Routledge Methodist Studies Series

THE MONASTIC FOOTPRINT IN POST-REFORMATION MOVEMENTS

THE CLOISTER OF THE SOUL

Kenneth C. Carveley

The Monastic Footprint in Post-Reformation Movements

This book examines the influence of the monastic tradition beyond the Reformation. Where the built monastic environment had been dissolved, desire for the spiritual benefits of monastic living still echoed within theological and spiritual writing of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a virtual exegetical template. The volume considers how the writings of monastic authors were appropriated in post-Reformation movements by those seeking a more fervent spiritual life, and how the concept of an internal cloister of monastic/ascetic spirituality influenced several Anglican writers during the Restoration. There is a careful examination of the monastic influence upon the Wesleys and the foundation and rise of Methodism. Drawing on a range of primary sources, the book will be of particular interest to scholars of monastic and Methodist history, and to those engaged in researching ecclesiology and in ecumenical dialogues.

Kenneth C. Carveley is a church historian and liturgical scholar. His fields of study include Byzantine and Orthodox history and theology, medieval and early modern ecclesiology, and his own Methodist tradition. For many years he has been engaged in ecumenical dialogue, working with the Anglican and Methodist churches on liturgical writing and revision. His work on monasticism and the Cistercian tradition has been informed by research and teaching in universities and at the College of the Resurrection, Mirfield.

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The Cloister of the Soul

Kenneth C. Carveley

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Kenneth Carveley
Advent 2021

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Abbreviations

ACW: Ancient Christian Writers. Paulist Press, Mahwah. NJ. 1949 –

Allen: Erasmus Desiderius. *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*. 12 vols. Edited by P.S. Allen (Oxford, 1906–1958).

ANF: *Ante-Nicene Fathers* 10 vols. 1885 Hendrickson; New edition edition (1 Jun. 1994)

ASD Opera Omnia: *Erasmus Opera Omnia: Opera Omnia*. Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami. Ordinis Quinti. Tomus Primus. (Amsterdam, 1977).

CCEL: *Christian Classics Ethereal Library*: http://www.ccel.org/

CWE: *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1975–).

CWS: Classics of Western Spirituality. Paulist Press. Mahwah, NJ. 1977 –

EEBO: Early English Books Online. https://eebo.chadwyck.com

FC: *Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* (Washington, 1947–)

Holborn: *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*. Hajo Holborn. Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, Ausgewählte Werke (Munich, 1964). 71 CWE 66: 69.

LCL: *Loeb Classical Library*

LCC: Library of Christian Classics. Westminster/John Knox. Press. Louisville, KY. 1953

LW: *Luther's Works*. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan, Helmut T. Lehmann and Christopher Boyd Brown. 75 vols. (Philadelphia, 1955).

NPNF 1: *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers* Series 1. Edited by Philip Schaff. 14 vols. (Peabody, Mass, 1994).

NPNF 2: *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* Series 2. Edited by Philip Schaff. 14 vols. (Edinburgh, 1996).

PL: *Patrologia Latina*. Edited by J.P. Migne. 217 vols. (Paris, 1844–1864).

PG:	*Patrologia Graeca*. Edited by J.P. Migne. 162 vols. (Paris, 1857–1866).
SCH:	*Studies in Church History* (Ecclesiastical History Society; Oxford).
Wesley Works:	*John Wesley*. Edited by Thomas Jackson. London.1872. 14. Vols. reprint (Grand Rapids, Miss., 1958–9).
Wesley Works	(Bicentennial Edition) *The Bicentennial Edition of the Works of John Wesley*. 35 volumes projected. Editor in Chief, Frank Baker. Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1984ff. (Volumes 7, 11, 25, and 26 originally appeared as the *Oxford Edition of The Works of John Wesley*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1975–83.
Wesley Journal:	*John Wesley*. *Journal*. Edited by N. Curnock (London, 1909–1916), Vols 1–8.
Wesley Letters:	The Letters of John Wesley AM. John Telford (ed.) 8 vols. (London.)1960–

Foreword

Over three millennia, monasticism has provided a recurrent response to the frailty of homo sapiens. Human societies are based on the human tendency to want things and are geared to satisfying those wants: possessions or facilities to bring ease and personal satisfaction. The results are frequently disappointing, and always terminate in the embarrassing non-sequitur of death. It is not surprising that many have sought a radical alternative: a mode of life in itself a criticism of ordinary society. Worldly goods, cravings, and self-centred personal priorities are avoided so that their accompanying frustrations and failures can be transcended. The assumption is that such transcendence has a goal beyond the human lifespan: a goal which some term God.

