

The Holy Spirit and the Church according to the New Testament

Edited by
PREDRAG DRAGUTINOVIĆ,
KARL-WILHELM NIEBUHR
and JAMES BUCHANAN WALLACE

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

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The Holy Spirit and the Church according to the New Testament

Sixth International East-West Symposium
of New Testament Scholars,
Belgrade, August 25 to 31, 2013

Edited by
Predrag Dragutinović, Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr
and James Buchanan Wallace

in co-operation with
Christos Karakolis

Mohr Siebeck

PREDRAG DRAGUTINOVIĆ: born 1972; 1991–96 studied theology at University of Belgrade; 1999 MA from the theological faculty of the University of Bern; 2008 Dr. theol.; since 2014 Associate Professor of New Testament at the Theological Faculty of the University of Belgrade.

KARL-WILHELM NIEBUHR: born 1956; 1975–81 studied theology at Halle University; 1985 Dr. theol.; 1986 Ordination as Lutheran Pastor; 1991 Habilitation; since 1997 Professor of New Testament at the Theological Faculty of Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena.

JAMES BUCHANAN WALLACE: born 1975; 1994–98 studied at Sewanee (The University of the South); 1998 BA in English Literature and Russian; 1998–2008 studied Theology/New Testament at Emory University Atlanta; 2002 M.Div.; 2008 PhD in Religion; since 2012 Associate Professor of Religion at Christian Brothers University.

CHRISTOS KARAKOLIS: born 1968; 1990 Bachelor in Theology; 1990–96 Doctoral studies at the Universities of Thessaloniki, Regensburg and Tübingen; 1996 ThD; Elected as Lecturer of New Testament at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens in 1998. Since 2013 Associate Professor at the above University. Since 2014 Extraordinary Associate Professor at North-West University, South Africa.

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Preface

The Sixth International East-West Symposium of New Testament Scholars was held in Belgrade (Serbia), August 25-31, 2013, and addressed the topic: “The Holy Spirit and the Church in the New Testament”. The Symposium was a project of the Eastern Europe Liaison Committee (EELC) of *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas* (SNTS) and took place at the Orthodox theological faculty of the University of Belgrade. This symposium was the sixth in a series of conferences organized by the EELC and devoted to dialogue and exchange between Eastern Orthodox and Western Roman Catholic and Protestant New Testament scholars. The proceedings of the previous conferences have been published by Mohr Siebeck (Tübingen, Germany) in five conference volumes.

For the financial support of the symposium, we warmly thank several institutions and foundations, in particular the “Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland”, the Roman Catholic foundation “Renovabis” (Regensburg), the Roman Catholic Diocese of Regensburg, the “Fonds für wissenschaftliche Theologie” (Bern), as well as the “Evangelische Kirchgemeinde Zug” (Switzerland). There were also a number of local supporters of the conference. We thank the Orthodox theological faculty of the University of Belgrade, especially the Dean of the faculty, Prof. Dr. Predrag Puzović. We also thank the Bishop of Bačka, Prof. Dr. Irinej Bulović, and his Diocese of Bačka. Two Dioceses of the Serbian Orthodox Church have financially supported the conference: the Diocese of Kruševac and the Diocese of Šumadija (Kragujevac).

Special thanks are in order to Daniel Meyer (Jena) for indexing and formatting this volume, and to Susanne Mang (Mohr Siebeck) for her assistance and guidance through the preparation of the volume. We are very grateful to Prof. James Buchanan Wallace (Memphis), who, in addition to his immense editorial work, was so kind as to do English-language editing of all contributions from non-native English speakers.

The editors would like to thank Prof. Jörg Frey (Zürich) and Dr. Henning Ziebritzki for accepting the volume for publication in Mohr Siebeck’s WUNT, series 1.

Belgrade, November 2015

Predrag Dragutinović

Introduction

Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr

1. Guided by the Spirit

Interpreting the Bible within the church has always been grounded in the conviction that through the biblical writings God speaks to human beings and that any understanding of the Bible as God's word in the church has to be guided by the Holy Spirit.¹ The doctrine of the 'inspiration' of Scripture goes back to the origins of the New Testament writings themselves.² It was rooted already in ancient, pre-rabbinic Jewish interpretation of the Hebrew Bible and of those writings that later formed the Christian Old Testament. The use and understanding of 'Israel's Scriptures' in the Qumran community provide the best analogy for how the first 'Christians' (not yet called as such) experienced themselves as 'driven' by the Holy Spirit when they read the Scriptures and when they expressed in written form their own religious convictions.

