

2:4). Commensurate with the Spirit with the inspiration of Christology, namely Christ's self-

say about the Spirit. The only reference either to the human (Job 33:4) or to the divine Spirit drawing on a common under-

the New Testament, 1 Peter 1:11 prophecy and the inspirer of mis- Another passage (4:14) speaks and strength in the midst of suf- fates to the inspiration of Scrip-

-20, sounds Pauline in charac- teristic.

overall theme of the last book a crucial role in inspiration and 17). For the seer of the Apoca- lyptic of prophecy" (19:10). In ad- dition to the spirits" (1:4; 4:5) or the spirits of apocalyptic literature.

views to and perspectives on the doctrine of the Spirit in the Bible, the Spirit is the princi- pal foundation, life and the charismatic power of the rich historical traditions to and other biblical orientations appropriated for spirituality.

449-51.

3

The Historical Unfolding of the Experience of the Spirit

In Search of a Doctrinal Understanding of the Spirit

The Old Testament preached the Father openly and the Son more obscurely, while the New revealed the Son and hinted at the deity of the Spirit. Now the Spirit dwells in us and reveals himself more clearly to us. For it was not right, while the deity of the Father had still not been confessed, to preach the Son openly and, before the deity of the Son had been acknowledged, to force us to accept the Holy Spirit.¹

In this way, Gregory of Nazianzus—one of the Cappadocian fathers, who were theologians of the Trinity and the Spirit—explained the process by which the church came step by step to a fuller understanding of the Spirit. It is characteristic of the development of Christian theology that in various epochs different questions come under the scrutiny of theologians and church leaders. The growth of the Christian tradition began with a proper doctrine of God. The doctrine of the Trinity was developed during the first centuries. Then christological questions had to be settled before the church was ready to focus on the doctrine of the Spirit. The driving question in this regard was the divinity of the Spirit.

1. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orationes theologicae* 31, 5.26.

"Long before the Spirit was a theme of doctrine, He was a fact in the experience of the community."² This remark of Eduard Schweizer with regard to the unfolding of the doctrine of the Spirit in the New Testament applies as well to its unfolding in church history. Even though different Christian traditions experienced the Spirit in vivid ways, they did not immediately feel a need for a more precise concept of the Spirit's person and work. The doctrine of the Spirit grew gradually on the basis of the Old and New Testaments, along with the life of the church, its ministry, and its liturgy.

Informative histories of pneumatology abound,³ and there is no need to attempt any kind of systematic history here. The purpose of the present chapter is rather to look more closely at the ways the church and Christian theology appropriated the Spirit's person and work during history and to investigate the main challenges that drove the church toward a fuller understanding. Therefore, in order to pay tribute to the richness of the pneumatological tradition and spirituality, we will discuss several different orientations to the Spirit. The way Augustine understood the Spirit complements, say, the vivid experience of the Spirit of some medieval mystics. Or the way Hegel attempts to define the Spirit philosophically in relation to his overarching world theory is certainly distinctive when compared to the enthusiasm of Anabaptist traditions.

Throughout history, powerful Spirit movements have challenged the conventional doctrine and practice of the church catholic.⁴ One such movement was that of the Montanists. Not only did they question the pneumatological understanding of the church but also its ecclesiology and view of revelation. To these varied, complementary, and to some extent contradictory experiences of the Spirit we now turn.

2. Eduard Schweizer, "πνεῦμα," *TDNT*, 6:396.

3. For the history of pneumatology, see the following recent works: Yves Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* (New York: Crossroad Herder, 1997), 1:65–166, 3:19–216; Stanley M. Burgess, *The Holy Spirit: Ancient Christian Traditions* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1984); idem, *The Holy Spirit: Eastern Christian Traditions* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1989); and idem, *The Holy Spirit: Medieval Roman Catholic and Reformation Traditions* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1997). For older works, see Howard Wakin-Jones, *The Holy Spirit from Arminius to Wesley* (London: Epworth, 1929); idem, *The Holy Spirit in the Medieval Church* (London: Epworth, 1922); and Charles Williams, *The Descent of the Dove: A Short History of the Holy Spirit in the Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1939).

4. The term *church catholic* is used to indicate the catholic—meaning "universal"—church, as distinguished from the Roman Catholic Church. Church catholic also designates the mainstream church or the general theological consensus in the first four centuries A.D.

The Charismatic Experience

The New Testament theologian James D. G. Dunn has argued that, from the beginning of Christianity, strands of charismatic, enthusiastic Christian expressions emerged that differed from the more conventional, traditional church catholic. These enthusiastic groups wanted to keep alive the flame of vivid charismatic experience that was characteristic of and central to early Christianity.⁵ It might well be the case that, in the first two centuries, charismatic, "enthusiastic" spiritual life was a norm rather than a barely tolerated minority voice in the church.

