

Chapter 8

The Gift of the Holy Spirit

From the beginning of recorded time and in the most primitive societies, people have had a mixture of desire and dread over the prospect of a personal encounter with God. What Rudolph Otto referred to as the universal experience of the “Holy” finds expression in all cultural settings. Otto described the Holy as characterized by *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*: mysterious and untouchable, dreadful in capacity for instilling tremendous fear, yet fascinating in capacity to draw people.¹ Simply put, from the perspective of biblical faith, God is holy. In most religious systems of the world, whether complex or primitive, the mystical or spiritual encounter with God has a high value, though Otto complained that the more rationalistic a religious system became, the more inclined it grew to undervalue or discredit the validity of spiritual experience.

While Christians think of a spiritual experience as an experience with the Creator God and his Son the Lord Jesus Christ, across history and culture spiritual experiences might also describe encounters with demons, angels, the dead, or any of a variety of spiritual beings. Some understandings of spiritual experience among Eastern religions, on the other hand, contain no specific reference to another being or spirit, where all spiritual reality is understood as a whole and any part of the whole may move throughout the whole when released from the confines of time and space imposed by the false awareness of living in a body.

Universal spiritual experience is a given of human experience. Since the time of Schleiermacher and Otto, religious experience has been valued as self-authenticating as an end in itself within a growing corner of Western Christianity.² Throughout the Bible, in the life of Israel and of the early church, people unfaithful to God and people faithful to God had spiritual experiences. They are a dimension of being human, though they are not synonymous with

salvation. Spiritual experiences do not necessarily represent the favor of God or a positive relationship to the divine, nor does a visitation by the Spirit of God imply eternal acceptance by God. God sent a lying spirit to the sons of the prophets, who made spirituality a profession (1 Kings 22:21–23; 2 Chron. 18:20–22). Eliphaz, the unjust antagonist of Job, had a genuine spiritual experience, but it had no effect on his character or being (Job 4:15). King Saul experienced the Spirit of the Lord, but the Spirit departed, leaving him with an evil spirit from the Lord (1 Sam. 16:14–16, 23; 18:10; 19:9). Furthermore, the Scriptures do not deny the reality of such spiritual encounters as divination, sorcery, or necromancy; they merely forbid these negative forms of spiritual experience (Deut. 18:9–14).

When Peter preached the first gospel sermon on the Day of Pentecost, he did not offer his audience eternal life. Instead, he offered them “the promise” that God had made to Israel by the prophets of old, announcing that those who turned to Jesus would “receive the gift of the Holy Spirit” (Acts 2:38–39). Jesus Christ makes possible the genuine, positive experience with God that people everywhere long to have. By the Holy Spirit, the exalted Lord Jesus maintains immediate relationship with those who have faith in him and dispenses the benefits of salvation available through him. The Holy Spirit takes possession of and occupies those who submit their lives to this Lord. Through the Spirit they then share his life, and he begins to change them.

BIBLICAL BACKGROUND

In the Old Testament, the Spirit of the Lord visited people and caused things to happen to them, for them, and through them. The Spirit acts upon the created order and causes things to transpire that accomplish the will of God. Prophets, priests, and leaders of ancient Israel had the experience of the Spirit of the Lord “coming upon” them to endow them with ability (Ex. 31:3; Num. 11:16–17; Judg. 3:10; 6:34; 11:29; 1 Sam. 16:13–14) or knowledge (Num. 24:2; 2 Sam. 23:2; 1 Chron. 12:18; 2 Chron. 15:1; 18:23; 20:14; 24:20; Neh. 9:20, 30) in order to accomplish God’s purposes. In “coming upon” people, the Spirit of the Lord seized them and took control of

them. Such a visitation did not cause a permanent change in the individual; rather, the individual's ability or knowledge depended on their possession by the Spirit of the Lord. When the Spirit left, matters reverted to the way they had been. Besides ability and knowledge, however, the Spirit of the Lord also wrought a change in emotions (1 Sam. 10:6, 9–10; 11:6), character (Isa. 32:15–17), and life itself (Job 33:4; Ps. 104:30; Isa. 40:7; Ezek. 37:1–14).

The word for *Spirit* in Hebrew (*ruach*) means “breath” or “wind.” When God breathed into the nostrils of the clay figure he had fashioned, it became “a living being” (Gen. 2:7). The Spirit of the Lord proceeds from God like breath from a person, and he changes whatever he touches. By the time of the writing prophets, the image of breath or wind was enlarged by mixing metaphors. God promised to “*pour out my Spirit on all people*” (Joel 2:28). To the wind image was thus added the image of water (see also Isa. 32:15; 44:3; Ezek. 36:25–27; 39:29). God's Spirit would be like water to cleanse and sustain life, though that event lay in the future for the prophets. The coming of the Spirit in this way for everyone, not for just the occasional prophet, would be the central element of the new covenant God promised to establish with those who had faith (Jer. 31:31–34).

The promise that one day God would pour out his Spirit contains a profound presupposition of faith that permeates the ancient Hebrew writings: People do not by their nature possess or partake of the Spirit of God. Judaism, Islam, and Christianity all share this presupposition. Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christian Science, on the other hand, consider all reality to be an aspect of the divine. The Hebrew Scriptures describe at some length the characteristics of the human spirit, which contrasts sharply with the picture of God's Spirit.

The human spirit is the domain of the emotions, character, the intellect and will, and vitality (see Table 8A). Furthermore, a remarkable relationship exists between the physical body and the human spirit, such that they affect each other (see Table 8B). Within human emotions, character, intellect and will, and vitality occur the frailty and inevitable failure of human life. To correct this universal flaw, the technical theological term for which is sin, God promised through the prophets that he would one day send his Spirit.

**Domain of the Human Spirit
in Hebrew Thought**

<i>Intellect</i>	<i>Will</i>	<i>Emotions</i>	<i>Character</i>	<i>Vitality</i>
Job 20:3	Prov. 16:32	Gen. 41:8	Ps. 32:2	Gen. 45:27
Prov. 20:27	Job 15:13	Ex. 6:9	Ps. 34:18	Ex. 35:21
Isa. 26:9	Deut. 2:30	Deut. 2:30	Ps. 51:10	Josh. 5:1
Ps. 77:6	1 Sam. 1:15	1 Sam. 1:15	Ps. 51:17	Judg. 15:19
Isa. 29:24	1 Kings 21:5	1 Kings 21:5	Ps. 78:8	1 Sam. 30:12
Ezek. 13:3	Job 7:11; 21:4	Job 7:11; 21:4	Prov. 11:13	1 Kings 10:5
Mal. 2:15	Ezek. 4:6	Ezek. 4:6	Prov. 14:29	2 Kings 2:9
	Isa. 54:6	Isa. 54:6	Prov. 15:4	1 Chron. 5:26
	Ezek. 3:14	Ezek. 3:14	Prov. 16:2	2 Chron. 9:4; 21:16
	Dan. 2:1,3; 7:15	Dan. 2:1,3; 7:15	Prov. 16:18	Job 10:12
			Prov. 16:19	Ps. 51:10; 76:12; 77:3; 143:7
			Ezek. 7:8-9	Ezek. 8:8; 10:4
			Isa. 66:2	Isa. 57:16
			Mal. 2:16	Jer. 51:11
				Ezek. 21:7