Two religious systems in particular have taken up the monastic mode: first Buddhism, then Christianity. 'Monachus' means a solitary, but a truly solitary way of life is not the most common form of monasticism. Indeed 'monachus' with its cognates is a piece of Christian lexical imperialism at the expense of Buddhism, whose concept of monasticism, the Sangha, centres firmly on community, and where hermits are even more in a minority than among Christian monks. Monastic communities face perpetual tension. How should they form a working relationship with the community that is the society around them? How single-minded should they be in rejecting worldly ways? It is no coincidence that bread and wine, the two symbols of Christian eucharistic love, both turn to poison in the iconography of the Western Christian monastic guru, Benedict of Nursia. The poisoned chalice was offered to him by one of his monks, angry at being forced to greater austerity, while a poisoned loaf came from a secular (non-monastic) priest envious of his holiness.

Repeatedly, the more a monastery has been esteemed, the greater has been its chances of accumulating wealth and slouching back towards comforts and possessions. The twelfth-century Cistercians started with high ideals of renunciation, reflected in their severe and innovative architecture: they consciously rejected the ideals of lavish display and ceremony cultivated to the highest pitch possible by the Benedictine monks of Cluny. Yet a visit to the remarkably complete buildings of Cistercian Cleeve Priory

in Somerset reveals what happened to those ideals. Cleeve's thirteenth-century communal dormitory was divided up during the fifteenth century into cosy little wood-lined bedrooms for each monk, and the prior equipped himself with a fine private house and separate dining hall, like a wealthy country gentleman. Small wonder that Catholics in Henry VIII's England were not impressed with such modified personal sacrifice; as a result, there was not enough commitment to prevent that unsavoury if charismatic monarch's lightning dissolution of all monasteries in his realm.

Bearing in mind that West-Country sermon in stone, it is not surprising that the theme of purer, internal monasticism of the mind long predates the European Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century – indeed it can be traced back to the origins of monasticism in second-century Syria. After the Reformation, for the most part, the interior monastery was all that Reformers left available for their followers. Monastic life was not entirely extinguished in Lutheranism, but its survival was minimal and largely thanks to accidents of aristocratic preference in certain territories of the Holy Roman Empire. Other non-Lutheran Protestant Churches simply annulled the regular religious life with thoroughness and satisfaction. The loss of the regular life concentrated the practice of worship and devotion in established Protestant churches more or less exclusively on the parish, which can only be regarded as a diminution of the rich variety of religious experience within Western Christianity.

What Kenneth Carveley's richly-detailed study demonstrates is how in the long term, German Pietism and British Methodism were both attempts to make good this deficit. We also meet some remarkable seventeenth-century Anglicans who explored the theme of the inner monastery – and it is interesting how they incline to be those whose marginality in the Established Church of their day may have opened their eyes to its shortcomings and also to its wider potentialities. We can note the German-born Anthony Horneck, the former Huguenot Luke de Beaulieu, the fiercely intelligent and independent-minded proto-feminist Mary Astell.

Looming above them all, and dominating the narrative here as was his wont in life, is John Wesley, whose restless temperament and multi-faceted talents forced him out of an easy path to a comfortable career in Georgian established Protestant religion, into something much more complicated. Carveley explores the astonishing omnivorousness of Wesley's thought and spirituality (and does not ignore the frequent personal awkwardness that was the counterpoint to his genius). Wesley enriched his understanding of hymnody through his absorption in the writings of the pioneer of Syriac hymn-writing and monasticism Ephrem the Syrian; equally, Wesley could place his imprimatur on a Counter-Reformation Cistercian Abbot by reprinting those spiritual writings from Armand-Jean de Rancé that he felt would benefit his followers (without notable qualms about copyright). Wesley even preached in the private chapel of a Roman Catholic Yorkshireman

who had not left behind his Catholicism when marriage outbid a Franciscan vocation.

Conventional Victorian Methodism left much aside from the phenomenon that was its founder. There is much that modern Methodists can rediscover from their surprising Georgian origins, but all Christians living in the slipstream of the Reformation may draw lessons from four centuries of contemplation on the interior monastery. For providing us with such materials, we are in Kenneth Carveley's debt.

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May 2021

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1 The monastic impulse

This text examines the influence of the monastic tradition beyond the Reformation, how it finds common expression in writers, communities and societies drawing upon sources of ascetic spirituality principally from the early and medieval periods of Christian belief and practice and how these were applied to their own life and habitus. Where the built monastic environment had been dissolved, desire for the spiritual benefits of monastic living remained within theological and spiritual writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a virtual exegetical template. This interiorisation of the monastic structure resembled in many forms the interiorisation of pilgrimage in earlier writers, yet the consequence was the inevitable formation of societies and communities which in many respects emulated the claustral context. In this, we can find a process of internalisation of ecclesiological perspectives from the hierarchical church through to the interior church of the soul. This perspective can shift from the visible to the invisible church, in some instances cast more as the unseen alliance of true believers rather than the church in heaven. Beyond political and secular contexts, this search for authentic Christian living reached beyond the Protestant-Catholic divide, yet for all its affective spirituality it rarely managed to span ecumenically the visible circumstances of confessional identity to reach *communio in sacris*.