Yves Congar contends that in the beginning the church saw itself subject to the activity of the Spirit and filled with his gifts. As an example he mentions Clement of Rome, who said that the apostles "set out, filled with the assurance of the Holy Spirit, to proclaim the good news of the coming of the kingdom of heaven."⁶ Toward the end of the first century, Clement was also obliged to provide rules for the church at Corinth as to the right use of charisms, implying that spiritual gifts were active at that time. This assumption is confirmed by the witness of Justin Martyr in the middle of the second century, when he claimed that prophecy and charismatic gifts still existed; in fact, it was believed that the charisms should accompany the church until the end.⁷ In the early centuries, prophecy was held to be the most important charism. *The Didache* gave an important place to the ministry of prophets and provided criteria for determining their authenticity.⁸

According to Congar, no opposition yet existed between "hierarchical" and "charismatic" ministries in the church. By definition, ministry as well as the whole church itself was considered charismatic.⁹ Those who questioned the charismatic nature of the church were seen as sectarians. The emerging role of bishops was not regarded as a means of quenching the Spirit since bishops were charismatics. Montanus, the initiator of one of the first "charismatic"

5. See, e.g., James D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991), chap. 9.

6. Clement of Rome, *Cor XIII*, 3.

7. Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 1:65. A substantial part of this section is drawn from Congar, 1:65–72.

8. See *Didache* 9.8–12 and chap. 13.

9. Very soon, however, there arose what Schweizer ("πνεῦμα," *TDNT*, 6:451) calls "the official strand," an understanding and practice of the ministry in which the one who is rightly instituted into office is now guaranteed the Spirit of God, rather than the other way around, i.e., the one whom God appoints by endowment with the Spirit is ordained to the ministry. See also Bernd Jochen Hilberath, "Pneumatologie," in *Handbuch der Dogmatik*, ed. Theodor Schneider et al. (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1992), 1:491–92.

movements, was the first to make the distinction between the church of the Spirit and the church of the bishops, indicating a lack of opposition up to that point. Furthermore, there was no opposition yet between the growth of tradition (doctrinal development) and charisms, such as visions and warnings from the Spirit. Cyprian said of the Council of Carthage (252) that it had made decisions "under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and according to the warnings given by the Lord in many visions." Cyprian himself (d. 258) is claimed to have had various kinds of visions from the Spirit.¹⁰ Irenaeus (c. 130–c. 200) said of the Spirit: "Faith is received from the Church and kept by us; it always makes us young again and, under the influence of the Spirit, like a costly drink contained in a precious vase, even renews the vase that holds it."¹¹

Christological and pneumatological orientations were regarded as both complementary and in some tension with each other. Ignatius (c. 35–c. 107) suggested that the ecclesiality of the church—what makes the church the church—could be ascertained by Christ's presence: "Wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the universal church."¹² According to Irenaeus, what is decisive is the presence of the Spirit of God: "Wherever the Spirit of God is, there is the church, and all grace."¹³

For Hippolytus (c. 170–c. 236), the Holy Spirit ensured that the tradition of the apostles would be preserved. The Spirit was believed to refute heresies. One can also speak of a kind of succession of transmission of the Spirit in the church.¹⁴ A description written in 251 by Novatian gives a vivid picture of the charismatic vitality of the church in the first centuries:

(That Spirit, who enabled the disciples not to fear, in the name of the Lord, either the powers of the world or its torments) gives similar gifts, like jewels, to the Bride of Christ, the Church. He causes prophets to appear in the Church, instructs the Church's teachers, encourages tongues, obtains power and health, works wonders in the Church, brings about the discernment of spirits, helps those who govern the Church, inspires the Church's councils and dispenses the other gifts of grace. In this way, he perfects and completes the Church of Christ everywhere and in all things.¹⁵

10. Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 1:65–66, 68.

11. Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 3.11.9.

12. Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 8.2.

13. Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 3.24.1.

14. See the prologue in Hippolytus, *Apostolic Tradition*.

15. Novatian, *De Trin. Lib.* 29.

One of the first major challenges to the catholic church came from a group of Christians who believed that the charismatic vitality of the church was waning and prophetic activity was no longer held in honor.

The Montanist Challenge: Who Is the Real Paraclete?

