prac-

tical reform of the life of the church became, however, a force which led to a transformation of theological emphasis and then of theological direction. Francke and Zinzendorf often went beyond Spener theologically and transformed Pietism into a movement which was no longer in conformity with orthodox Lutheranism in matters of doctrine and practice.

Although the Pietists did not found a new church, the conception of the church made them increasingly legalistic and also ecumenical and heterodox in attitude and fostered separatism within the Lutheran Church. This attitude can be traced back to the very beginning of the movement when Pietists accepted and were influenced by literature which was not in accord with Lutheran theology. Spener, for instance, recognized that the literature from other movements was in disagreement with the Lutheran understanding of justification and its view of law and gospel. But, even so, he and Francke recommended it for personal reading and edification. During the first years of the collegio pietatis, priority was given to the study of books on morality and sanctification of Puritan and mystic origins rather than to scripture. Such attitudes were already a mild indication of a reaction against confessionalism.

Even though Spener had a flexible and irenic position toward confessional and doctrinal controversies, he never intended or desired to separate from the Lutheran Church. In his attempts to re-establish the exercising of the priesthood of all believers, Spener was concerned to institute it according to scripture and the Lutheran confessions and to have it function under the authority of the public ministry and the

congregation's right to appoint and call. Nevertheless, against Spener's will, the lay adherents to the movement sometimes went to extremes and what had been intended as a blessing to the Lutheran Church became a danger for her. Extreme Pietists drifted more and more towards separation and transformed the collegio pietatis into ecclesiolae in ecclesia. Some actually left the Lutheran Church and participated in other denominations, arguing that it made no real difference since the Lutheran Church, according to the Pietists own critique of her, was also corrupted. Thus, they felt they could become a law unto themselves. In exercising what they regarded as their Christian freedom, they absented themselves from established congregations, rejected formal public worship and the celebration of the Lord's Supper. They also disregarded the distinction between the rights of the laity and the duties of the ministry, actually enthroning the lay priesthood over the public ministry. This was completely contrary to the wishes of Spener. Such proceedings were also contrary to the orthodox Lutheran understanding of the church.

According to orthodoxy, the objective means of grace constitutes the basis and foundation of the church. They beget, nourish and foster and believers. According to the Pietists the true believers and their faith constitute, preserve and renew the church; hence their practice of fostering little associations of 'truly awakened,' ecclesiolae in ecclesia, which cut themselves off from the 'great masses', thus weakened the power and significance of church organization.<sup>1</sup>

Along with disregard of the Lutheran Church by some radical pietistic groups, Francke and Zinzendorf also fostered an ecumenical concep-

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<sup>1</sup> E. H. Klotsche, History of Christian Doctrine (Burlington: The Lutheran Library Board, 1945), p. 284.

tion of the church. Francke was known as an ecumenical pastor who did not hold the Lutheran confessions in high regard. For him the real difference in religion was established by the practice of piety rather than by doctrinal distinctions or positions. Because of his ecumenical conception of the church, Francke is regarded by some scholars as the pioneer of the modern ecumenical movement. It was "August Herman Francke," argues Erich Beyreuther, who "succeeded for the first time in the history of Protestantism, to bring together members of different churches in an ecumenical study group."<sup>2</sup> Even more supportive of ecumenical activities and organizations was Zinzendorf who disregarded most confessional differences. His major concern was the practice and promulgation of a religion of the heart and the fellowship of all regenerated individuals irrespective of their denominational background or allegiance. He, too, is regarded as one of the chief founders of modern ecumenism.<sup>3</sup>

Concerning the ministry, the Pietists also demonstrated emphases and conceptions which were different than those maintained by orthodox Lutheranism. Spener and Francke regarded theology essentially as a practical discipline because, for them, Christianity consisted more of practice rather than of a knowledge of doctrinal formulations. Therefore, they believed that the practice of piety and practical theology

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<sup>2</sup> For more details see Erich Beyreuther, August Hermann Francke und die Anfaenge der Oekumenische Bewegung (Hamburg: Herbert Reich Evang. Verlag, 1957), p. vii, and also Selbstzeugnisse August Hermann Franckes (Marburg, Verlag der Francke-Buchhandlung, 1963).