Table 8A

Examples of the Effect of Sin on the Human Spirit

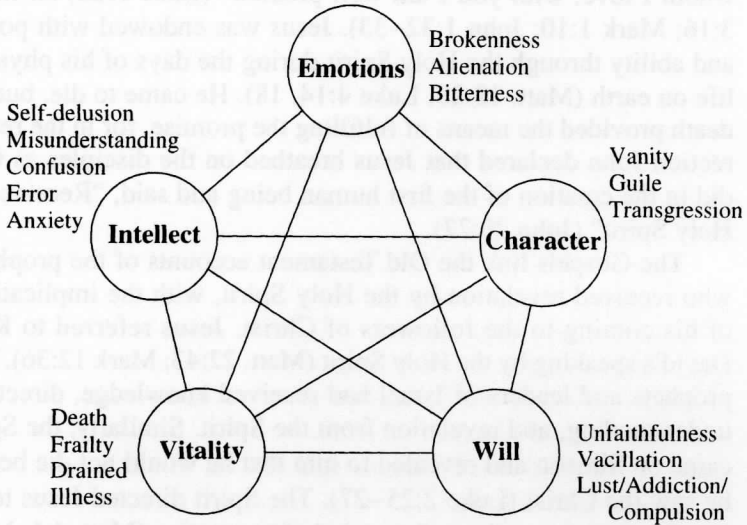


Table 8B

The Gospels

The Gospels reflect the presuppositions of Hebrew faith concerning the Spirit of God and human spirits. They also make clear that the fulfillment of God’s promise to give the Holy Spirit comes through Jesus Christ. Only occasionally did John reiterate in his Gospel events included in the other Gospel accounts. But he does join the others in repeating the experience of John the Baptist, who declared by a revelation from God that Jesus is the One who will baptize with the Holy Spirit (John 1:33; cf. Matt. 3:11; Mark 1:8; Luke 3:16). Jesus taught publicly that God would give the Holy Spirit to those that ask (Luke 11:13; John 3:34), and in private he made clear that the Spirit would come in his name (John 14:16–17, 26).

Jesus plays the central role in the coming of the Spirit because of who he is in relationship to the Father and the Spirit. The birth narratives describe him as conceived by the Holy Spirit (Matt. 1:18;

Luke 1:35). At his baptism, when Jesus began his public ministry, the Holy Spirit descended and a voice declared, "You are my Son, whom I love; with you I am well pleased" (Luke 3:22; cf. Matt. 3:16; Mark 1:10; John 1:32–33). Jesus was endowed with power and ability through the Holy Spirit during the days of his physical life on earth (Matt. 12:28; Luke 4:14, 18). He came to die, but his death provided the means of fulfilling the promise, for in the resurrection John declared that Jesus breathed on the disciples as God did in the creation of the first human being and said, "Receive the Holy Spirit" (John 20:22).

The Gospels link the Old Testament accounts of the prophets, who received revelation by the Holy Spirit, with the implications of his coming to the followers of Christ. Jesus referred to King David's speaking by the Holy Spirit (Matt. 22:43; Mark 12:36). The prophets and leaders of Israel had received knowledge, direction, understanding, and revelation from the Spirit. Similarly, the Spirit came on Simeon and revealed to him that he would not die before he saw the Christ (Luke 2:25–27). The Spirit directed Jesus to go into the desert to undergo the period of temptation (Matt. 4:1; Mark 1:12; Luke 4:1). Jesus told his followers that the Holy Spirit would teach them, guide them, remind them, and testify of Christ; and when they were called to give an account of their faith in persecution, the Holy Spirit would give them words to speak (John 14:26; 15:26; 16:13–15; cf. Matt. 10:20; Mark 13:11; Luke 12:12).

Finally, John repeats the prophetic theme of the Spirit, like water, being the source of life in a barren desert. In the style of the classical Hebrew prophets, who poetically made their declaration in parallel metaphor, Jesus declared to Nicodemus that "no one can enter the kingdom of God unless he is born of the water and the Spirit" (John 3:5). Having experienced a human birth does not by nature give a person a place in the eternal realm (cf. 6:63). Having a place in heaven requires a new birth, a birth from above, a birth from the Spirit (3:3, 6–8). Jesus renewed the theme of the Spirit as life-giving water to the Samaritan woman at the well: "Indeed, the water I give him will become in him a spring of water welling up to eternal life" (4:14). Finally, Jesus promised, "Whoever believes in me, as the Scripture has said, streams of living water will flow from within him" (7:38). John, who gave particular attention in his

Gospel to the implications of the gift of the Spirit for followers of Christ, adds his own comment to this offer from Christ:

By this he meant the Spirit, whom those who believed in him were later to receive. Up to that time the Spirit had not been given, since Jesus had not yet been glorified. (John 7:39)

General Apostolic Writings

The early church experienced the coming of the Holy Spirit as the fulfillment of a promise from God made by the prophets (Acts 2:17; cf. Joel 2:28) and confirmed through Jesus Christ, who promised that the disciples would receive the promised Spirit themselves (Acts 1:5, 8; 11:16). At his exaltation, Christ received the promised Spirit and poured it out on his disciples and on all who might become his disciples (2:33, 38). The Spirit comes to those who have faith in Jesus Christ and seals them as a possession of God (Gal. 3:14; Eph. 1:13). Whereas all of the benefits of salvation come through the living, exalted Christ, he applies those benefits to his followers by the Holy Spirit. While salvation comes as a consequence of being “in Christ,” the experience of being “in Christ” comes about through the corresponding wonder of the Holy Spirit in the believer. The Spirit provides the continuity between what happened on the cross two thousand years ago and the person who experiences the effects of that death today. That is, the Holy Spirit creates the ongoing relationship between a human believer and the exalted Lord.

Indwelling by the Holy Spirit. In ancient times the Spirit of the Lord “came upon” selected individuals whom God used, and then it left again. Instead of the isolated few who have the time or means or discipline to live a mystic’s life, the Holy Spirit comes to all who join their lives to Christ. The change of terminology from the Old Testament to the book of Acts reflects the significance of the gift of the Holy Spirit. By the action of Christ the Spirit “fills” those who belong to Christ. It serves as a “seal of ownership” put into the hearts of all believers (2 Cor. 1:22). The coming of the Spirit makes possible the immediate relationship with the exalted Christ because it is his Spirit that enters and takes possession of those who have faith in him (Gal. 4:6; 1 John 3:24; 4:13).