The recurrent problem that such appeal to monastic spirituality entailed was that it could form a docetic church, an invisible reality which will relegate incarnational form to an a-historical perspective in a process of constant interior refinement. What extra-claustral ascetic desire can affirm is that it will constantly seek visible structures, individually and corporately in *ecclesiolae* of serious commitment. This often resulted in *regulae*, sometimes more informal structures of oversight and counsel, particularly in texts promoting piety and affective devotion, many of which mirror (and are called such) monastic rules, even claustral structures. It could also lead to the reinterpretation of monastic ideals, such as unceasing prayer recast in writers such as Bayly and Horneck as prayer texts providing for almost all the minutiae of human life.

These begin to create new normative expectations beyond church orders for those who feel called to be guided by them.

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Some, ostensibly following Erasmus, may regard this as the inevitable monasticisation of the whole Church; however, this, rarely if ever, managed to reach beyond the implicit binary perspective on what is regarded as 'true' Christian living vis-à-vis the generality of Christian adherents.

In the recognition of this monastic imprint, there are some unexpected connections, which should occasion some rethinking of familiar theological and ecclesial traditions and the constructs of confessional identity.

This is particularly the case with John Wesley's appropriation of monastic writings and other authors such as Horneck; in these sources we can glimpse what Wesley was commending to the Methodist societies.

Acts and ascesis

In interpreting the early Christian community much has been made of Luke's description of the common life in the book of Acts (Acts. 2.42–47; 4. 32–35). Luke's idealistic picture raises questions as to whether we are being afforded an historical snapshot of the early Jerusalem Church, possibly a summary of attitudes and practices inspired by faith, or a descriptive template which shows early believers as equal to the commitment of other known communities living a common life, as recorded by Eusebius.[1]

The issue remains as to whether the community of Luke's text is one of common residence and mutual support, a temporary phase, or the establishment of what from a later perspective is a form of proto-monasticism, refining a supposedly egalitarian sharing into something more on the lines of existing communities such as the Essenes, taking their cue from familiar ascetic arrangements.

The Acts passages sow the question of what in Christian commitment is for the many, a pattern of living expected from all, and what is for the few, a vocation to dedicated living forgoing personal possessions and ownership in a common life. These passages give us a glimpse of the developing strata of leadership in the early Christian community, although it is questionable as to whether this might be described as the embryonic construction of hierarchy.

These texts are used as a prescriptive template for Christian living and believing in writers and communities of later centuries reaching for a form of the common life within the Church, sometimes excluded from it, often reading Acts through an imaginative lens. These reinterpretative perspectives recur throughout the Christian tradition in the appeal to primitivism and originality, authenticity and apostolicity, and in the construction of communities, in particular as a foundation for monasticism.

Hendrik Dey analyses how what he describes as a hodgepodge of ascetic experiences and practices within Christian ascesis are eventually focused into the cenobitic model:

> The ascetic movement originally embraced all sorts of solitary and/or peripatetic modes of living that fell well outside the pale of the cenobitic

> model. The triumph of the latter model was accompanied by the gradual devaluation of other modes and their ultimate near-disappearance from the written sources upon which historians of monasticism have traditionally relied until recently, to the near-exclusion of material evidence.[2]

Early Christian ascetic beginnings were a varied collection of people and movements, not necessarily fleeing persecution, and often not isolated from the common life of others, even when committed to solitude, chastity, renunciation of property or intentional holy homelessness.[3]

This leads us by degrees to the question 'what is monasticism?' Is it an interior disposition following the authentic life of the primitive church as described in Acts? Is the formal establishment of a boundary between the Church and monastic institutions a visible marker between nominal Christian belief and wholehearted commitment? In this, there is a perpetual challenge to nominal belief found in the promotion of ascesis for all, particularly within the later Anglican schola of 'holy living',[4] as also proposed and encouraged by writers such as Anthony Horneck in his *The Happy Ascetick* (1681) and Luke de Beaulieu's *Claustrum Animae: The Reformed Monastery* (1677).[5]

Such ascesis inevitably resulted in religious societies for the more committed leading them to access monastic sources, something perceptively recognized by Samuel Wesley. Among post-Reformation Catholic writers, it is often evident in the nostalgic longing for a return of the dissolved monasteries or their replacement. As the Church developed its life there is an underlying issue, particularly in Protestantism, in the desire for a more fervent commitment akin to a virtual monastery, and the discernment of what is for the many and what is for the few. This can relate to the issue of God's favour and election as in Calvin, but more to the question of whether there is one common Christian life for all entered at baptism, or more subtle and often informal and less visible definitions, degrees of refinement and holy selectivity, as well as formal community construction. This is a question encountered in the Reformers and their particular antipathy to monks, somewhat mitigated by their selective appreciation for some monastic authors, particularly Bernard of Clairvaux.[6]

This raises the ecclesiological issue of how interior affective devotion relates to the Church as the continuing visibility of the Incarnation, and occasionally whether personal inspiration takes priority over consensus in formal dogma and institutions. What are the parameters and instruments of discernment, ecclesial, conciliar and personal? What, occasionally who, are the guides to the authenticity of truth before and beyond canon, text and *regulae*? If for such as Augustine there is interior knowing which reaches to the heart of things in a living encounter with truth, is not this what both the true ascetic desires and what the grace of the font initiates for all?