<sup>3</sup> For details see Arthur James Lewis, Zinzendorf: The Ecumenical Pioneer (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962).

should receive the primary emphasis in the education and training of clergymen. Pastors should be trained to deal with theology in basically a practical manner. They also had to be shown how to live an exemplary, pious life, how to approach people in their particular situation, and how to encourage their flock to practice love and become involved in ecclesiastical affairs. Preaching should focus on particular needs of the people and the nurturing of the inner man rather than with the exposition or debating of doctrinal formulations. Yet, these emphases soon resulted in as one-sided a presentation of Christian teaching as that of which the orthodox theologians had been accused as only superficial attention was given to the teaching of the Lutheran confessions. Yet, according to the New Testament and the Lutheran confessional writings, the primary role and function of the ministry is not the fostering of piety but, as Chemnitz argues, it was instituted by God

To feed the church of God with the true, pure, and salutary doctrine of the divine Word (Acts 20:28; Eph. 4:11; 1 Pet. 5:2). To administer and dispense the sacraments of Christ according to His institution (Matt. 28:19; 1 Cor. 11:23). To administer rightly the use of the keys of the church, or of the kingdom of heaven, by either remitting or retaining sins (Matt. 16:19; John 20:23), and to fulfill all these things and the whole ministry (2 Tim. 4:5) on the basis of the prescribed command, which the chief Shepherd Himself has given His ministers in His Word for instruction (Matt. 28:20).<sup>4</sup>

Luther likewise held that the basic functions of the ministry are the preaching and teaching of the Word, the administration of the sacraments, the exercise of the office of the keys, praying for others, and

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<sup>4</sup> Martin Chemnitz, Ministry, Word, and Sacraments. An Enchiridion. Edited, translated and annotated by Luther Poellot, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1981), p. 26.

judging doctrine.<sup>5</sup> Thus the function of a pastor is to study the Word of God and true doctrine so that he can serve the church well by preaching and teaching pure doctrine, rightly administer the sacraments, and properly apply the office of the keys. These things were needed to be emphasized at the heart of theological training if theology can be practical. But the Pietists, while certainly not disregarding these things, did not give them priority in the preparation of pastors.

Furthermore, the Pietists also would deviate from classical orthodox Lutheranism in matters of doctrine. The doctrinal differences between Pietism and Lutheran orthodoxy are related to the central doctrine of scripture and of Lutheran confessional theology, the doctrine of justification. Spener did not deny the Lutheran concept of justification but, according to him, the orthodox Lutheran theologians had erred by placing great emphasis upon the doctrine of objective justification. Consequently the life of the church had not changed after the reform of doctrine during the sixteenth century. To bring about this needed moral and spiritual reform Spener emphasized the subjective element of justification, that is conversion, regeneration and sanctification. But his emphasis proved as one-sided and, in retrospect, even more one-sided than that of the orthodoxy he criticized. The Pietists, by their one-sided emphasis on subjective justification and its parts, vitiated the article upon which the church stands and obscured the distinction between law and gospel, faith and good works. Faith was no longer simply believing in the gospel proclamation of Christ's reconciliation but

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<sup>5</sup> Martin Luther, Luther's Works, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), 40:21-32.

achieved its certainty by looking to ones regeneration and the necessary good works which followed it as a proof of its occurrence. Indeed, if a person was to be sure of holding on to his regeneration, he had to do good works and strive for moral perfection as if it were attainable in this life. Francke emphasized good works rather than faith as a condition for worthy participation in the Lord's Supper while Zinzendorf regarded works of piety as a principal condition for the practice of ecumenical fellowship.

The orthodox Lutheran understanding of the relationship between faith and good works stresses, however, that righteousness and justification must first be present before good, God-pleasing works can be done. "Faith that does not work by love but remains without good fruits, is not true, but feigned and dead faith."<sup>6</sup> The epistles of John, James and Peter teach that by love and good works those who are truly justified by faith are distinguished and discerned from those who, persevering in their sins, fashion for themselves false notions of faith and righteousness.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, good works are necessary also because the

are due obedience commanded by God. . . . That our heavenly Father might be glorified thereby. That our faith might be exercised and increased by our good works, so that it may grow and be stirred up. That our neighbor might be edified by our good works and spurred to imitation and be helped in need. That we might make our calling sure by good works and testify that our faith is neither feigned nor dead.<sup>8</sup>

In the sense that faith which does not work by love is dead, and

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<sup>6</sup> Chemnitz, pp. 78-79.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

that one who is truly justified by faith is distinguished by his good works, the Pietists were in agreement with the Lutheran orthodoxy. However, they were not in accord with the position taken by classical Lutheranism when they advocated the use of the law to motivate good works or regarded them as necessities or legalistic obligations. Good works were not to be forced or constrained but were to be performed out of a loving, willing heart. Good works practiced by constraint, without a ready heart and mind, are not truly good works.