This relationship with Christ through the Holy Spirit has such importance for applying salvation that the early church in Acts spoke much more frequently of the coming of the Holy Spirit than of receiving salvation (Acts 8:15–17; 10:44–45, 47; 11:15; 15:8; 19:2, 6). Salvation was not for them a commodity to be possessed; rather, it meant that they had come into the possession of the One who could keep them. Thus, they realized they were not their own; their bodies were the temple of the Holy Spirit they had received from God (1 Cor. 6:19). They were included in Christ when they believed and received the seal of his ownership represented by their possession by the Holy Spirit (Eph. 1:13). The possession by the Spirit was full and complete, such that believers in Christ were frequently described as “full of” or “filled with” the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:4; 4:8; 6:5; 7:55; 9:17; 11:24).

Application of salvation. Jesus Christ obtained salvation by his death, and he gives salvation through his life. The one who has faith in him receives salvation, however, as a by-product of receiving the Spirit of Christ. The Spirit applies the benefits of salvation to those who believe. Receiving the Spirit involves the gift of life:

And if the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead is living in you, he who raised Christ from the dead will also give life to your mortal bodies through his Spirit, who lives in you.
(Rom. 8:11)

The rebirth to eternal life promised through the prophets who proclaimed the coming of a new covenant comes to pass as a result of the coming of the Spirit (2 Cor. 3:6; Gal. 6:8; Titus 3:5).

Justification from the legal dimension of sin, which Christ accomplished by virtue of his cross and resurrection, is applied in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ by the Spirit (1 Cor. 6:11). Consequently, the Holy Spirit delivers the righteousness of Christ that comes by faith (Gal. 5:5). He adopts those for God who have faith in his Son, so that in sharing the life of the Son through the Spirit, they also share his relationship to the Father as his adopted children (Rom. 8:14–16; Gal. 4:6). The presence of the Spirit also serves as a guarantee that God will complete the work of redemption, assuring believers that they have inherited the promises of God (Rom. 8:23; 2 Cor. 1:22; 5:5; Eph. 1:13; 4:30).

Becoming holy. God assumes the responsibility for making people holy. Holiness is a unique characteristic of God and cannot be duplicated by people. We cannot lead holy lives apart from the holiness of God being in us by the Holy Spirit. He creates an alternative to sin for us, working in us to duplicate the character of Jesus Christ (Rom. 8:1–13). Holiness does not come by human effort, but by the gracious work of God through his Spirit (Rom. 15:16; 1 Cor. 6:11; Gal. 3:2–5; 2 Thess. 2:13; 1 Peter 1:2). He performs a work of transformation that bit by bit changes a Christian gradually into the likeness of Christ:

Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom. And we, who with unveiled faces all reflect the Lord's glory, are being transformed into his likeness with ever-increasing glory, which comes from the Lord, who is the Spirit. (2 Cor. 3:17–18)

The Holy Spirit carries out the implications of salvation for someone who has died with Christ through faith and seeks to follow him. He makes it possible to live the Christian life, for through him Christ lives his life in the Christian. In this way, the Spirit produces the emotional and character qualities of Christ that make life beautiful even in adversity—qualities such as love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control, purity, understanding, and hope (Acts 13:52; Rom. 5:5; 14:17; 15:13; 2 Cor. 6:6; Gal. 5:16–25; 1 Thess. 1:6). The effect of this work of sanctification of a believer in Christ is that they come to have the quality of a “letter from Christ” written by the Holy Spirit, “not on tablets of stone but on tablets of human hearts” (2 Cor. 3:3; cf. Jer. 31:33).

Revelation and direction. The early church understood that God revealed things to the prophets of ancient times through his Spirit (Acts 1:16; 4:25; 28:25; Heb. 3:7; 1 Peter 1:11; 2 Peter 1:21). They experienced this same phenomenon themselves as the Holy Spirit gave revelations and guidance in their daily conduct. Christians experienced the Spirit's guidance in the decisions of life, particularly those related to faith and ministry. They often described the experience as the Spirit speaking to a person or group (Acts 8:29; 10:19; 11:12; 13:2; 20:23; 21:11; 1 Tim. 4:1; Rev. 2:7, 11, 17, 29; 3:6, 13, 22; 14:13; 22:17). In other cases, the church experienced

the Spirit as teaching, testifying, revealing, witnessing, or in some way showing them the things of God that people could not know if the Spirit did not make them known (Acts 5:32; 1 Cor. 2:10–14; Eph. 3:5; Heb. 9:8; 10:15; 1 John 5:6).

Whereas the people of the ancient world customarily sought omens and consulted oracles before beginning an important venture, Christians relied on the guidance of the Holy Spirit in the conduct of their lives and in the administration of the church (Acts 13:4; 15:28; 16:6–7; 1 Cor. 7:40). In cases of conscience, they experienced his leading toward the truth (Rom. 9:1). They had the peace of knowing that God would guide them in the business of day-to-day life.

The Spirit supplies the continuity of life between the believers and the exalted Christ. Through him, believers have immediate access to God (Eph. 2:18). The Spirit helps them through forming a link or intercession with God (Rom. 8:26–27). Through experience in the Holy Spirit, Christians have open to them a mystical experience of prayer that admits them into the presence of God (Jude 20; Rev. 1:10).

Power and ability. A major theme of Scripture involves the way God empowers the unlikely to do both the mundane and the magnificent. Whether the shepherd boy who became a king, the stuttering fugitive who gave voice to the pleas of a nation in bondage to Egypt, or the coward who conquered with an army even more unlikely than himself, the Bible throbs with stories of God's enabling people to function in a meaningful way. Jesus promised his followers that "you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on you" (Acts 1:8). The early chapters of Acts describe how Christians, when filled with the Holy Spirit, had the ability to speak in other tongues, to stand before hostile rulers and proclaim Christ, to speak the word of God boldly, and to confront whoever needed confrontation (2:4; 4:8, 31; 13:9). Christ used some apostles to perform miraculous wonders through his Spirit, by which God testified about the salvation found in Christ (Rom. 15:19; Heb. 2:4). These demonstrations of the Spirit's power confirmed the truth of the claim that Jesus Christ was Lord over all powers and forces (1 Cor. 2:4; 1 Thess. 1:5). The early believers also discovered that the Holy Spirit did not manifest the same powers and abilities in all Christians; rather, God provided the powers and abilities needed in

a given time and place to accomplish his ministry through the church (Rom. 12:1–8; 1 Cor. 12:1–31; Eph. 4:1–16).