When the Qumranites referred to the founding experience of their community as the '*Yahad* in Israel', they quoted a passage from the prophet Isaiah: "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God." (Isa 40:3) However, the members of the *Yahad* interpreted this prophetic order in their own, very peculiar way:

This is the study of the law which he commanded through the hand of Moses, in order to act in compliance with all that has been revealed from age to age, and according to what the prophets have revealed *through his holy spirit*.³

¹ For the most recent Roman Catholic statement on the inspiration of Scripture, see *Päpstliche Bibelkommission, Inspiration und Wahrheit der Heiligen Schrift. Das Wort, das von Gott kommt und von Gott spricht, um die Welt zu retten* (Verlautbarungen des Apostolischen Stuhls Nr. 196, 22. February 2014). For a Protestant perspective, cf. U. LUZ, *Theologische Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2014), 108–111; 468–481; P. STUHLMACHER, *Vom Verstehen des Neuen Testaments. Eine Hermeneutik* (GNT 6; Göttingen, 1979; 2nd ed. 1986), 47–63.

² Cf. 2 Tim 3:16; 2 Pet 1:20–21.

³ 1QS VIII 14–16. For biblical interpretation in Qumran, see G. J. BROOKE, "Biblical Interpretation at Qumran," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Volume One: Scripture*

It is not by chance that the same Isaianic prophecy is quoted in the beginnings of the Synoptic Gospels with regard to the ministry of Jesus. In the Gospel of Mark, this saying as the word of God “written in the prophet Isaiah” forms the very beginning of the Gospel narrative (Mark 1:3). Matthew and Luke, with the same quotation from Isaiah, refer to John the Baptist and his annunciation of the coming of the Lord Jesus, who “will baptize you with *the Holy Spirit* and fire”.⁴ All three evangelists, in the story of Jesus’s baptism that follows, testify that during this event the Holy Spirit came down from heaven, “descending like a dove on him”, and that a voice resounding from heaven declared Jesus to be the Son of God.⁵ Even in the Gospel of John, where Jesus’s baptism is not explicitly retold, John the Baptist nevertheless quotes the same verse from Isaiah and later testifies:

I saw *the Spirit* descending from heaven like a dove, and it remained on him. I myself did not know him, but the one who sent me to baptize with water said to me, ‘He on whom you see *the Spirit* descend and remain is the one who baptizes with the *Holy Spirit*.’ And I myself have seen and have testified that this is the Son of God.⁶

In sum, all four gospels open their narration about the ministry of Jesus with the image of Jesus’s being baptized by John and thereby put forward a symbolic narrative model of the triune God as the real ‘author’ of the Gospel. If Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is the core matter of the Bible, then, according to the gospel stories, the Bible has to be read and understood with an eye to, or better said, by the guidance of, the Holy Spirit.⁷

and the Scrolls (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Waco, 2006), 287–319; M. HENZE, ed., *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge, 2005); G. VERMES, “Eschatological World View in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament,” in *Scrolls, Scriptures and Early Christianity* (JSPE 56; London/New York, 2005), 68–79; D. E. AUNE, “Charismatic Exegesis in Early Judaism and Early Christianity,” in Id., *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (JSPE 14; eds. J. H. Charlesworth and C. A. Evans; Sheffield, 1993), 126–150. For the Holy Spirit in Qumran, cf. E. J. C. TIGCHELAAR, “Historical Origins of the Early Christian Concept of the Holy Spirit: Perspectives from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives* (Ekstasis 5; eds. J. Frey and J. R. Levison; Berlin/New York, 2014), 167–240.

⁴ Matt 3:3, 11; cf. Luke 3:4, 16.

⁵ Mark 1:10–11; cf. Matt 3:16–17; Luke 3:21–22.

⁶ John 1:23, 32–34.

