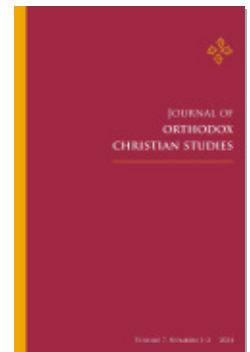




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Works by Sergij Bulgakov, and: *Two Cities: Studies on the Nature of Social Ideals* trans. by Katharina A. Breckner and Regula M. Zwahlen, and: *Sergii Bulgakov's "Two Cities" in Interdisciplinary Discussion* ed. by Barbara Hallensleben and Regula M. Zwahlen (review)

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crisis in global Orthodoxy. What is most important here are the author's suggestions for peace and reconciliation in Ukraine, which include renouncing Russian colonialism and ceasing the victimization and martyr campaign of the Russian Orthodox Church; the reconciliation on new terms of relations between Russia and Ukraine needs a complete modification of Russian expansionistic Church doctrine.

Despite a rather complicated structure, the book provides an excellent, brief overview of five hundred years of Russian-Ukrainian ecclesiastical relations that is not only of scholarly but also of social and even political importance, especially in light of recent Republican voices in the United States advocating for freedom of "conscience and religion in Ukraine"—albeit, to most of Ukrainians, it is obvious that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is a branch of the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine that supports Russian aggression.

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Sergij Bulgakov. *Werke* [Works], ed. Barbara Hallensleben and Regula M. Zwahlen. Münster: Aschendorff.

Vol. 5: *Die zwei Städte: Studien zur Natur gesellschaftlicher Ideale* [Two Cities: Studies on the Nature of Social Ideals] [1911], trans. Katharina A. Breckner and Regula M. Zwahlen; ed. and commentary by Regula M. Zwahlen et al. 2020. 780 pp.

Vol. 5a: *Sergij Bulgakovs Die zwei Städte im interdisziplinären Gespräch* [Sergij Bulgakov's "Two Cities" in Interdisciplinary Discussion], ed. Barbara Hallensleben and Regula M. Zwahlen. 2021. 167 pp.

Before the publication of his 1912 monograph *Philosophy of Economy*, most of Bulgakov's writings took the form of lectures

and articles published in periodicals. On two occasions he brought out collections of his writings: *From Marxism to Idealism: A Collection of Essays* (1896–1903) in 1904, and *Two Cities: Studies on the Nature of Social Ideals* (2 vols.) in 1911. The German-language edition of *Two Cities* (*Die zwei Städte*; Russian, *Dva grada*) is the subject of this review.

Die zwei Städte, prepared by the brilliant and industrious scholars of the Sergii Bulgakov Research Center at the University of Freiburg in Switzerland, is an invaluable resource for students of Bulgakov and Russian religious thought everywhere. For those who know German but not Russian, the volume provides access to the surprisingly large portions of *Two Cities* that have never been translated.

Die zwei Städte is a model scholarly edition. Besides the translation, the volume contains a substantial introduction, a list of the reviews of *Two Cities* that came out in its day, a list of the translated portions of the work that have appeared in various languages, bibliographical information on all sources Bulgakov references in the text, a roster of all persons he mentions, and finally, copious notes and commentary on the text itself.

Besides their edition of the primary text, the Freiburg team has brought out a companion volume presenting the results of "interdisciplinary discussion" of *Two Cities*. Each of the twelve chapters of the companion volume offers an evaluation of one or more of the essays in *Two Cities*. For the most part, the contributors are not scholars of Russia but authorities on the subjects Bulgakov canvasses in *Two Cities*, including Feuerbach, Marx, Thomas Carlyle, Leo Tolstoy, early Christianity, Augustine, modern Christian social ethics, Max Weber, Jewish and Christian apocalyptic, and other topics. The companion volume is rich in fresh critical perspectives on Bulgakov's thought.

Bulgakov defined the focus of *Two Cities* in his subtitle, *Studies on the Nature of Social*

Ideals. The contents of the volume are knit together by Bulgakov's search for a social ethic—specifically, a Christian social ethic adequate to his time and place. In Russia, the time was the fateful period defined by the Revolution of 1905–6, an upheaval that drove reflection on social and political ethics out of the scholar's study into the Russian public square. But Russia was not the only place where the search for a Christian social ethic was going on with a sense of urgency at the time. The first decade of the twentieth century marked the peak of the Social Gospel movement in Europe and America. It is important to place Bulgakov's thought in this larger context. Bulgakov was a Russian thinker, but the intellectual culture of late imperial Russia—his intellectual culture—was immersed in dialogue with the trends and scholarship of the contemporary West. *Two Cities* documents the depth and vitality of that complex cultural reality.

In a brief review it is not possible to discuss the many topics and themes Bulgakov and his commentators cover in these volumes. One pair of essays will have to suffice to suggest the richness of the material: Bulgakov's "Vom sozialen Moralismus. T. Carlyle" ("On Social Moralism: T. Carlyle," *Die zwei Städte*, 5:106–46), and Christian Münch's "Englischer Tolstoismus": Zum Kapitel 'Der soziale Moralismus. T. Carlyle'" ("English Tolstoyanism": On the Chapter 'Social Moralism: T. Carlyle,'" 5a:44–57).