Observations. The Spirit expresses the unity of God in accomplishing salvation. The apostles understood that there was only one Spirit (Eph. 4:3–4). Commonly referred to by the apostles as the Holy Spirit, whom the prophets of Israel had referred to as the Spirit of the Lord, the Spirit was also described as the Spirit of Jesus, the Spirit of Christ, or the Spirit of the Son (Gal. 4:6; Phil. 1:19; 1 Peter 1:11; 1 John 3:24; 4:13). The interrelationship of Father, Son, and Spirit appears regularly in the apostolic writings without any attempt to resolve how the Spirit of the Father and the Spirit of the Son can be the same Spirit. The sublimity of the relationship may be seen, however, in passages that describe the way in which the benefits of salvation come to those who have faith in Christ—such as Paul’s prayer for the Ephesians that the Father “may strengthen you with power through his Spirit in your inner being, so that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith” (Eph. 3:16–17).

HISTORICAL/THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

For the first several centuries of its life, the church regarded the Holy Spirit as a familiar figure who made faith in Christ an experiential reality. No great controversy surrounded the church’s experience of him. Christians understood salvation as involving the coming of the Spirit. Montanus and his followers stressed the ecstatic experiences of the Holy Spirit, but their primary focus related to their expectation of the return of Christ, as will be noted in the next chapter. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit became a primary element in evangelism and a focus of controversy only after the collapse of the Western empire as the Eastern and Western Churches drifted further apart.

The Filioque Controversy

At Chalcedon, the universal council had settled on a formula to describe the relationship of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. A controversy later arose, however, that threatened the orthodox understanding. In their conflict with the Arian Goths, the orthodox Christians of the West spoke of the Holy Spirit as proceeding from

the Father *and the Son*, in order to stress the deity of Christ. This way of speaking appeared in the Athanasian Creed, so named to honor the defender of orthodox Christology. The problem came, however, when the Western Church began to add the phrase “and the Son” (*filioque*) to the Nicene Creed as well, though without benefit of a universal council. This alteration in the Nicene Creed probably began in the late sixth or early seventh century.³ As has commonly happened in the West, popular practice preceded official policy, for the papacy did not adopt this practice until the eleventh century.

The church in Spain in disquieting measure held to the adoptionist Arian Christology favored by the Goths. Charlemagne called a synod at Frankfort in 794 to deal with the issue, which resulted in the condemnation of the view, though the large part of the church in Moslem territory paid no attention to the synod. The *filioque* addition proved to be an effective way of combating adoptionism in Spain, however, and the custom of speaking of the Holy Spirit as proceeding from the Father and the Son gained popularity there. In this context Charlemagne, now crowned emperor, gave his support for the approval of the addition to the Nicene Creed at a synod meeting in Aachen in 809.⁴ He further commissioned Theodulph of Orleans to compile a registry of quotations from the early fathers that might support the addition.⁵ This move made perfect sense to the Latin Church in their struggle with Arianism over Christology, but to the Greek Church, which had not taken part in that struggle, the confusion of the Trinitarian formula seemed inappropriate.

The Greeks accused the Latins of confusing the idea of “proceeding” with the idea of “being sent.” While the Son may be the one *through* whom the Spirit is sent into the world, the Spirit does not *proceed* from the Son.⁶ To them, the *filioque* addition violated the doctrine of the Trinity, which allows for one nature but distinct characteristics of each member. If the Spirit proceeds from Father and Son, then the two share the same characteristics and the Spirit is left as inferior.⁷ The Eastern Church insisted that for a true unity of Godhead, the Trinity must have its source, cause, and principle in one member, not two. Patriarch Photius of Constantinople insisted that anything else would be polytheism.⁸

Because of deteriorating political realities, the Roman empire no longer existed, though theoretically the Holy Roman emperor

was accepted as joint emperor with the Byzantine emperor, just as in an earlier time Rome had both an emperor of the West and an emperor of the East. Lacking political unity, speaking different languages, possessing different worship traditions, belonging to different cultures, the Eastern and Western Churches had no context in which to resolve the *filioque* controversy. While liturgical pluralism has its place and posed no serious threat to unity at that time between the two churches, the doctrinal implications of the *filioque* issue posed a grave obstacle that other issues served to heighten.⁹

When the crisis of ecclesiastical wills came in 1054, in the conflict between Leo IX of Rome and Michael Cerularius of Constantinople, a number of matters in the conflict had more to do with the personalities involved than with the whole church, but the *filioque* issue was one that could not be overlooked.¹⁰ Though the Orthodox could probably have accepted an understanding of the *filioque* phrase that meant that the Holy Spirit proceeded *out of* the Father *through* the Son, the doctrinal issue soon became lost in the ecclesiastical issue of the Latin Church changing the creed without consulting the Greek Church in ecumenical council.¹¹ The *filioque* addition joined with the papal claim to supremacy to impede normal relations between the East and the West, though negotiations did continue for the next several centuries (as the meeting at Nicea in 1234, the council of Lyons II in 1274, and the meeting at Ferrara in 1438).¹²

Eastern Orthodox

The Eastern Orthodox Church bears the stamp of a conscious awareness of the presence of the Holy Spirit in its liturgy and life. Rather than calling attention to the Holy Spirit as a distinct emphasis of faith, however, the Eastern Church has tended to stress the Spirit as a member of the Trinity, as the liturgy proclaims:

We have seen the true light;
We have received the Holy Spirit;
We have found the true faith.
Let us worship the inseparable Trinity,
for it has redeemed us.¹³

The role of the Holy Spirit in redemption, however, has an ever-present dimension that involves the mystical relationship to God.

In contrast to the systematic approach to theology in the West, which has tended to stress the legal dimension of faith (i.e., justification, atonement, guilt, forgiveness, and satisfaction), the theology of the East has avoided rationalistic systems like those of Aquinas or Calvin and stressed the mystical dimension of faith (i.e., sanctification, rebirth, re-creation, and transfiguration).¹⁴ Orthodoxy showed no interest in the Western debate about justification during the Reformation since they regarded the legal issues of sin as a minor theme compared with the major theme of the restoration of what was lost in the Fall.

Sergius Bulgakov, one of the most important interpreters of Orthodoxy in the twentieth century, began his work on *The Orthodox Church* by describing the church as new life in Christ guided by the Holy Spirit and "the domain where the Holy Spirit lives and works."¹⁵ The Holy Spirit creates the church and mediates the Trinity. He makes Scripture accessible as the Word of God¹⁶ and creates the tradition of the church.¹⁷ While the Latin mass regards the words of institution, "This is my body," as the critical moment in the sacrament, the invocation of the Holy Spirit during the prayer of *epiclesis* serves as the critical moment in the Greek Eucharist.¹⁸ The liturgy creates the atmosphere of otherworldliness that communicates to the human spirit, though it relies on the senses to create an openness or awareness of the presence of the Holy Spirit. Among the Orthodox, it is the Holy Spirit who uses the liturgy to open the way to the celestial realm. According to tradition, this mystic experience of worship represented the critical element in the acceptance of Christianity by the Russians.