⁷ This has been the perspective on the interpretation of the baptism of Jesus taken by J. RATZINGER/BENEDIKT XVI., *Jesus von Nazareth. Erster Teil: Von der Taufe im Jordan bis zur Verkündigung* (Freiburg et al., 2007), 36–51, 50: “Das Geheimnis des trinitarischen Gottes deutet sich an, das sich freilich erst im Ganzen von Jesu Weg in seiner Tiefe enthüllen kann.”

2. The East-West Symposia

The papers of the volume at hand originated in a conference of biblical scholars from different countries and different confessional backgrounds who normally are accustomed to organize their research according to the rules and principles of international biblical scholarship. The peculiar aims and objectives, however, of the international East-West symposia of biblical scholars, arranged by the Eastern Europe Liaison Committee of *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*, are broader than those of other 'conventional' research projects in biblical or ancient religious studies. The basic idea of these conferences goes back to an initiative taken by Professor Ulrich Luz twenty years ago when he invited a group of NT scholars from different countries in Eastern and Western Europe to meet for the first time during the SNTS annual meeting in Prague in 1995. Apart from the initial purpose of his initiative, to strengthen the institutional basis for biblical scholarship in Eastern Europe after the political changes in 1989, Ulrich Luz's project has also had a theological and ecumenical agenda right from the beginning. It has been devoted to creating a forum for scholarly and theological exchange about different approaches and aims of biblical interpretation from different confessional backgrounds and perspectives. A particular focus has been directed to the exchange of ideas about hermeneutical traditions and principles of biblical exegesis in the Christian Eastern Orthodox tradition on the one hand and in the 'Western' (Roman Catholic as well as Protestant) tradition on the other.

Meanwhile, a series of six symposia has grown up from this idea, and preparations for a seventh are under way. Without exaggeration, one can argue that the results of these conferences have made a difference in biblical studies, in the East as well as in the West. Papers from all five symposia so far have been published in the WUNT series with Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, and have resonated with the scholarly community. In particular, a better mutual understanding has developed regarding the different approaches to biblical interpretation in Orthodox and Western traditions. From a methodological point of view, there can be observed a growing consensus about historical as well as literary methods as necessary means to attain a better understanding of biblical texts, their peculiar theological character notwithstanding. At the same time, there has also developed a consensus with regard to the importance of theological and hermeneutical approaches for stimulating a contemporary understanding of the biblical tradition in our own time, in modern societies as well as in churches living in these societies today.

The topic of the Belgrade symposium was a rather logical follow up to the earlier conferences held during the last 15 years. After dealing first with

methods of biblical interpretation in Orthodox and ‘Western’ traditions,⁸ the second symposium was devoted to the Old Testament as part of the Christian Bible, again a central hermeneutical question.⁹ The following conferences then turned to biblical topics of central theological importance: the unity of the church according to the New Testament,¹⁰ prayer in the Bible and its religious environment,¹¹ and last, but not least, Jesus Christ in Church Tradition and Biblical Scholarship.¹² Now we have reached the Holy Spirit.

3. The Holy Spirit and the Church in the New Testament

According to the New Testament, the Holy Spirit has been experienced in the Church right from the beginning. The events at Pentecost as reported in the book of Acts (Acts 2) form the basis and the model for any church life since then, and Luke, in particular, highlights already in his Gospel how the Holy Spirit is at work in the life and ministry of Jesus.¹³ Likewise, when Paul reports about the events connected to the founding of his churches, he also gives witness to the rather overwhelming presence of the Holy Spirit there.¹⁴ In John, the figure of παράκλητος, advocate, counsellor, or, as in earlier interpretations, ‘comforter’, is the representative of the risen Christ for his disciples after the departure of Jesus.¹⁵ Nonetheless, the evidence in the New Testament about the Holy Spirit is multifaceted and sometimes uneven in a way. There is much less evidence, for instance, about the Holy Spirit in the gospels of Mark and Matthew or in several of the Catholic Epistles.

⁸ Cf. J. D. G. DUNN et al., eds., *Auslegung der Bibel in orthodoxer und westlicher Perspektive. Akten des west-östlichen Neutestamentler/innen-Symposiums von Neamț vom 4. – 11. September 1998* (WUNT 130; Tübingen, 2000).