As Dey suggests, ascetic separation consisted not so much in buildings, but in imbuing buildings and things monastic with meaning.[7] In this, the inner space of the monk himself mirrored the claustral boundary and its internal purpose.

> Mapping of monastic spaces and the re-interpretation of time were not simply communal practices. The particular qualities of monastic life – separation from ordinary society, constructing an ambience conducive to spiritual reflection – were meant to be embodied in each monastic person....individuals were expected to internalise monastic values, even when away from the monastery itself.
>
> The protected space of the monastery becomes a metaphor for the strictly guarded self, though now inverted to become a means to containing evil rather than to keep it out.
>
> The conceptual framework for anticipated heaven was constructed from biblical motifs, and those trying to inhabit that alternative reality needed to be able to employ those motifs to interpret their own experience.[8]

It is this legacy of internalisation of the monastic ethos which survives, particularly in the re-appropriation of monastic sources by charismatic individuals and religious movements beyond late antiquity and the Middle Ages into the modern period and beyond.

As the Christian monastic tradition developed from the early desert hermits and coenobia to the settlements related to Augustine, and the movement of monastic communities into the life of the city, it related the structure of communities to interior spirituality and ascesis. In particular, the construction of the monastic enceinte itself came to be used as an interpreted exegeted text to explicate the inner life it served, in which the cloister becomes a synecdoche for monasticism.

In the reinterpretation of monasticism as an interior disposition of affective piety, later religious societies and movements sought to appropriate what they considered the heart of monastic spirituality beyond the monastic construct as a form of virtual cloister. This raises the issue of the core identity of monasticism and whether the graces and practices of the monastic tradition are, as writers such as Horneck and De Beaulieu suggested, available to everyone in the life of the Church, since monastic living could be regarded as the normative Christian life in its fullness, even the perfect Christian life, sometimes a retrospective view of Christ and the first apostles as themselves monks.[9] Why was this construct so vital that authentic Christian beginnings were viewed as not only the perfect Christian life but that Christian common life is viewed through a monastic lens, even if only as a virtual template? In some instances this is directly related to pre-Christian ascesis, particularly from the Old Covenant as in the Carmelite tradition, regarded as a direct conduit from the antetype of prophetic

ascetics to John the Baptist in the wilderness and beyond, with an implicit Christological question.

This ecclesiological issue was focused on the issue of monastic vows as a second baptism as inferred by Aquinas.[10] This view specifically promoted by others, created an alternative church, even an interior virtual church as implied by Symeon the New Theologian[11] and other monastic authors.

The concept of the interior virtual cloister can be traced in monastic *regulae*, in the canons of Shenoute,[12] and within medieval monasticism particularly in Hugh of Fouilloy[13] and his exegesis of the monastic built environment as a true interior ascesis which is the definitive heart and soul of monastic life, and therefore of the Church itself.

The issue of a single baptism created a boundary as De Beaulieu and others perceived following Erasmus and the Reformers, who, although in many other respects appreciative of Bernard of Clairvaux, declined to follow his commendation of monastic vows as a second baptism, thus refusing in some sense to re-pristinate Christian discipleship.[14]

The relation of monastic vows to the common single vow of Christian baptism was a core issue, as was the idea that the perfect early church of Christ and the apostles (i.e. Acts) was integrally monastic. Beyond the cloister, the graces of ascetic living were appropriated by Christians in the secular world such as the Beguines and Beghards and the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life of the Devotio Moderna. Yet it is clear that for them beyond the hermitage this inner life lived in common eventually demanded expression in formally structured living in the community at Windesheim.

The critique of monastic life by humanists, in particular Erasmus,[15] involved a continued discussion of the meaning and application of the term 'religious,' continued in the Reformers' perspective on monastic life, with reference to the counteraction of nominal Christian life and their selective use of the works of St. Bernard. The continuing underlying ascetic desire in their reforms frequently developed into selective groups of more intense Christian believers.

Although in England at the Dissolution monastic life was eliminated, not without protest and with a sense of loss of the spiritual and pastoral benefits, monastic wisdom and spirituality were not gone forever for there are virtual traces of its influence within later societies and movements.[16]

It was perhaps a sound instinct among Protestant writers in appropriating the spiritual experience and discipline hitherto practised within the monastic enclosure in promoting vital religious commitment beyond nominal religious affiliation. This often resulted in the inevitable construction of an alternative community as the interior life sought incarnational expression and form and those formally Christian declined its invitation.