The emphasis upon subjective justification, good works and the practice of love also led the Pietists to confuse the clear distinction and application of law and gospel in fostering the Christian life. Spener sought to be faithful to the Lutheran understanding of the distinction between law and gospel and yet sometimes used the law to motivate growth in sanctification. But, once again, it was his followers and successors in the Pietist movement who went beyond him and became legalistic, some almost perfectionistic, in the manner in which they applied the third use of the law, attacking those amusements which orthodox Lutheranism had considered adiaphora. Indeed, Francke not only attacked amusements, he spoke as if the forgiveness of sins depended on the living of a sanctified life rather than upon faith in Christ.<sup>9</sup> He held that it was inappropriate for a Christian to maintain that no one could keep God's commandments for, since a Christian had the power of faith and the Holy Spirit, he had to make progress in keeping the law.<sup>10</sup> Likewise

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<sup>9</sup> Francke, Unweisung zum wahren Christenthum (Dresden: Buchdruckerei von Ernst Blockmann, 1831), pp. 6-7.

<sup>10</sup> Friedrich August Tholuck, Geschichte des Rationalismus (Berlin: Verlag von Wiegandt und Grieben, 1865), pp. 86-87.

Zinzendorf and the Moravians confused law and gospel when they decided to preach the gospel without laying the proper foundation for repentance by the preaching of law. They preached the gospel of God's love almost to the exclusion of the proclamation of the law as a mirror or rule of life.

Orthodox Lutheranism, however, has clearly maintained that both law and gospel must be effectively preached in the church. The preaching of the law is necessary to rebuke sin and to prepare the sinner for repentance. But when repentance is identified almost completely with contrition, as it was in the case of Francke, then it is only a teaching of the law. A penitent individual, terrified by the law, needs to hear the comfort of the gospel, the promise of the remission of sins and of justification for the sake of Christ. On the other hand, merely preaching the gospel without the law, leads to a false sense of security and the failure of Christians to examine their lives. By their emphases, the Pietists did confuse law and gospel.

Some of the Pietist also failed to remain faithful to the orthodox Lutheran understanding and use of the sacraments. Spener and those Pietists who remained faithful to him held that children were to be baptized and that the effects and benefits of baptism are complete immediately in the individual baptized. They held, however, that a person could lose his regeneration and the blessings of baptism. He could regain both only through hearing the word, repentance, and confession and could not be re-baptized. Some more radical Pietists, however, because of their emphasis upon good works as a sign of regeneration, held that infant baptism was not a necessity nor was it necessarily

effective since many adults who were baptized as children had not preserved or manifested the fruits which should flow from the presence of the Holy Spirit. They denied the power of baptism and held that it did not effect regeneration in children.

Regarding the Lord's Supper, Francke emphasized the historical remembrance of Christ, and the need for signs of repentance and sanctification as conditions for the worthy participation in and reception of the Sacrament of the Altar. Zinzendorf and the Moravian Brethren likewise went beyond traditional Lutheranism and the thought of Spener by focusing upon the fellowship which occurred among regenerate believers in the Lord's Supper. They set aside confessional subscription as a primary basis of fellowship and allowed people of a variety of confessional traditions to join in the supper so long as they demonstrated in their lives that they were regenerate.

These changes in the Pietist understanding of Lutheran theology eventually led to an obscuring of the grace of God. By emphasizing the subjective elements of justification, the Pietists were much more concerned about its current rather than its historic significance. They focused on what a justified person is and what he can do in this world rather than on Him by whom justification was obtained. Their view that good works were a sure sign and verification of repentance and regeneration led to an anthropocentric rather than theocentric understanding of justification. While initially trying to be faithful to the doctrine of the Lutheran Reformation, the Pietist's reinterpretation by emphasis led to the transformation in their understanding of the fundamental article of orthodox Lutheran theology.

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