How can the catholic church discern a real move of the Spirit? What is the role of written Scripture in discerning authentic and false spirits? Who are real prophets? Who is a spiritual person? These kinds of questions came to the fore along with the emergence of the first major "charismatic movement" in church history, namely, Montanism.¹⁶ If the Montanist prophets were mouthpieces of God, opposing their oracles, which were delivered in the Spirit, was a very bold spiritual decision. Prophetic charismatic movements also usually touch theological loci other than pneumatology. In this case, Didymus reported that Montanists (re)baptized even those who were baptized. Was then their baptism valid, if they themselves were heretical?

The Montanist movement emerged in roughly A.D. 160–170 around the Phrygian Pentapolis area, in what is modern Turkey. The Christian church in Hierapolis, for example, was vulnerable to it.¹⁷ There are various, even contradictory, assessments of Montanism. The overall evaluation is that it arose from a false spirit and held an erroneous pneumatology. Apollonius of Ephesus alluded to the evil lifestyle of their prophets and believed them in need of exorcism. He also criticized them for "revelational novelty" and for undermining the authority of the apostles, which in fact meant opposing the Lord himself.¹⁸

A much more positive evaluation comes from Tertullian (c. 160–c. 230), the Carthaginian church's most prominent early lay theologian.

16. The main source here is William Tabbernee, "Will the Real Paraclete Please Speak Forth!": The Catholic-Montanist Conflict over Pneumatology," in *Advent of the Spirit: Orientations in Pneumatology*, Conference Papers from a Symposium at Marquette University, 17–19 April 1998 (unpublished). The most recent study on Montanism in English is Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). For a brief survey, see also Tabbernee, "Remnants of the New Prophecy: Literary and Epigraphical Sources of the Montanist Movement," *Studia Patristica* 21 (1989): 193–201.

17. Little valid historical information is available; we know about the Montanists mostly through other people. Avircius Marcellus, the bishop of Hierapolis, consulted another bishop, an expert on Montanism, who was an opposer. A now anonymous writer sent a response to Marcellus, a response known to us through Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*. Apollonius, (probably) another catholic bishop, also wrote a lengthy treatise against the Montanists. Tabbernee, "Will the Real Paraclete Please Speak Forth!" 2–3.

18. Tabbernee, "Will the Real Paraclete Please Speak Forth!" 3–5.

According to Jerome (c. 347–419/20), Tertullian wrote a treatise on ecstasy originally consisting of six books, to which a seventh was added, refuting the charges of Apollonius. Tertullian became attracted to Montanism but most probably did not leave the catholic church. What makes his case even more interesting is that even though he was sympathetic to Montanism, he remained an authority in catholic theology in North Africa. Unfortunately, this writing, *De Ecstasi*, has not survived.¹⁹

Tertullian's definition of "ecstasy" is the ability of the soul "to stand out of itself." Just as in dreaming the body is asleep but the soul remains active, so the human spirit is overshadowed by the Spirit of God. But for Tertullian, the prophet is not mad or demon-possessed. Proof that a dreamer is still of sound mind is the ability to recall dreams.²⁰ Thus, according to Tertullian, Montanists did not introduce any novelties: The Paraclete is not an "institutor" (of anything new) but rather a "restitutor" (of what Christ said and taught). Even when the Paraclete reveals something new, it is not actually new but rather a return to the underlying principles of the message of Christ. The Paraclete's final revelation was postponed to the time of Montanism because the church was not yet ready. William Tabbernee is correct when he insists that Tertullian championed the view of progressive revelation, but only with regard to matters of practice: There is a distinction between *regula fidei* (the completed body of doctrine and truth) and *disciplina* (the as-yet-incomplete teaching regarding conduct of life).²¹

Tertullian firmly believed that the Holy Spirit, operative in the church for all ages, cannot contradict himself. He also attempted to correct the charge (about which we have no evidence one way or another) that Montanists distinguished between the Holy Spirit who was in the apostles and the Paraclete who was only in the Montanist prophets.

So the question remains: Were Montanists heretical?

An anonymous writer noted that the Montanists held the same view of the Triune God as the catholic church, but their emphasis on "spiritual gifts" had caused them to devote themselves to demonic spirits. He thought that the true Holy Spirit does not create ecstasy, a loss of possession of one's faculties. He also stated that their prophecies did not come to fulfillment; the end did not come as they had prophesied.

19. For Tertullian's relationship with Montanism and its potential influence on his theology, see Kilian McDonnell, "Communion Ecclesiology and Baptism in the Spirit: Tertullian and the Early Church," *TS* 49 (1988): 671–93.

20. Tabbernee, "Will the Real Paraclete Please Speak Forth!" 6.

21. *Ibid.*, 7–8.