Bulgakov's aim in "On Social Moralism" (1904) was to draw an analogy between Thomas Carlyle's Christian faith and Leo Tolstoy's. In both cases, Bulgakov maintained, a "moralism" that reduces religion to ethics alone ends with an impoverished view of the actual contents and needs of religious faith. Moreover, moralism eventually breaks down because its proponents "do not see the extent to which 'ethics' is linked to 'dogmatics,' or the extent to which the various tenets of religious ethics are indissolubly connected with the tenets of religious metaphysics" ("Vom sozialen Moralismus," 5:124). Despite these

criticisms, however, Bulgakov admired Carlyle and Tolstoy, commending them for their prophetic rejection of the positivism, materialism, and hedonism of the modern age.

Christian Münch supplies intriguing facts about Bulgakov's engagement with Tolstoy. We learn that Bulgakov met Tolstoy in person on three occasions, the first at Yasnaya Polyana on March 28, 1897. Aleksandr Gol'denveizer, pianist and composer, was present at their first meeting and described it in a memoir in 1922. Recalling that Tolstoy trenchantly criticized Bulgakov's Marxism, Gol'denveizer was "deeply convinced that this conversation was one of the powerful stimuli that led Bulgakov, soon thereafter, to renounce Marxism and set out on a completely different path, albeit far removed from [that of] Lev Nikolaevich." Gol'denveizer's testimony helps us appreciate a striking assertion Bulgakov made about Tolstoy in 1902: "With him begins our intelligentsia's religious renaissance" (Münch, 5a:44–45).

Bulgakov's piece on Carlyle and Tolstoy sheds light on the best-known of the essays in *Two Cities*, "Geroizm i podvizhnichestvo" (in Rowan Williams's translation, "Heroism and the Spiritual Struggle"), which came out in 1909 in the celebrated collection *Vekhi* (*Signposts*). Bulgakov's immersion, five years earlier, in Carlyle's meditations on "heroism"—one of the grand themes of Carlyle's thought—allows us to appreciate the gestation of "Heroism and the Spiritual Struggle" in an intellectual-historical context that goes beyond *Vekhi* alone.

It is fitting that the companion volume concludes with a contribution by Regula M. Zwahlen, research director of the Freiburg center. In "Sergij Bulgakovs Traum von einer christlichen Intelligencija" ("Sergii Bulgakov's Dream of a Christian Intelligentsia," 5a:143–167), Zwahlen describes Bulgakov's hopes for "a church intelligentsia that would combine authentic Christianity with an enlightened and clear understanding of cultural and historical tasks" (Zwahlen,

5a:147, quoting Bulgakov, “Heldentum und Grosstat,” *Die zwei Städte*, 5:481). Bulgakov’s dream was not prompted by pietistic rejection of the secular world, but by his “growing conviction that the successful sociopolitical and socioeconomic development of Russia had to be closely linked with the development of the Orthodox Church,” a linkage that a church intelligentsia would articulate and promote (Zwahlen, 5a:151). The dream was complex: it sprang from Bulgakov’s rediscovery of Orthodoxy but also from his discovery of Max Weber and the latter’s insights into the role religion could play in social, economic, and political development. Zwahlen and her colleagues invite us to ponder this complexity: to listen carefully to what Bulgakov actually had to say rather than relying on stereotypes, simplifications, and capsule summaries.

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Morwenna Ludlow. *Art, Craft, and Theology in Fourth-Century Christian Authors*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020. 269 pp.

Early Christian authors often depicted their compositional labors as akin to the work of painters and sculptors. In *Art, Craft, and Theology in Fourth-Century Christian Authors*, Morwenna Ludlow pursues the implications of comparing literary endeavors to other representational crafts, and sets these references within the broader contexts of the classical literary tradition as well as theological reflection about the divine craftsperson. The study coheres around the theme of *mimēsis* (imitation or representation), especially in connection to key rhetorical techniques in the authorial toolkit: *ekphrasis* (vivid description) and *prosōpopoeia* (direct speech in character). This account interweaves reflections on the fraught nature of literary *mimēsis* found in Plato and Aristotle with the later

reception of those traditions in the homilies, treatises, and letters of authors such as Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom.

The second chapter focuses on the technique of *ekphrasis* as theorized within rhetorical handbooks (*progymnasmata*) and employed by various writers. In conversation with scholars such as Ruth Webb, Ludlow surveys the intended effects of *ekphrasis*. Early Christian authors alternated between economical use of detail and flowery description to playfully deploy and subvert standard forms. Close readings of funeral orations illustrate the evocative nature of *ekphrasis* as well as its unarticulated limits. Gregory of Nazianzus, for example, carefully avoids describing the body of his deceased sister, Gorgonia, opting instead to catalog the markers of worldliness she lacks. In addition to rendering something before the mind’s eye and eliciting a response of faith, emotion, or interest, *ekphrasis* could also coax listeners to query: Who made the object of an *ekphrasis*? Who perceives (or has perceived) it? Throughout this fulsome account, Ludlow underscores the way Christian authors introduce *ekphrasis* to transform the perception of their listener: “to see with the appropriately virtuous emotion, to see with the correct understanding, and to see with the eyes of faith” (56).

At the outset of the third chapter, Ludlow highlights how Plato employs *ekphrasis* in the *Republic* to fix his audience’s gaze on the deceased. Without lapsing into graphic depictions of corporeal decay, Plato turns the mind’s eye to death. Using similar strategies, Christian preachers offered a “quasi-medical analysis” of the bodily condition of lepers and the destitute to center the audience’s attention on these silent sufferers. Chapter 4 extends the examination of *ekphrasis*, highlighting how Gregory of Nyssa captures landscapes and gardens within his *Homilies on the Song of Songs*. For Ludlow, the rhetorical technique and theological reflection found within the *Homilies* share an intimate