⁹ Cf. I. Z. DIMITROV et al., eds., *Das Alte Testament als christliche Bibel in orthodoxer und westlicher Sicht. Zweite europäische orthodox-westliche Exegetenkonferenz im Rila-Kloster vom 8. – 15. September 2001* (WUNT 174; Tübingen, 2004).

¹⁰ A. A. ALEXEEV et al., eds., *Einheit der Kirche im Neuen Testament. Dritte europäische orthodox-westliche Exegetenkonferenz in Sankt Petersburg, 24. – 31. August 2005* (WUNT 218; Tübingen, 2008).

¹¹ H. KLEIN et al., eds., *Das Gebet im Neuen Testament. Vierte europäische orthodox-westliche Exegetenkonferenz in Sâmbăta de Sus, 4. – 8. August 2007* (WUNT 249; Tübingen, 2009).

¹² C. KARAKOLIS et al., eds., *Gospel Images of Jesus Christ in Church Tradition and in Biblical Scholarship: Fifth International East-West Symposium of New Testament Scholars, Minsk, September 2 to 9, 2010* (WUNT 288; Tübingen, 2012).

¹³ Cf. Luke 1:15, 35; 4:1, 18.

¹⁴ Cf. 1 Cor 2:4; Gal 3:1–5; 1 Thess 1:5–6.

¹⁵ John 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7; cf. M. TURNER, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts in the New Testament Church and Today* (Peabody, rev. ed. 2009), 76–79; F. PORSCH, “παράκλητος,” *EWNT* 3: 64–67.

It belongs to the tasks of biblical scholarship to isolate and carve out carefully the variety of voices and convictions, expressions and experiences of the power of the Holy Spirit as testified by different writings in the New Testament. But, as Christian theologians which most of us are by profession, we also have to ask about the inner relationship between the different voices in the New Testament and about their common orientation to the gospel of Jesus Christ. Moreover, we also have to ask about the power of the Holy Spirit, which keeps the church alive during the centuries as well as today. Taken together, the evidence about the Holy Spirit in the New Testament illustrates the richness and the vitality of church life among the first Christians in Antiquity. We are convinced that in the writings of the New Testament, we can detect the basis for the Christian belief in the triune God in the Gospels, as well as in Paul's letters or the book of Acts. Beyond that, we also have to analyse how the biblical writings have been read and understood by their first readers, as well as by the growing churches in the first two centuries and by the church fathers. We must even examine how the Old Testament was understood in ancient Jewish writings contemporaneous with early Christianity.

As biblical scholars and Christian theologians, we share the conviction that the testimony of the Holy Spirit, as a spiritual power vitalizing the church, is deeply rooted in the writings of the New Testament. But what does this mean for the life of our churches today?¹⁶ This has also been an exciting and sometimes tantalizing question for many of the participants in the Belgrade symposium. In many of the churches we belong to, the spiritual life is not so much in the foreground in comparison to the evidence we find in the New Testament. In other churches today, we may notice forms of experiencing the Spirit or dealing with spiritual 'events' that we have difficulties integrating into what we normally understand as the church guided by the Holy Spirit according to the New Testament. It has become a tradition of the East-West symposia not to exclude from our reflections such hermeneutical and sometimes even practical theological questions. This may be seen as another difference that the encounter between Orthodox and 'Western' exegetes can make.

The volume at hand, first of all, is a documentation of the papers and the seminar contributions presented during the Sixth International East-West Symposium of New Testament Scholars in Belgrade, August 25 to 31, 2013. As has been a well-established pattern of the symposia, the conference program consisted of a series of 'twin papers', devoted to core texts of the New Testament, one from an Orthodox and one from a 'Western' perspective. Two more pairs of main papers dealt with the topic of the Holy Spirit in patristic theology and traditions of church life in antiquity (liturgy and iconography).

¹⁶ Cf. TURNER, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts* (n. 15); A. C. THISELTON, *The Holy Spirit – In Biblical Teaching, through the Centuries, and Today* (Grand Rapids, 2013).