Other charges were also leveled against the Montanists. Well known is the criticism of Basil the Great (c. 330–379), according to whom Montanus identified himself with the Paraclete. But we do not have convincing evidence for this charge. Neither is there any longer legitimate grounds for the charge of modalistic monarchianism—an equating of the three persons of the Trinity.²²

The conclusion by Tabbernee is balanced. He first acknowledges that historically speaking many of the pneumatological charges leveled against the Montanists are blatantly erroneous. But then he points to the lasting contribution, the theological challenge, that Montanism and similar charismatic movements pose to the church and theology:

Is ecstatic utterance proof of the presence of the Holy Spirit or is it a sign of demonic possession? To what extent may the fullness of the Holy Spirit be said to have been completed at Pentecost? Is there such a thing as progressive revelation, even if limited to matters of Christian practice rather than doctrine? Does heresy with regard to one dimension of Christian theology affect detrimentally all other components of that theology? What is required of rank and file Christians to live as "spiritual persons"?²³

The Eastern Fathers: The Deifying Spirit

The Eastern fathers were impressed by the grace that deifies humans and makes them sharers of divine life.²⁴ They believed that through the incarnation the mortal had been changed into immortal and from passible into impassible. The great Eastern teachers, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Cyril of Alexandria, insisted that it was by the incarnation of the Logos that humanity was anointed by the Holy Spirit. According to Cyril, "Christ filled his whole body with the life-giving power of the Spirit. . . . It was not the flesh that gave life to the Spirit, but the power of the Spirit that gave life to the flesh."²⁵

Quite early in the history of the church, the Eastern fathers combated a serious pneumatological heresy, that of Macedonius (d. c. 362) and the Pneumatomachoi ("enemies of the Spirit"). The Pneumatomachoi believed that the Spirit was a power or an instrument of God that had been

22. *Ibid.*, 10–11.

23. *Ibid.*, 21.

24. For the main sources, see Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, especially 1:73–77 and 3:29–35. For a more detailed exposition, see C. N. Tsirpanlis, *Introduction to Eastern Patristic Thought and Orthodox Theology*, Theology and Life Series 30 (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1991); and Burgess, *The Holy Spirit*.

25. Quoted in Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 1:73.

created in order to act in us and the world. According to their understanding, the Spirit remained solely at the level of "economy" (referring to God's dealings with the world, in contrast to God's intra-trinitarian relations).²⁶ As usual, threatening views also helped consolidate and refine the orthodox views. The struggle against the Pneumatomachoi influenced two liturgical developments. First, during the fourth century, it helped shape the *epiclēsis*, the invocation of the Holy Spirit over the bread and wine. Second, Pentecost came to be regarded not only as the feast of the Holy Spirit but also of the Father and the Son: The Spirit was "co-adored and co-glorified with the Father and the Son."²⁷

The main Eastern treatise on the Holy Spirit is *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* (374–75), written by Basil of Caesarea. It was partly a response to the criticism of his newly formulated doxology: "Glory to the Father, with the Son, with the Holy Spirit" (instead of the standard: "Glory to the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit"). He justified the new doxology with Scripture and tradition. However, Basil, as well as Athanasius (c. 293–373), was hesitant to call the Holy Spirit "God," since that is not the language of the Bible. Even though the Cappadocians were keenly interested in a more conceptual understanding of the Spirit and the Trinity, they wanted to preserve the biblical, "economic" language at any cost.

Even with these reservations, the Cappadocians helped convince the church that the Spirit belonged, both in equality and in dignity, to the holy Trinity. For Athanasius, the trinitarian baptismal formula showed that the Spirit shares the same divinity as the Father and the Son. Furthermore, deification requires it: If the Spirit is not consubstantial with the Father and the Son, the Spirit cannot make us conform to the Son and therefore cannot save us. For Athanasius and Basil, the Spirit has a relationship with the Son similar to that which the Son has with the Father.²⁸

Basil's brother, Gregory of Nyssa (c. 330–c. 395), further developed the doctrine of the divinity of the Spirit. Building on his brother's and Athanasius's formulations, he argued that the formation (*morphōsis*) of the Christian and his perfection (*teleiōsis*) according to Christ's model are the work of the sanctifying Spirit; the Spirit therefore is consubstantial with the Son and the Father. In other words, there is a unity of *nature* but a distinction between *hypostases*. However, the *monarchy* of the Father is always maintained here as in the rest of Eastern theology. As illustrations, Gregory spoke of a lamp that communicates its light to another lamp and through that lamp to a third one.²⁹

26. Hilberath, "Pneumatologie," 495–96.

27. Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 3:76.