The mystical theology of the Eastern Church does not concern itself so much with knowledge about God, which tends to be the case with the systematic theology of the West, as it does with aiming at union with God.¹⁹ In sympathy with Pseudo-Dionysius, the Eastern Church has recognized that the positive assertion of theological systems (cataphatic theology) inevitably suffers from imperfection.²⁰ Thus, the Eastern Church tends toward the mystical theology of negation (apophatic theology), which arrives at God by stripping away concepts that strive to define the incomprehensible God. Having given up what one presumes to know, Lossky explains that the mystic can then find God: "For God makes His dwelling

there where our understanding and our concepts can gain no admittance.”²¹ None of this happens in a void, however, as in Hinduism or Buddhism, but is a result of the Holy Spirit who brings union with God.

The Orthodox Christian aims at bearing the Holy Spirit, by which one lives in Christ. Through him the image of Christ shines in a Christian and gives direction for life.²² While the monastic life offers the path of mystical union with God through complete renunciation of the world, Eastern Orthodoxy also teaches that one may also pursue this union in the midst of life’s circumstances.²³ Those who have exhibited this infusion of the Spirit in Russian Orthodox life have attracted the attention of pilgrims, who grow aware of heavenly reality by being in their presence. This attention to the mystical has been a feature of Russian Orthodox life from early times.

St. Anthony (983–1073) introduced monastic life to Russia soon after the acceptance of Orthodox Christianity by Vladimir, ruler of the Kievan state, who was baptized in 987. The mystic element of monasticism took on a new emphasis with the Hesychast movement that spread through the Byzantine empire in the fourteenth century. Named for Hesychius of Jerusalem and fostered by St. Gregory the Sinaite (d. 1346), St. Nilus (1433–1508) introduced the movement to Russia. Gregory taught that the repetition of the prayer of Jesus, “Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me, a sinner,” enabled a Christian to experience purification and illumination by the Holy Spirit, which makes an experience with God possible.²⁴ This experience gives victory over temptation to sin and makes holy living possible.

St. Nilus taught that in prayer the mind should be free of good thoughts as well as evil thoughts since the good often turns to bad; therefore, he advised the constant repetition of the Prayer of Jesus with the mind focused within the heart while breathing slowly.²⁵ He left his spiritual directions on mystic contemplation in the *Tradition*, which became a guide for many monasteries. Mary of Mikhailitsky, a mystic nun, also wrote her *Memoirs* about this time, which record a number of her visions.²⁶ With the conquest of the Trans-Volga, Kazan, Astrakhan, and Western Siberia, the Hesychast movement declined as monks shifted their attention to mission work in those new regions of the empire and to ritualistic observance,

though monastic mysticism would enjoy revival in the nineteenth century.

Western Mysticism

The Western mystics of the Middle Ages were concerned with themes of joy, love, the will, light, truth, and liberty. These themes all relate to the activity of the Holy Spirit, whom the mystics did not necessarily differentiate from the Father or Son as they sought a deeper experience with God. The mystics demonstrated different concerns and characteristics of their spiritual experiences, but these diverse emphases correspond to the areas of activity of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) reported a lifetime of visions from God before she also received the call to record the visions and preach her prophetic message. While the Holy Spirit did not represent the focus of her concern or message, he did provide the visions and the calling. When she was forty-two, she had the visionary experience that began her public ministry:

Heaven was opened and a fiery light of exceeding brilliance came and permeated my whole brain, and inflamed my whole heart and my whole breast, not like a burning but like a warming flame, as the sun warms anything its rays touch.²⁷

As a result of her experiences, Hildegard claimed to have received understanding of the Scriptures and confidence in their interpretation.

Joachim Fiore (d. 1202) influenced the “Spiritual Franciscans” of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. His understanding of the “Eternal Gospel” stressed the direct revelation of God through the presence of the Holy Spirit.²⁸ The movement was suppressed in 1254 when it took an apocalyptic turn (see chapter 9), but it had a strong influence on the contemplative life of the Middle Ages.

Mechthild of Magdeburg (1210–1297) represents that sort of remarkable woman of the Middle Ages whose mystic experiences and writing had a powerful influence on the church when European society no longer provided a means for women to have influence. At age twelve she had an experience of the Holy Spirit that altered her life by giving her a vision of the world in relationship to God.²⁹ Mechthild became known for the revelations she wrote down on

loose sheets of paper, which Heinrich of Halle, a student of Albert the Great, circulated as *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*. At a time of decadence and corruption in the church, her visions called the clergy back to holiness.³⁰ For Mechthild, her visionary experience converged on a theme of love that overpowered her self-condemnation and made her acceptable even to herself.

These three mystics suggest different emphases that one's experiences could take. Among others Bernard (1090–1153) emphasized love, Hugh St. Victor (1096–1141) understanding, Richard St. Victor (1123–1173) the relation of reason and emotion, Bonaventure (1221–1274) the illumination of the mind, Ramon Lull (1232–1315) the movement from knowledge to love, Henry Suso (1295–1366) long-suffering, and Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464) faith and love. Throughout the period of high scholasticism, the mystics found in their experience with God a satisfying alternative to speculation about God.

Protestant Awakenings

After the initial spiritual fire of the Reformation turned to religious wars and conflict among the Reformers over doctrine, a group within Protestantism began to long for an expression of faith that went deeper than theological formulas. John Arndt (1555–1621) renewed a medieval tradition of mysticism that moved beyond theological debate and mere scholastic understanding of faith to a faith that touched the heart. He wrote *True Christianity* to expound this heart religion. Arndt had a profound affect on Philip Jacob Spener, who lamented the spiritual poverty to which German Lutheranism had fallen by the mid-seventeenth century.

In an effort to deal with the problem, Spener began prayer and Bible study groups, which he called *collegia pietatis* in order to cultivate personal holiness among laypeople, especially students. Out of these gatherings grew the Pietistic Awakening. Spener published *Pia Desideria (Pious Desires)* in 1675 to explain the failings of the church of his day and to describe how Christians could live a holy life that touched the heart and not just the head. After the dogmatic scholasticism into which the Reformation churches had devolved after years of theological conflict and religious wars, Spener and the Pietists called for a renewed experience of the Holy Spirit.³¹ Thus,

they did not stress the Reformation emphasis of justification as it related to salvation so much as regeneration. In calling on Christians to return to a Pauline emphasis on the Holy Spirit rather than theological systems as the guide to Scripture, Spener declared,

This means that Paul derived his knowledge not from human ingenuity but from the illumination of the Spirit, and these are as far removed from each other as heaven is from earth.³²

This same emphasis appeared in the Moravian Awakening. The Moravian refugees, seeking asylum on the estate of Count Nikolas von Zinzendorf, suffered a division over the shape their church should take. As the remnants of the *Unitas Fratrum* of fourteenth-century Hussite origin, the Moravians through persecution had sunk to a weakened state. The division ended, however, through the experience of a spiritual awakening that began August 13, 1727, during a communion service at Berthelsdorf.³³

In the group's apprehension of Christ in his atoning death and his present nearness to them, the Moravians had a corporate experience that drew them together and recreated their church. Referred to as a baptism of the Spirit or another Pentecost, the awakening of the community became the defining experience of the Moravians. They considered their experience the result of an outpouring of the Holy Spirit, which instilled in the eighteenth-century Moravians a conviction that their life as a church depended on the empowering presence of the Holy Spirit.