In addition to these ‘twin papers’, the scholarly program included three seminars with three sessions each on different topics related to the main theme of the conference. Again, these seminars were chaired by one Orthodox and one ‘Western’ chairperson. The opening address was given by the host of the conference, His Eminence, *Bishop Irinej of Novi Sad and Bačka*.¹⁷ The scholarly program was enriched by a public lecture for a wider audience in the State University of Belgrade given by *N. T. Wright*¹⁸ and a paper by *Vladan Tatalović* on Orthodox New Testament Scholarship in Serbia.¹⁹

A scholarly conference structured by a selection of main papers and seminar contributions cannot cover every important aspect and all of the complicated research problems related to the theme of the Holy Spirit and the church in the New Testament.²⁰ In this introduction, I will try to draw some links between the contents of the conference papers and seminar contributions and to fill in some gaps in the program by pointing to additional New Testament evidence relating to the topic and by indicating a small selection of more recent scholarly studies on them. It was determinative already for the preparatory team of the symposium that the conference would have to focus on theological and hermeneutical aspects of the topic. Therefore, many other approaches and research problems that have been of great importance in recent scholarship²¹ could not be dealt with in a similarly thorough way,²² as, for

¹⁷ I. BULOVIĆ, “The Holy Spirit and the Church: An Orthodox Perspective,” in this volume 31–35.

¹⁸ N. T. WRIGHT, “The Glory Returns: Spirit, Temple and Eschatology in Paul and John,” in this volume 73–86.

¹⁹ V. TATALOVIĆ, “Orthodox New Testament Scholarship in Serbia,” in this volume 37–70.

²⁰ Cf. for an overview, J. R. LEVISON, *Filled with the Spirit* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge, 2009); J. D. G. DUNN, *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament* (London, 1975, Grand Rapids, 1997).

²¹ For a critical overview of the crucial literature on the Holy Spirit in Biblical Studies, see J. R. Levison, V. Rabens, “The Holy Spirit,” Oxford Bibliographies Online, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195393361/obo-9780195393361-0094.xml> (last reviewed: 18 June 2015). For a few more recent volumes of collected essays or *Festschriften* focused to the Holy Spirit, cf. Frey/Levison, eds., *The Holy Spirit* (n. 3); T. J. BURKE and K. WARRINGTON, eds., *A Biblical Theology of the Holy Spirit* (London, 2014); J. T. K. Lim, ed., *Holy Spirit: Unfinished Agenda* (Singapore, 2014); I. H. Marshall, V. Rabens, and C. Bennema, eds., *The Spirit and Christ in the New Testament and Christian Theology: Essays in Honor of Max Turner* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge, 2012); M. EBNER, ed., *Heiliger Geist, JBTh 24* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2011); *Geist, ZNT 25* (Tübingen, 2010); *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honor of James D. G. Dunn* (ed. G. N. Stanton, B. W. Longenecker and S. C. Barton; Grand Rapids, 2004).

²² A very helpful introduction to the whole topic is offered by J. FREY and J. R. LEVISON, “The Origins of Early Christian Pneumatology: On the Rediscovery and Reshaping of the History of Religions Quest,” in Frey/Levison, *The Holy Spirit*, 1–37 (n. 3).

instance, ancient religious or philosophical backgrounds and contexts of 'spiritual' matters in New Testament writings,²³ the development of the belief in the Holy Spirit in earliest Christianity,²⁴ or the impact of early Jewish eschatological expectations on the first Christians with regard to their self-perception of being endowed with the Holy Spirit.²⁵

Moreover, as already explained, the aims of the symposium were not restricted to a scholarly treatment of the topic, like many other research conferences or volumes of collected essays. This may be seen most clearly from the last contribution, which has been included as an appendix to the volume at hand, not because it was of minor importance for the conference, but because of its particular character, resulting not least from its containing a selection of images. As *Oksana Gubareva* demonstrates in her paper, there has been an abundant wealth of imagination about the Holy Spirit in iconography during the centuries, in the East as well as in the West, which cannot be sufficiently captured by theological reflection alone, although many of the images of the Holy Spirit painted in the icons obviously correspond to biblical motifs or even theological doctrines.²⁶

Much of the exchange of scholarly opinions and theological positions took place in the conversations that started immediately after the presentations of the papers and continued during the conference days and beyond. This, of course, cannot be recorded in a volume of essays. However, three brief concluding reflections from an Orthodox, a Roman Catholic, and a Protestant perspective attempt to capture at least something of the spirit of the discussions in Belgrade.²⁷ This spirit has opened the way for further reflections or, as one of the authors says, "for re-reading one's own Christian tradition, and for constructive self-criticism".²⁸