28. Ibid., 30.

29. Ibid., 31–32.

Another Gregory, that of Nazianzus (329–389), the "Theologian" of the East, was probably the first Eastern father who dared to call the Holy Spirit "God." In addition, his gateway to a more precise understanding of the Spirit was the Trinity: "The name of the one who is without beginning is Father; the name of the beginning is Son; the name of the one who is with the beginning is Holy Spirit." Illustrations such as source, stream, and river, or sun, ray, and light were provided to make this relationship more easily understandable.³⁰

The first decisive step in the doctrinal understanding of the church concerning the Spirit was reached at the Council of Constantinople, which drafted the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed in 381. According to the creed, the Spirit is neither "God" nor "consubstantial" with the Father and the Son but is rather the "Lord and life-giver, proceeding from the Father, object of the same worship and the same glory with the Father and the Son."³¹ The following year the same 150 bishops met again and offered further refinement of the doctrine by speaking of "one substance, the uncreated Trinity, consubstantial and eternal."³²

Stanley Burgess summarizes the main Eastern patristic orientations in pneumatology as follows:³³

1. The Eastern view of the Trinity emphasizes the unity as opposed to the individuality within the Godhead, while at the same time it recognizes the reciprocal nature of trinitarian persons (*perichōrēsis*).
2. Eastern anthropology, while not operating in guilt concepts (the need for salvation is understood from the perspective of guilt and needed satisfaction) as its Western counterpart does, looks forward to the renewing of the image of God.
3. Since the divine Spirit is the giver of life, his main soteriological operation is the divinization of human beings (*theōsis*).
4. Even though among the Eastern fathers there have been differing understandings of the exact nature of the experience of the Spirit, they have always emphasized the experiential nature of the divine Spirit.
5. One of the reasons why pneumatology has been so central to theology and liturgy in the East is the array of rich symbolic vocabulary and imagery of the Spirit of God. "Symbols are not merely pointers to understanding the reality of that which is

30. Ibid., 32–33.

31. Hilberath, "Pneumatologie," 499.

32. Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 1:75.

33. Burgess, *The Holy Spirit*, 1–9.

hidden. They also are within themselves the actual presence of what they symbolize."³⁴

Augustine: The Spirit as the Bond of Love

In the Western wing of the church, Augustine (354–430) laid the groundwork for the view of the Holy Spirit. His comment on the pneumatological lacuna has not yet lost its relevance:

Many books have been written by scholarly and spiritual men on the Father and the Son. . . . The Holy Spirit has, on the other hand, not yet been studied with as much care and by so many great and learned commentators on the scriptures that it is easy to understand his special character and know why we cannot call him either Son or Father, but only Holy Spirit.³⁵

Augustine had a lifelong interest in the Holy Spirit. He discussed the topic in several of his works, the most comprehensive being *De Trinitate* (399–419). But he was conscious of the difficulty of the matter and struggled with objectivity. Rather than attempting to introduce anything novel, he wanted to elaborate the common understanding of the church.³⁶ The starting point for Augustine's understanding is that some attributes are common both to the Father and the Son without any contrast or distinction. The main biblical passage is John 16:13, which for him reveals the foundational truth that the Father is only the Father of the Son and the Son is only the Son of the Father, but the Spirit is the Spirit of both!³⁷ Therefore, although the Spirit is quite distinct, he is also that which is common to both; he is their shared holiness and their love.³⁸

The traditional names given to the Holy Spirit indicate his unique character. For Augustine, the following three are most indicative of the Spirit's nature: Holy Spirit, Love, and Gift. With regard to the name Holy Spirit, Augustine finds a problem: The name does not reflect his

34. Ibid., 4.

35. Augustine, *De fide et symbolo* 9.18–19.

36. The main source here is Joseph Ratzinger, "The Holy Spirit as *Communio*: Concerning the Relationship of Pneumatology and Spirituality in Augustine," *Comm* 25 (1998): 324–39. See also Marc Quellet, "The Spirit in the Life of the Trinity," *Comm* 25 (1998): 199–213; and Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 3:80–95.

37. Augustine also alludes to several passages that talk about the Spirit as the Spirit of the Father (Matt. 10:20; Rom. 8:11) and others that speak about the Spirit as the Spirit of the Son (Rom. 8:9; Gal. 4:6).

38. Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 1:78.

uniqueness, since the Father and Son could also be so named.³⁹ But this provides an important clue to who the Holy Spirit is. The particularity is that the Spirit shares what the Father and the Son have in common; in other words, the Spirit is the *communio* between them. This idea of the Holy Spirit as *communio* also relates to ecclesiology. The Spirit is the *communio* between Christians and God and among Christians. In Joseph Ratzinger's words, "The Spirit is person as unity, unity as person."⁴⁰

Love is another biblical term for the Spirit. Here the central text is 1 John 4:16: "God is love." It applies both to the undivided divinity and specifically to the Holy Spirit. The proof for the latter is found in 1 John 4:7–16. Here Augustine drew an ingenious conclusion:

- v. 12 If we love one another, God abides in us.
- v. 16b God is love, and he who abides in love, God abides in him.
- v. 13 We recognize that we abide in him and he in us because he has given us of his Spirit.

In the first two instances, love gives abiding; in the third, the Holy Spirit. Augustine also alludes to Romans 5:5, which speaks of God pouring out his love in our hearts through the Holy Spirit, and 1 John 4:7, 12, 13, and 16, in which "love is from God" and "love is God"; therefore, love is "God from God," or the Holy Spirit. The Spirit is the gift of love.⁴¹

From this Augustine drew an all-important conclusion: The primary presence of the Holy Spirit is love, not knowledge. It is love that creates abiding, constancy, and unity. This line of reasoning led Augustine to crucial ecclesiological implications. The church is the temple of the Holy Spirit. Every division and strife opposes the Spirit's very nature as the Spirit of unity. Augustine notes the eschatological role of love as judge, both in Jesus' (Matthew 25) and Paul's (1 Corinthians 13) teaching. The lack or the presence of love is the final criterion. This principle applies to the Donatists, a schismatic group refuted by Augustine: They have right sacraments and doctrines, but they have broken love. Without love everything else is empty. Augustine even goes so far as to say that the church is love!⁴²

39. John 4:24 states that "God is spirit," and God's being spirit and holy could allow us to call him Holy Spirit.

40. Ratzinger, "The Holy Spirit as *Communio*," 327.

41. Ibid., 328–29.

42. Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 1:80.

The third basic name for the Spirit, the Gift, is based on a New Testament teaching, with John 4:7–14 serving as the basic text.⁴³ The *donum* spoken of here, the “water,” is the promise given in John 7:37 (and explained in 7:39). Another passage is 1 Corinthians 12:13: “We were all given the one Spirit to drink.” This name of the Holy Spirit establishes the close connection between Christology and pneumatology. Christ is the well of the living water, the crucified Christ of John 19. This name also explains for Augustine the difference between the Son and the Holy Spirit: “He [the Holy Spirit] comes from God not as born but as given (*non quomodo natus, sed quomodo datus*). Therefore he is not called son because he is neither ‘born’ like the ‘first-born’ nor ‘created’ as we are (*neque natus . . . neque factus*).”⁴⁴ For Augustine, this name makes a theology/pneumatology of “giving” possible. The Holy Spirit is always in his essence the gift of God, God as the self-giving God. Herein also lies the ground for creation: God giving himself to the world.⁴⁵ This idea of the Spirit as Gift was later embraced enthusiastically by Martin Luther.

In this discussion, Augustine introduced the much debated *filioque*: Since the Spirit is the Spirit and Love of the first two Persons, he must be said to proceed from those Persons. In the first place, the Spirit proceeds from the Father, since the Son derives his being from the Father. But the Son, along with the Father, is also the origin of the Spirit.⁴⁶ According to Scripture, this Holy Spirit is neither only the Spirit of the Father nor only the Spirit of the Son; he is the Spirit of both. Because of this, he is able to teach us that charity that is common to both the Father and the Son and through which they love each other.⁴⁷

Augustine’s work was formative for Western theology, even through the Middle Ages. Neither Anselm of Canterbury (1033/34–1109)⁴⁸ nor Thomas Aquinas (1224/25–1274)⁴⁹ produced anything unique with regard to pneumatology; rather, they concentrated their efforts on a more precise understanding of the Augustinian outline. What was distinctive and spiritually refreshing was the approach of several medieval mystics.

43. See further Hilberath, “Pneumatologie,” 503–4.

44. Augustine, *De Trinitate* 5.14.15. Augustine distinguishes three modes of origin from God: being born, being given, and being created (*natus, datus, factus*).