Through Count von Zinzendorf the Moravians received the influence of the Pietists' emphasis on the heart. He taught that

our Savior has declared that the little ones, the children, believe in Him (Matt. 18:6): From which we can well observe that faith has its seat not in speculation, not in thought, but in the heart.³⁴

The emphasis on the heart, and especially the emotional or affective domain, has created the impression of the Moravians as antirationals, which is not an entirely unfair assessment. If antirationalist during the Age of Reason, however, they were not anti-intellectual, for they placed great stress on education, including higher education for women.³⁵

Unlike the medieval mystics but like the Pietists, the Moravians did not practice an individualistic mysticism. Their experience of the Holy Spirit and the manifestation of his fruit in their lives always had a community emphasis. Thus, they developed a highly organized communal way of life, with special forms of worship and fellowship, such as the love feast.³⁶

The First Great Awakening saw a repetition of much of the experience of the Moravians on a much broader scale in Britain and North America. The conversions of Whitefield and the Wesleys centered in their experience of the new birth and the operation of the Holy Spirit, to which they attested throughout their ministries. This concern with the emotional dimension of salvation alarmed a number of the clergy. Charles Chauncey, for example, pastor of the old First (Congregational) Church of Boston, registered strenuous opposition to the phenomenon of "Passion or Affection" as opposed to reason and rationalism.³⁷

Jonathan Edwards defended the direction of the Awakening in New England as he described its course in several books: *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God* (1736), *Some Thot's Concerning the Revival of Religion in New England* (1743), and *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (1746). Edwards taught that the human will was helplessly bound in moral matters as a result of the Fall. People could only respond appropriately to God under the empowering influence of the Holy Spirit, whom Edwards credited with the phenomenon of the revival of religion in New England.³⁸ In *Freedom of the Will* (1754), Edwards elaborated his views on the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion and revival. The great concern over the unconverted within the Congregational, Dutch Reformed, and Presbyterian churches from New Jersey to Massachusetts all happened in the theological milieu of Calvinism. Concern for conversions in this context meant concern that the Holy Spirit would act.³⁹

Revivalism as an institutionalized method has frequently been regarded as the heir of Pietism in that it stressed the heart rather than the head.⁴⁰ The appeal to the emotions that has characterized revivalism had its origin in the evangelical awakenings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Baptists had a hundred years of precedent for the kind of uneducated clergy who led in the Southern revival of the mid-1700s. Without formal preparation for the

ministry, men like Shubael Stearns and Daniel Marshall claimed the Holy Spirit as teacher and authenticator. This brand of preacher rejected the kind of formal sermon preparation followed by the trained clergy, preferring to preach under the influence of the Holy Spirit. In contrast to the religious concerns of the Pietists, the Moravians, and the separatist groups of seventeenth-century New England that had stressed community covenants, the Great Awakening gave people the freedom of individual religious experience.⁴¹ By the time of the Second Great Awakening, personal experiences assumed some unusual forms. At Cane Ridge (1801) in Bourbon County, Kentucky, for example, religious experiences during the revival included the falling exercise, running, jerking, rolling, dancing, and barking.⁴²

No one represents the transition from the Awakenings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the revivalism of the nineteenth century more than Charles Finney. His entire ministry and influence on countless others arose from his conversion experience, which involved a profound sense of guilt credited by him to the Holy Spirit. The final crisis of his conversion lasted several days and involved what seemed to him an inner voice that prompted him. In a ragged state emotionally as the experience dragged on, Finney began to recall passages of Scripture that gave him comfort and led him beyond intellectual assent to a trusting faith in Christ for salvation. His feelings ebbed and flowed during the crisis, and he went from confidence to dejection until he had a mystical experience of Christ accompanied by great emotion.⁴³ Finally, Finney experienced what he called "a mighty baptism of the Holy Ghost":

Without any expectation of it, without ever having the thought in my mind that there was any such thing for me, without any recollection that I had even heard the thing mentioned by any person in the world, the Holy Spirit descended upon me in a manner that seemed to go through me, body and soul. I could feel the impression, like a wave of electricity, going through and through me.⁴⁴

From that time on Finney spoke of his ministry and the local awakenings that occurred in communities where he preached as products of the work of the Holy Spirit's speaking to Finney, providing power for preaching, convicting the congregations, and filling people.

Finney followed more in the Arminian tradition of Wesley than the Reformed tradition of Edwards. This same tradition also gave rise by the middle of the nineteenth century to the Holiness movement in the United States, which would be associated with divine healing and Christian perfection. Phoebe Palmer began to use the phrase “baptism of the Holy Ghost” as a synonymous experience with “entire sanctification” as early as 1857.⁴⁵ The Higher Life movement sought to make the doctrine of Christian perfection interdenominational, with an emphasis on experiencing “baptism of the Holy Spirit” subsequent to conversion.⁴⁶ The Holiness movement received its major impetus, however, in 1867, when a group of Methodist Episcopal ministers, deploring the low state of spirituality following the Civil War, conducted a camp meeting in Philadelphia for the purpose of seeking a powerful visitation of the Holy Spirit. Within forty years of this meeting, the Holiness movement resulted in the founding of over a hundred Holiness denominations around the world.⁴⁷

Another significant awakening began the twentieth century—the Welsh Revival of 1905, which had an influence far beyond that tiny country. Evan Roberts, the twenty-six-year-old leader in the revival, emphasized that the power for the revival had come from the Holy Spirit, who supplied him with a message. In his testimony about the revival, Roberts declared, “His Spirit came to me one night, when upon my knees I asked Him for guidance, and five months later I was baptized with the Spirit.”⁴⁸ Roberts also believed the experience would be duplicated across the face of the earth among Christians who had grown silent and powerless.⁴⁹ Power characterized this revival among a people who, caught up in the Industrial Revolution of coal-mining Wales, often felt powerless. This power manifested itself in such ways as the power to control oneself, which thereby resulted in a decrease in violence and drunkenness. The fruit of self-control drew attention to this revival more than any other phenomenon. Without organization or method, the spontaneous occurrence of this revival drew 20,000 new members into the churches of Wales in a five-week period.⁵⁰

The Welsh Revival had an impact on several groups in the United States, Pentecostalism having the most long-term effect. F. B. Meyer, while on a preaching mission to Los Angeles in April

1905, described the impact of the Welsh Revival, and several localized revivals broke out in the wake of his visit.⁵¹ William Seymour, a black minister, began conducting cottage prayer meetings to pray for an outpouring of God's Spirit, and on April 9, 1906, the group had their experience.⁵² They secured an old building on Azusa Street, where the meetings continued until 1909. The most prominent feature of the experience of the Holy Spirit in the Azusa Street revival was speaking in tongues. Out of this revival the worldwide Pentecostal movement quickly emerged.