In this they reached for a form of the common life in imaginative construction just as monastic writers such as Hugh of Fouilloy used the monastic estate to interpret the essence of ascetic experience. Here the monastic structures were accessed to describe the heart of the monastic search for

God and the experience of the divine initiative, seeking a spiritual structure to facilitate the encounter with God in the heart and soul of the community and in the individual. This found unique expression in the seventeenth-century community of Little Gidding under Nicholas Ferrar and its quasi-monastic ethos which expectedly drew suspicions of Popish practices. In the writings of Antony Horneck and Luke De Beaulieu, we find a continued appeal to monastic authors and the promotion of interior life in claiming personal interior space for God in vital Christian living and believing, De Beaulieu envisaging a virtual cloister of the soul as the vocation of all Christians, drawing upon support from Erasmus.[17]

This interior disposition was developed in England among the religious societies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with a seminal influence upon the spirituality and hymns of the Wesleys, drawing upon the ascetic resonance in Puritanism and Pietism, and the virtual ascetic appeal in Pietist leaders.

These post-Dissolution monastic resonances can be found in Samuel Wesley's recommendation of the religious societies and in the encounter with monastic sources found in the Wesleys and in Methodism, which continue to be evaluated in an ecumenical context. Wesley's eclectic accretion of spiritual writers, some of whom found a place in his *Christian Library,* could provide adequate grounds for the accusations of Popery. He gathered, often unattributed, those who received his imprimatur of holiness in heart and life from wide reaches of the Christian tradition including notably some Jansenist authors, in one case directly transposing Catholic references to priests to apply to his Methodist preachers. In this John Wesley's construction of continual spiritual refinement within the *ecclesiolae* of the Methodist societies and their associated bands and classes, reveal a concern for vital faith for all, beyond nominality.

Since the prime work of the monk is the salvation of his own soul,[18] this connects intimately with the evangelical purpose, particularly as revealed in the religious societies and the intention of Methodist preaching and pastoral encounter as found in Wesley's *Twelve Rules of a Helper.* For *conversio* is where the long tradition of the monastic trajectory meets the narrative of the evangelical conversion experience in the modern period,[19] although much of what purports to be post-modern 'new monasticism' can prove to be a somewhat distorting attempt at being monastic. Might it be that the call to self-renunciation and relinquishment of possessions and possessiveness in response to the divine summons is so transformative that any response requires boundaries and containment for the sake of individual and corporate humanity and sanity?

The integral dialogue between internal spirituality and external form contains within it a recognition of the vital importance of both experience and order within the soul and within the community. Bare ruined choirs may testify to political intrigue and the loss of prayers in enforced religious change, yet it was not the end of heartfelt devotion or of communal ascesis,

as Christians instinctively continued to access the sources and impulse of monastic life and experience which witnessed to the life of the Spirit and the desire for God.

Notes

1 Eusebius, *Church History*. Book 2. Ch. XVII Philo's account of the ascetics of Egypt NPNF. 2.01 p204ff. PG XX. 473,484. Philo Loeb LCL 363 IX.
2 Hendrik Dey, 'Bringing Chaos Out of Order', in Hendrick Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism Ante Litteram: The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011), 28.
3 Christoph Joest, 'Once Again on The Origins of Christian Monasticism: Recent Historical and Exegetical Insights and a New Proposal with an Ecumenical Perspective', *American Benedictine Review*, 61 (2 June 2010), 158–182.
4 Thomas Palmer, *Jansenism and England: Moral Rigorism Across the Confessions* (Oxford, 2018), 95, 167.
5 cf. ascesis for all in Eustathius of Sebaste and Basil of Casearea in *Seeking the Absolute Love: The Founders of Christian Monasticism*. Mayeul de Dreuille OSB (Leominster/New York, 1999).
6 *The Judgment of Martin Luther on Monastic Vows*, 1521, LW 44: 282; cf. Francois Biot, trans. W.J. Kerrigan, *The Rise of Protestant Monasticism* (Baltimore, 1963), 15, 26.Greg Peters, *Reforming the Monastery: Protestant Theologies of the Religious Life* (Eugene, OR, 2013), 24–26.
7 Dey, *Bringing Chaos Out of Order*, 25.
8 Columba Stewart, 'Monastic Space and Time', in Hendrick Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism Ante Litteram: The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011), 45, 46, 49.
9 M.D. Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century* (Toronto, 1997), 206; Rupert of Deutz, *De vita vera apostolica*, PL CLXX. 612.For monasticism as a microcosm of the church as a whole cf. Pierre – André Burton OCSO, *Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–1167) An Existential and Spiritual Autobiography*. Trans. Christopher Coski (Collegeville, Minn, 2020), 39, 40.
10 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*. II.IIae. q189. a3. ad3 Second part of the Second Part: L.188, C.4. *Question 189 of the Entrance into the Religious Life*, http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/12251274,_Thomas_Aquinas,_Summa_Theologiae_%5B1%5D,_EN.pdf.Aquinas, II–II. Q. 189 Art. 2. Reply Obj. 1. 6193. Art. 5. 6201.Aquinas, II–II. Q. 189. Art. 2. Reply Obj. 2. 6194. Art. 3. Reply Obj. 3. 6197.
11 Symeon the New Theologian, *The Discourses*. XXXII. 3. Trans. C.J. Catanzaro (New York/London, 1980), 336, 337. Gene Mills, 'The Baptism of Tears. The Two Baptisms of St. Symeon the New Theologian', *Quodlibet Journal*, 3/3 (Summer, 2001). https://www.academia.edu/16093690/The_Baptism_of_Tears_The_Two_Baptisms_of_St_Symeon_the_New_Theologian
12 Caroline T. Schroeder, *Monastic Bodies: Discipline and Salvation in Shenoute of Atripe* (Philadelphia, PA, 2007), 118–125. Also in 'A Suitable Abode for Christ: The Church Building as Symbol of Ascetic Renunciation in Early Monasticism', Caroline T. Schroder, *Church History*, 73/3 (September 2004), 472–521.
13 Hugo de Folieto De claustro animae PL 176.1017 to 1182. cf. Gert Melville, *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*. (Collegeville 2016) 318–320.
14 Bernard of Clairvaux, *On Precept and Dispensation. Treatises I* (Shannon, 1970), 144, 145; Bernardus Claraevallensis Abbas [1090–1153]. De Praecepto Et Dispensatione Libri, PL 182. 889. 52.Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon 'On the