45. Ratzinger, “The Holy Spirit as *Communio*,” 330–33.

46. Hilberath, “Pneumatologie,” 506–11.

47. Augustine, *De Trinitate* 15.17.27.

48. See further Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 3:96–102.

49. See *ibid.*, 1:118–21, 3:116–27.

Medieval Mystics on the Spirit Experience

It has become commonplace to claim that in the footsteps of Augustine, Western theology in general and pneumatology in particular, in contrast to their Eastern counterparts, fell out of living touch with creation and redemption and became occupied with philosophical distinctions often removed from real life and spirituality. The Catholic Catherine Mowry LaCugna’s comment is representative:

Even if Augustine himself intended nothing of the sort, his legacy to Western theology was an approach to the Trinity largely cut off from the economy of salvation. . . . When the *De Trinitate* is read in parts, or read apart from its overall context and in light of Augustine’s full career, it is both possible and common to see no real connection between the self-enclosed Trinity of divine persons and the sphere of creation and redemption.⁵⁰

While there is no denying this one-sided orientation of much of Western theology, some resources can help us retrieve a fuller view of the Spirit. The rich spirituality of medieval mystics and saints “corrects the common perception that doctrines of the Holy Spirit were divorced from the original, polyvalent and enlivening experiences that were its source.”⁵¹ These “narratives of the Spirit” are full of life, vigor, and enthusiasm about the life in the Spirit. As such they give a powerful testimony to the varied and manifold experience of the Spirit through church history. The following four medieval authors, two women and two men, provide distinctive testimony to the spirituality of the Spirit: Hildegard of Bingen, Bernard of Clairvaux, Bonaventure, and Catherine of Siena.

Hildegard of Bingen: “The Greening of the Spirit”

The year 1998 was the nine hundredth birthday of the twelfth-century Benedictine Hildegard (1098–1179). This multitalented woman was a theologian, herbalist, medical theorist, composer, visionary, prophet, and preacher. She authored no less than four hundred letters and *Scivias*, a “Summa,” a doctrinal work with a trinitarian structure.⁵²

50. Catherine Mowry LaCugna, *God for Us: The Trinity and Christian Life* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1991), 102–3.

51. Elizabeth Dreyer, “Resources for a Renewed Life in the Spirit and Pneumatology: Medieval Mystics and Saints,” in *Advent of the Spirit*, 2–3. My exposition in this section is heavily indebted to that article. I have also benefited from Elizabeth Dreyer, “Narratives of the Spirit: Recovering a Medieval Resource,” in *Catholic Theological Society Proceedings*, ed. E. Dreyer, 51 (1996): 45–90.

52. Her other two main works are *Liber vitae meritorum*, on virtues and vices, and *De operatione Dei*, on cosmology, history, and eschatology. Dreyer, “Narratives of the Spirit,” 55.

Hildegard called the church back to poverty and humility and acted as a prophetic critic.

Hildegard was often addressed by God:

O you who are wretched earth, and, as a woman, untaught in all learning of earthly teachers and unable to read literature with philosophical understanding, you are nonetheless touched by My light, which kindles in you an inner fire like a burning sun; cry out and relate and write these My mysteries that you see and hear in mystical visions. So do not be timid, but say those things you understand in the Spirit as I speak them through you.⁵³

Toward the end of her life, she recalled an oracle she received at the age of sixty-one:

From infancy you have been taught, not bodily, but spiritually, by true vision through the Spirit of the Lord. Speak these things that you now see and hear. . . . Speak and write, therefore, now according to me and not according to yourself.⁵⁴

While employing tender images and sweet pictures, Hildegard obviously claimed a profound spiritual authority for herself. In a letter to Pope Eugenius III, she described her own vocation through the image of a small feather, touched in such a way that it flew miraculously, sustained by the wind of the Spirit so that it would not fall. Her friend and secretary, Guilbert of Gembloux, wrote on this:

The Apostle does not permit a woman to teach in the Church. But this woman is exempt from this condition because she has received the Spirit, and with a heart instructed in wisdom by his teaching, she has learned through her own experience what is written: "Blessed is the one whom you have instructed, O LORD, and out of your law you have taught him" (Ps. 94:12). . . . But although the anointing of the Spirit, like a school-mistress, teaches her all things inwardly and bids her . . . to offer confidently in public what it has taught her in secret so as to instruct her hearers, she is nonetheless mindful of her own sex and condition. . . . Yes she obeys the Spirit, not him whom the Spirit sends.⁵⁵

53. Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, trans. Columba Hart and Jane Bishop (New York/Mahwah, N. J.: Paulist Press, 1990), 2.1.

54. Hildegard of Bingen, *Liber vitae meritorum*, trans. Bruce W. Hozeski (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), 9–10.