Early on the revival divided into camps over the issue of sanctification. Seymour taught that Christian experience involved three distinct stages: conversion, entire sanctification, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit. William Durham taught that sanctification involved a lifelong process and did not happen as a "finished work."⁵³ Eventually the Assemblies of God followed Durham while the Apostolic Faith and many of the Pentecostal Holiness groups in the South followed Seymour.

An important awakening also came to Asia in the early 1930s. The Shantung Revival came to that province of China following a time of discouraging reports in the evangelistic ministry of the mission there. This situation prompted a yearning for spiritual power among several missionaries, who began to study the biblical teaching on the work of the Holy Spirit, particularly related to evangelism. Between September 1931 and June 1932 at least twenty-four missionaries of the North China Mission and a vastly greater number of national leaders and new converts experienced what they termed "the baptism in the Holy Spirit."⁵⁴

The Shantung Revival focused on the Holy Spirit and manifestations of his power exhibited through Christians. The "baptism of the Holy Spirit" or the "fullness of the Holy Spirit" came with personal feelings of joy, holy laughter, surrender, peace, conviction of sin, grace, and assurance. In the context of Buddhist China it might be called bliss.⁵⁵ In the face of the Chinese preoccupation with and dread of spirits of all kinds, the Holy Spirit made himself known, particularly through healings, exorcisms, dreams, and visions. These experiences of the Holy Spirit became the occasion for a dramatic increase in conversions on the eve of the Japanese invasion.⁵⁶

By the early 1930s, mainline Protestant groups in the United States had developed a fear of anything that smacked of Pentecostalism, and the missionaries of the North China Mission acknowledged this fear:

For fear my reader should take doctrinal exception to the term “Back to Pentecost” let us notice that we are not going back to before Pentecost, but only waiting upon the Lord to prepare our hearts to RECEIVE what He has so graciously given. We believe that the Holy Spirit came at Pentecost, but very few believers have experimentally received Him in His fulness.⁵⁷

While the Pentecostal movement spread rapidly among working-class people on the fringe of mainline Christian society in the United States, the charismatic movement of the 1960s and 1970s spread just as rapidly through the middle class of mainline churches and Catholicism. From its beginnings at St. Mark’s Episcopal Church of Van Nuys, California, the charismatic movement, with its emphasis on experiencing the ecstatic gifts of the Holy Spirit, cut across denominational, educational, and sociological boundaries of American Christianity.⁵⁸

THE GIFT OF THE SPIRIT AS GOOD NEWS

The Holy Spirit enables people to experience God personally. People may know *about* God through creation and revelation, but they know God personally through his Holy Spirit. While Jesus Christ is the fullest revelation of God, we only know him through the Scriptures and the living testimony of the Holy Spirit. Spiritual experience does not necessarily mean emotional experience, for the human spirit also involves the intellect, character, ability, and life itself. While the Holy Spirit affects all of these dimensions of the human spirit, in responding to the gospel some people are more concerned about one dimension than another.

Transformation

The materialist says that people die. Christianity affirms this same position, with a few significant qualifications about what happens after death that will be discussed in the next chapter. Some of

the Eastern religions and New Age thinkers believe people are a part of the whole and undergo a transformation at death that takes different forms (depending on the religion). People who believe they will die but would like to live on with a personal, self-conscious existence intuitively know that some sort of transformation must take place for them to go from a physical existence to a spiritual existence. The gospel declares that the Holy Spirit creates that transformation in a person before they die. This transformation is alternatively called a new birth, a new creation, or regeneration.

In a society that has a strong sense of right and wrong, the predominant spiritual issue relates to such legal issues as forgiveness, justification, and punishment. In an amoral society that has abandoned the old taboos of behavior, such as England and British North America after Puritan restraint was replaced by Restoration decadence, the predominant issue became how one might be made able to enter heaven. With the collapse of values in the late twentieth century in the United States and the abandonment by postmodernism of the old preoccupation with the physical world, people are concerned with how they relate to the spiritual world. Apart from some transformation that involves a change to compatibility with the divine nature, people will not experience God in the spiritual world. In contrast to Eastern and New Age thought, Christianity teaches a basic incompatibility between the unregenerate human spirit and God. Yet for the person who desires eternal companionship with God, the gift of the Holy Spirit offers good news that God will change the human spirit and cleanse it of the corruption that forms a barrier to experiencing God.

Holiness

This transformation affects people not only by changing the human spirit to provide for eternal life, but also by changing the spirit with respect to character and emotions. The “fruit” of the Holy Spirit refers to this effect on the human spirit. People gain new capacities for dealing with the situations of life. Christ does not keep Christians from the range of negative experience, but his Spirit equips them to respond in a holy fashion, which may mean joy in some circumstances and patience in others. Pavel Savchenko, a Russian Baptist pastor, speaks of this experience as being “trans-

figured by Christ.” Christ’s character begins to transform our own as our emotions begin to correspond to his. He takes our character flaws and begins the slow process of restoring us into his image. He takes emotions that have become fragile or hardened, superficial or inappropriate, and slowly makes them genuine and useful again. When people grow weary of who they have become and of how little capacity they have for dealing with life, the gift of the Holy Spirit offers good news that such lives can be restored to the divine image.

Empowerment

The restoration of the divine image also means that the Holy Spirit brings power to live and ability to act. The widely observed phenomenon of “felt” powerlessness occurs at different levels of several societies—a company employee feels caught in the web of a vast corporate machine; a peasant who owns no land feels powerless, which debilitates him; people feel unable to act or speak in their normal human relationships because of fear, intimidation, manipulation, insecurity, or a variety of other related psychological chains. By empowering people, the Holy Spirit not only gives people the freedom of Christ to act, but also the ability. Empowerment does not mean that the forces that led to the original feeling of powerlessness have ceased. It simply means that the Holy Spirit gives people the power to live in spite of their condition. It also means that people receive gifts and abilities from God that they have never experienced before.