Second Baptism' in *Sermons for the Seasons and Principal Festivals of the Year*, trans. a priest of Mount Melleray (Westminster, MD, 1950), 421–425.

15 Erasmus, *Letter to Paul Voltz* 14th August 1518, Allen III, 376. CWE 66: 72–91.Lorenzo Valla, *The Profession of the Religious*, trans. and ed. Olga Zorzi Pugliese (Toronto, 1994), iii, 45.49–48.

16 cf. Michael Sherbrook. *The Fall of the Religious Houses* c. 1591. Tudor Treatises. A.G. Dickens (ed.) Yorkshire Archaeological Society. Record Series. Vol. CXXV. 1959. 89–142.

17 Luke De Beaulieu, *Claustrum Animae* (1677), 48, 49; CWE 66: 21, 22. (De Beaulieu conflates two passages), Preface I; Allen, 76, 374, 375. ET. ibid 21.

18 *The Life of Saint Benedict* by Gregory the Great. Trans. and commentary Terence G. Kardong (Collegeville, MN, 2009), 54. cf. *Readings in Western Religious Thought: The Middle Ages through the Reformation*. Ed. Patrick V. Reid (Mahwah, NJ, 1987), 50.

19 cf. Patrick Lyons, 'Conversion in the Benedictine and Wesleyan Traditions', *The Asbury Theological Journal*, 51/1, (1996) 83–94.

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2 Pietism and the interior monastery

Puritan and Pietist

In his *Claustrum Animae* (1677 & editions) the Huguenot turned Anglican, Luke de Beaulieu, was not a lone voice among Protestants trying to make a positive although alternative appreciation of the monastic heritage. Among the Puritans, William Perkins's *Reformed Catholicke* (1597)[1] and Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety* (3rd edition 1613) were texts in which monastic piety was transferred from the cloister to the family.[2]

Perkins asserted the primacy of the baptismal vow replacing Jewish circumcision. He disputed the vow of chastity as the gift of continency was a special grace. The vow of poverty and the monastic life in which men bestowed all they had on the poor and gave themselves wholly to prayer and fasting, he regarded as against the will of God and the general vow made in baptism. Every Christian had two callings, that given in baptism to love God and men, and that of the gift for a particular calling. The vowed poverty of monkish life made many unprofitable members of both Church and commonwealth. Spiritual devotions were better exercised within the life of the family than within the cloister since the family was a school of God where those who have but a spark of grace may learn the virtues.[3]

Perkins pointed out the difference between monks of ancient times and now:

> We condemn not the old and ancient monks, though we like not everything in them. For they lived not as idle-bellies, but in the sweat of their own brows, as they ought to do: and many of them were married: and in their meat, drink, apparel, rule, vow, and whole course of life, differed from the monks of this time; even as far as heaven from earth.[4]

Lewis Bayly in his *Practice of Piety* (1618) commented that when the natural man perceived that no man could fulfil the Law of God and keep all his

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commandments he boldly presumed to sin, contenting himself with a few good thoughts that he was neither as bad as the worst of men nor as truly regenerate as the rest.[5] Such nominal religion was far from the true religion of the heart.[6]

Bayly asked:

> Where is then the life of Christ thy Maker? And how far art thou from being a true Christian? If thou doest willingly yield to live in any one gross sin, thou canst not have a regenerate soul, though thou reformest thyself like Herod, from many other vices.[7]

A true Christian must walk in the truth of his heart, keeping all the commandments of God. Reginald Ward indicated the close connection between Puritans and Pietists:

> The Puritans did for the Reformed tradition much of what Arndt did for the Lutherans. They made good use of Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux and Thomas à Kempis, and like Arndt, were a vehicle of them to a wider public. Also like Arndt they were eminent protagonists of the current vogue of renewing Christianity by establishing meditation in the home and heart; indeed 'closet religion' became one of their characteristics.[8]