55. Quoted in Dreyer, "Resources for a Renewed Life in the Spirit," 12.

Hildegard's sustained reflections on the Pentecost event reveal her love of the wondrous works of the Spirit and her sensitivity toward spiritual movings. On the day of Pentecost, the Spirit "bathed" the disciples in the fire, gave them the ability to speak in tongues, and made them proclaimers of God's truth, so much so that "the whole world was shaken by their voices." The same Spirit also expelled all fear and timidity.⁵⁶

What is most distinctive of Hildegard's thinking is that she links the Holy Spirit with the term *viriditas*, or "greening." She imagined the outpouring of the Spirit in natural rather than cultural metaphors. She combined images of planting, watering, and greening to speak of the presence of the Spirit. Hildegard linked the flow of water on the crops with the love of God that renews the face of the earth and by extension the souls of believers.⁵⁷ For this spiritual mystic, *viriditas* was a key concept that expressed and connected the bounty of God, the fertility of nature, and the enlivening, fresh presence of the Spirit. Furthermore, the *viriditas* of the Spirit pointed to a life of virtue, the active fruit of the Spirit's gift. In a masterful way, Hildegard applied this imagery to the role of the Spirit in the Trinity:

And so these three Persons are in the unity of inseparable substance; but They are not indistinct among themselves. How? He Who begets is the Father; He Who is born is the Son; and He who in eager freshness proceeds from the Father and the Son, and sanctified the waters by moving over their face in the likeness of an innocent bird, and streamed with ardent heat over the apostles, is the Holy Spirit.⁵⁸

Bernard of Clairvaux: "The Spirit as Kiss of the Beloved"

Hildegard's contemporary Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) played a key role in the renewal of twelfth-century Cistercian monasticism. His most well-known work is the collection of eighty-six sermons on the Song of Songs. In this highly allegorical exposition, the main theme is union with Christ expressed in sexual images of human lovers.

Bernard was a theologian of the experience.⁵⁹ He often invited believers to consult their own experiences in order to test what he was saying about the spiritual life. For Bernard, experience yielded several truths. It conveyed the understanding of sinfulness and also taught spiritual

56. Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias* 3.7.7; Dreyer, "Narratives of the Spirit," 72.

57. Quoted in Dreyer, "Resources for a Renewed Life in the Spirit," 13–14.

58. Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias* 3.7.9; Dreyer, "Narratives of the Spirit," 56.

59. See further Kilian McDonnell, "Spirit and Experience in Bernard of Clairvaux," *TS* 58 (1997): 3–18.

aliveness and growth, when the Spirit is bearing witness that we are children of God:

You do not need any speech of mine to comment this to you. The Spirit reveals it himself (1 Cor. 2:10). You do not need to look it up in the pages of a book. Look to experience instead. Man does not know the price of wisdom. It comes from hidden places and it has a sweetness with which no sweetness known to living men can compare. It is the sweetness of the Lord, and you will not recognize it unless you taste it. "Taste and see," he says, "how sweet the Lord is" (Ps. 33:9).⁶⁰

There is no separate treatise on the Spirit in Bernard's writings.⁶¹ Doctrinally, he held the traditional orthodox position in the footsteps of Augustine. The Spirit is the mutual love between the Father and the Son. However, Bernard's characterization of the Trinity is vivid: The Spirit is "the imperturbable peace of the Father and the Son; their unshakable bond, their undivided love, their indivisible unity . . . the love and the benign goodness of them both."⁶²

In his *On the Song of Songs*, Bernard linked the Spirit with the truth that the Spirit will try to communicate and that his listeners should try to receive: As one advances in the spiritual life, the Spirit provides nourishment through Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and the Canticles. These are the "loaves of bread." Their text was composed by the artistry of the Spirit, and they arise out of Solomon's experience of exulting in the Spirit.⁶³

Peculiar to Bernard's characterization of the Spirit is the Spirit's role as the "kiss." As such he has two functions. The Spirit makes the knowledge of revelation possible and represents the intimacy of love within the Trinity and between God and the believer. When the bride seeks her beloved, she does not trust her external senses but asks for a kiss. When the bride receives the Spirit's kiss, she understands with love and loves with understanding. The way of contemplation leads one from the kiss that is the Holy Spirit to participation in the life of the Trinity, since the Spirit is the very kiss of the Father and the Son.⁶⁴

60. Bernard of Clairvaux, *On Conversion* 13.25; Dreyer, "Resources for a Renewed Life in the Spirit," 16.

61. One of my graduate students at Fuller Theological Seminary wanted to write a term paper on the pneumatology of Bernard of Clairvaux. His first disappointment was that he had trouble finding sections in Bernard's sermons on the Song of Songs that deal explicitly with the Spirit, even though that work and even others, more doctrinal, are imbued with spirituality and the presence of the Spirit.

62. Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs* 8.2.4.6; Dreyer, "Resources for a Renewed Life in the Spirit," 16.

63. Dreyer, "Resources for a Renewed Life in the Spirit," 17.

64. *Ibid.*, 17-18.