In Latin America, where liberation theology has had its most articulate expression in the civil struggles of that area of the world, this theology has had an extremely successful rival for the theological reference point of the people. The churches that have grown most dramatically are the Pentecostal churches, which emphasize the power of the Holy Spirit in the lives of Christians. The issues that liberation theology addresses do not go away, but people have the power to live in the face of their reality. In North America, empowerment may mean the discovery of the inner power to raise children and provide for a family when an irresponsible father forsakes his marriage vows and abandons his first responsibility under God. The power of the Holy Spirit extends to the level at which the need for power to live is felt. It transcends theological agendas and

socio-cultural barriers. For people who feel powerless, the gift of the Holy Spirit offers good news that God desires to fill people with the power they lack, which can only come from above.

Guidance

The presence of the Holy Spirit also affects people in the intellectual and volitional realms of spiritual life by providing them with the guidance they need to make decisions and act on them. Deciding right from wrong in a world that lacks clear markers, deciding about a career, deciding how to raise teenage children, and deciding so many other questions of life have implications that affect many people for a lifetime. The Holy Spirit comes to help the mind as much as the emotions. Holistically, he gives peace to the emotions so that the mind may think.

While the form of guidance may take a form as extraordinary as a dream, vision, or voice, the Spirit normally gives insight, clarity, wisdom, and understanding. Guided by the Holy Spirit, even something as irrational as the human mind has the capacity for rational thought. Because the Holy Spirit has also created the church, people are not left on their own when faced with difficult choices. They may find that the Spirit speaks to them through other people. For people shipwrecked by the wrong choices of life, who have established a pattern of disastrous judgment that seems irremediable, the gift of the Holy Spirit offers good news that God will give guidance to them as they abide in Christ and seek his counsel.

Application of Salvation

The Holy Spirit provides the personal contact between the saving activity of Christ on earth, his present authority as Lord of lords, and the person who turns to him in faith. The Holy Spirit brings the life of Jesus Christ into the one who will receive him. He brings salvation and begins the work of changing someone into the image of Christ.

I once spoke with a retired army top sergeant who had taken an interest in religion. I visited him with a pastor, who explained to him how the blood of Christ atoned for his sins. The man responded that he could not follow Jesus until he knew he could live a Christian life. The pastor said that he did not have to live a Christian life

because Jesus would forgive him. The man replied that he did not want to be a hypocrite, to which the pastor replied that the blood of Jesus was sufficient to cover any sin the man might commit. The man remained steadfast in his resistance: He was not going to follow Jesus unless he knew he could live up to what that commitment involved. He went on to say that he believed in God, the Bible, prayer, miracles, Jesus, his death for our sins, the resurrection, and the Second Coming. He also believed he was going to hell because he would not let Jesus save him. I then realized that this man knew nothing of the role of the Holy Spirit in making it possible to follow Christ. Christ changes us and begins to live his life through us. This was the sergeant's real spiritual issue, and when he understood the good news of the gift of the Holy Spirit, he began to cry, for he had found his Savior.

NOTES

1. Rudolph Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, trans. John W. Harvey (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979).

2. See Friedrich Schleiermacher, *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultural Despisers*, trans. John Oman, intro. Rudolph Otto (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1958).

3. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 1:303.

4. *Ibid.*, 359–60.

5. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600–1700)* (*The Christian Tradition* 2; Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1977), 185.

6. *Ibid.*, 193.

7. *Ibid.*, 194.

8. *Ibid.*, 197.

9. John Meyendorff, "The Liturgy: A Lead to the Mind of World Wide Orthodoxy," in *Orthodox Theology and Diakonia*, ed. Demetrios J. Constantelos (Brookline, Mass.: Hellenic College Press, 1981), 83. Since 1054, however, liturgy has become increasingly important for Orthodoxy. For the Eastern church, orthodox does not mean correct belief but correct praise.

10. J. M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 135.

11. *Ibid.*, 181.
12. *Ibid.*, 215, 276.
13. Ernst Benz, *The Eastern Orthodox Church*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (Chicago: Aldine, 1963), 37.
14. *Ibid.*, 43–48.
15. Sergius Bulgakov, *The Orthodox Church* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: American Review of Eastern Orthodoxy, 1935), 10.
16. *Ibid.*, 22–23.
17. *Ibid.*, 41.
18. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*, 279.
19. Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1957), 28.
20. *Ibid.*, 25.
21. *Ibid.*, 162.
22. Bulgakov, *The Orthodox Church*, 172–74.
23. Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, 17–19.
24. Sergius Bolshakoff, *Russian Mysticism* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 28.
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26. *Ibid.*, 41–45.
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29. *The Revelation of Mechthild of Magdeburg*, trans. Lucy Menzies (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1953), xviii.
30. *Ibid.*, xx.
31. Philip Jacob Spener, *Pia Desideria*, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1964), 9.
32. *Ibid.*, 57.
33. John Greenfield, *When the Spirit Came: The Amazing Story of the Moravian Revival of 1727* (Minneapolis: Bethany, 1967), 11.
34. Gillian Lindt Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Story of Changing Communities* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1967), 10.
35. *Ibid.*, 11–12.
36. *Ibid.*, 20.
37. Clarence H. Faust and Thomas H. Johnson, eds. *Jonathan Edwards: Representative Selections* (New York: American Book Company, n.d.), xix–xxiii.

38. Earle E. Cairns, *An Endless Line of Splendor: Revivals and Their Leaders from the Great Awakening to the Present* (Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale, 1986), 45–46.

39. Edwin Scott Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965), 57, 59, 138.

40. William Warren Sweet, *Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth and Decline* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965), 24–25.

41. *Ibid.*, 40.

42. *Ibid.*, 124.

43. Charles G. Finney, *Charles G. Finney: An Autobiography* (Old Tappan, N.J.: Revell; reprint of 1876 edition, entitled *Memoirs of Charles G. Finney*), 12–20.

44. *Ibid.*, 20.

45. Richard M. Riss, *A Survey of Twentieth-Century Revival Movements in North America* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1988), 18.

46. *Ibid.*, 19.

47. *Ibid.*, 20.

48. Arthur Goodrich, et al, *The Story of the Welsh Revival* (New York: Revell, 1905), 5.

49. *Ibid.*, 6.

50. *Ibid.*, 44. This report came from G. Campbell Morgan, a highly respected skeptic of the revival, who went to Wales to investigate the stories he had heard.

51. Riss, *Twentieth-Century Revival Movements*, 49.

52. *Ibid.*, 48.

53. *Ibid.*, 82–83.

54. Mary K. Crawford, *The Shantung Revival* (Shreveport, La.: Revival Association, 1933), 39–40.

55. *Ibid.*, 40–48.

56. *Ibid.*, 23–38.

57. *Ibid.*, 55.

58. Riss, *Twentieth-Century Revival Movements*, 147–48.