Pietism

Pietists within the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries offered a critique of state religion and formalism. In the Pietist view Christian living had developed into 'going through the motions'; beneath the façade of religious life fervent spirituality had evaporated. In this, the Acts of the Apostles and the early church formed a template for their critique. Pietist authors sought to go beyond the reformation of doctrine and church structures to the reformation of heart and life. They appealed to inner spirituality; experience was the determinant for authentic belief and this could foment disputes with those satisfied with nominal adherence. It was inevitable that the newly awakened would seek fellowship with the like-minded, resulting in *ecclesiolae* within reformed Christian traditions rather than just dissenting communities. The Pietist movement on the Continent reflected many views found in English Puritanism in its desire for further structural reformation, but their emphasis on authentic Christian believing was a call to personal change within, an experiential commitment, and there were parallels to this within Catholicism. While Pietism might not disparage ecclesial order and sacraments, the similarity to monastic structures and spirituality has not gone unnoticed, both in the Pietist appeal to monastic texts and the emphasis on interiority typical of a virtual monastic pattern.

Johann Arndt (1555–1621)

Johann Arndt, the Lutheran theologian, was one of the formative Pietist influences who drew upon the mystical writings of Angela of Foligno and the *Theologia Germanica* ascribed to Johannes Tauler, and medieval sources.[9] In a theme found in later writers, Arndt proposed Christ as the proper rule of life:

> The rule of our life is not the rule of St. Benedict or the rule of some other men but Christ's example, which the apostle shows us.[10]

The heart was the interior place where people turned from the world to live for Christ. This for Arndt involved a second form of incarnation, in which Christ was spiritually conceived and born in us as he was physically 'by the Holy Spirit in the faith of Mary'.[11] Like Bede, Arndt re-interpreted the temple and the tabernacle as figures of things to come. He mirrored Origenist exegesis in that the outward letters of the New Testament were but external witnesses to what must take place in the *conversio* of the soul. He referred to the many who had convinced themselves that they were true Christians but had not truly repented and yet desired forgiveness of sins.[12]

Arndt's description of true worship was wholly interiorised. True worship was in the heart, in the mortification of the flesh, by which we were made a holy temple for God.[13] Such inner liturgy was a recurring theme in Syriac monastic writers. Love alone was the true test of Christian living, distinguishing true Christians from false as described in St. Bernard's *De Diligendo Deo*. In accord with Bernard, he recounted a familiar Pietist theme preferring devoted piety to scholarship.[14] In his text on conscience Arndt described two ways of gaining wisdom and understanding; the true church was constituted by the hearts of the faithful,[15] it was all the members included in Christ the head, gathered together by the preaching of the word.[16] In baptism, they were grafted into Christ and made one with the Christian community. It was the bath of the new birth, the marriage of the soul with the Bridegroom to which it had been betrothed.[17] In his *Garden of Paradise* Arndt provided a compendium of prayers which he likened to the writings of Augustine and other fathers who regarded prayer as a heavenly ladder. This recognised degrees of prayer, but with a more ecclesial emphasis.[18]

> The first [comes] through much reading and disputation. Those who take this one way one calls *doctos*, learned ones. The other way is through prayer and love, and those who take this way one calls *sanctos*, saints. Between the two is a great distinction.[19]

Arndt sought to move others from formal religion to a living active faith.[20]

The influence of St. Bernard on Arndt[21]

Arndt turned to St Bernard to explain that the soul found its highest good in returning to God and misery in losing him.[22] He referred to Bernard in his concluding essay for *All Lovers of True Godliness*,[23] in which he recommended that in meditation upon the name of Christ, the reader should use from the appendix to this volume 'St. Bernard's mellifluous hymn upon the Name of Jesus'.[24] He appended the whole of the Latin poem attributed to St. Bernard to the *Garden of Paradise* and to *True Christianity*.[25] This Cistercian hymn together with his Bernardian references indicates that Arndt knew and was influenced by the affective spirituality of the Cistercians.

Both the sources and the parameters of the Pietist movement have been much disputed. There is considerable consensus that, among the influences on the movement, medieval monasticism and mysticism played a large part. According to Stoeffler, the reason why Pietists appreciated the medieval mystics was the 'necessity and privilege of a Christian's experiential oneness with God'.[26]

Jean de Labadie (1610–1674)

A formative leader of early Pietism, Jean de Labadie was a Jesuit priest who became a Protestant pastor in Geneva before moving to Middelburg and was subsequently banished to Amsterdam. In *The Reformation of the Church by the Pastorate* (1667), he noted that though the churches were full, people's hearts were devoid of grace, with noisy inattentive congregations. One of the chief objects of his criticism was the excesses of church art, which bore resonances of Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia*[27] in which he castigated the Cluniac monastic excess of artistic display. Since Labadie had been chaplain and confessor to Bernardine nuns at Abbeville for five years from c.1640, he may have discovered Bernard's critique there. This, together with his vision of the Virgin breastfeeding the infant Jesus, recalling the legendary *Lactation of the Virgin and St Bernard*,[28] indicates an acquaintance with Cistercian spirituality. This is confirmed by his knowledge of St. Cyran, the convent of Port Royal des Champs and its Jansenist connections.[29]

August Hermann Francke (1663–1727)

In the appendix to his text *Pietas Hallensis* (1707), Francke described the work of reformation, acknowledging his debt to Arndt, and setting up private exercises of piety in many places with the approval of the magistrates.[30] There had been a reduction in the number of prayer books and communion books as people began to trust their own experience.[31] This

may indicate that some forsook formal liturgical text and its essential doctrinal parameters for their own inward promptings, with a consequent shift in ecclesiology. Francke recorded that the Lord's Supper had been rescued in some churches from profanation and from careless administration by priests and dispensed only to those who after a strict examination were worthy to receive it.[32]

His *Rules for the Protection of Conscience and for Good Order in Conversation or Society* (1689), resembled monastic *regulae* with emphasis upon the guarding of the heart.[33] According to Stoeffler, Francke's primary interest was in that which was of immediate relevance for Christian life, a Church renewed, a nation reformed, a world evangelised.[34] Francke, drastically surmounting the confessional boundaries of his day, referred to those who coveted to be called by the names of Reformed Evangelical Protestants, who were

> being transformed by the world but are strangers to true evangelical piety and charity, or the life of the Gospel, and seem to have forgotten almost, or altogether their baptismal protestation.[35]

Together with Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714), Francke appreciated the work of the Catholic spiritual author Giovanni Bona, seeing in him a representative of true Christianity.[36]

Philipp Jacob Spener (1635–1705)

Spener set up his *collegia pietatis*[37] in Frankfurt in 1670. In his *Pia Desideria* (1675) he lamented the state of the established Lutheran Church and the lack of Christian living among political leaders. He quoted from St. Bernard's sermons on the *Song of Songs* affirming Bernard's view that academic theology obscured the life and teaching of Christ.[38] He contended there were few true disciples to be found among the mass of nominal Christians, and raised the danger of an *opus operatum*, in that one could assent to all the Church's teachings and receive the sacraments without understanding the necessity for growth to Christian perfection. He emphasised the centrality of the baptismal vow:

> It will be in vain to comfort yourself in your baptism and in its promise of grace and salvation if for your part you do not also remain in the covenant of faith and a good conscience and having departed therefrom return to it with sincere repentance. Accordingly if your baptism is to benefit you it must remain in constant use throughout your life.[39]

Spener favoured the concept of the invisible church, and although not disparaging baptism, emphasis on the new birth could be regarded as parallel to the idea of monastic profession as a second baptism.[40] In his view the perfection of the early church put the present state of the church to shame in which weeds suffocated the grain; to remedy this Spener proposed the ancient and apostolic kind of church meetings as described by Paul in 1 Corinthians.[41] He carefully guarded the *collegia pietatis*; friends could meet to read over a sermon or the scriptures and confer, but these meetings should not be large so as to appear a separate or public assembly, nor should those gathering neglect public worship or disdain ordained ministers.[42] He refused permission for groups to celebrate the Lord's Supper at their meetings, lest it accorded them the status of church services.[43] Preference for services held in homes led to an alternative community gradually developing their own subjective interpretations.[44] In his *On Hindrances to Theological Studies* (1680), he contrasted the work of dogmatic theology with mystical theology which sought to restore the divine image in the soul.[45] In Spener's rejection of religious formalism and indifference, William Prout noticed the beginnings of a trajectory from Pietism through Jansenism to Methodism, Jansenism forming an equivalent place in Catholicism to that of Pietism within Protestantism.[46]

Balthazar Köpke (1646–1711)

In 1680 Spener's student Balthazar Köpke was involved in defending Pietist authors from the accusations of Platonising the Christian faith into mysticism.[47] He wrote *Dialogus de templo Salomonis, sive de Tribus Gradibus* (1689),[48] an allegorical exposition of the temple which was published together with Spener's preface on Christian perfection in his first anonymous edition. Köpke used the temple structure in a mystical and allegorical sense to describe inner spiritual growth and experience in three ages of faith. He described the transition of the people of God from the tabernacle of Moses to the Jerusalem temple, from the letter of the law to the spirit. Moving from allegory to tropology, from justification to sanctification, he described the temple of God as a sanctified heart. Believers first crossed the threshold and the first forecourt as children in the faith, then moved into the second courtyard as adolescents and lastly into the holy of holies.

Gerhard Tersteegen (1697–1769)

Tersteegen, a merchant's apprentice at Moers, Wesel, retired in 1728 to become a religious writer and spiritual guide. He valued monasticism and believed that if at the time of the Reformation all monasteries had been like that of St. Teresa's they might have been reformed and not dissolved.