²³ Cf. T. ENGBERG-PEDERSEN, *Cosmology and Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material Spirit* (Oxford, 2010); T. TIELEMAN, "The Spirit of Stoicism," in Frey/Levison, *The Holy Spirit*, 39–62 (n. 3). For the philosophical backgrounds of ancient Christian pneumatology, see H. ZIEBRITZKI, *Heiliger Geist und Weltseele. Das Problem der dritten Hypostase bei Origenes, Plotin und ihren Vorläufern* (BHT 84; Tübingen 1994).

²⁴ Cf. TURNER, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts* (n. 15); Idem, "'Trinitarian' Pneumatology in the New Testament? – Towards an Explanation of the Worship of Jesus," *ATJ* 57 (2003), 167–186; J. FREY, "How Did the Spirit Become a Person?," in Frey/Levison, *The Holy Spirit*, 343–371 (n. 3).

²⁵ Cf. J. R. LEVISON, *The Spirit in First Century Judaism* (AGAJU 29; Leiden, 1997); V. RABENS, "Geistes-Geschichte. Die Rede vom Geist im Horizont der griechisch-römischen und jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur," *ZNT* 25 (2010), 46–55.

²⁶ O. GUBAREVA, "Holy Spirit in Orthodox Iconography," in this volume 459–471.

²⁷ M. VOGEL, "A Talk Continued. Notes and Deliberations on the Belgrade Conference," in this volume 443–447; E. G. TSALAMPOUNI, "A Reflection on the Conference from the Orthodox Perspective," in this volume 449–451; A. PUIG I TÀRRECH, "A Reflection on the Conference from a Catholic Perspective," in this volume 453–455.

²⁸ TSALAMPOUNI, "Reflection," 449 (n. 27).

4. The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament and in Ancient Judaism

Concepts in the New Testament about the Spirit of God as a driving force in God's encounter with his creation and with all humankind, but in particular with God's elected people, are deeply rooted in the Old Testament and developed further in ancient Jewish thinking. These concepts were determinative for almost all of the writings of the New Testament. However, the full meaning and the important role of the Spirit of God in the Old Testament could not be taken into account adequately in a conference of (mainly) New Testament scholars. For a comprehensive survey of the subject of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament, a much broader analysis of all the evidence would have been required.²⁹ Because of the restrictions of the symposium, only a limited selection of early Jewish texts and topics could be dealt with. The Jewish context of New Testament writings was the subject of one of the seminars. Three different strands were examined as examples of the role and function of God's Spirit in early Judaism: the Wisdom of Solomon, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and Philo.

In a study on the Spirit in the Wisdom of Solomon, Rodoljub S. Kubat takes his point of departure from the Hebrew Bible.³⁰ After taking into account also the Greek translations of the Bible, the Septuagint, he then investigates references to the s/Spirit in the Wisdom of Solomon. He distinguishes between an anthropological, an epistemological, a metaphysical-cosmological, and a theological aspect. In conclusion, he points out that, on the one hand, "the author of the Wisdom of Solomon derives his basic understanding of the term πνεῦμα from the Bible", but on the other hand, influenced by Hellenistic philosophical thought, he "enriched the term spirit in a metaphysical-cosmological sense" in comparison to Old Testament texts.³¹

James Buchanan Wallace, in his contribution on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, deals with a pseudepigraphical (probably) Jewish text of

²⁹ For an overview of the OT evidence, see H.-J. FABRY, "rûah," *ThWAT* 7: 385–425. For a theological introduction from the perspective of Christian biblical theology, see R. FELDMEIER and H. SPIECKERMANN, *Der Gott der Lebendigen. Eine biblische Gotteslehre* (Tübingen, 2011), 203–227. For a collection of brief introductions from a biblical-theological perspective, see BURKE/WARRINGTON, *A Biblical Theology of the Holy Spirit*, (n. 21; contributions to the different parts of the OT by W. C. Kaiser, Jr., D. Firth, C. G. Bartholomew, W. Ma, A. Davies, J. Robson, M. Clay). For a recent monograph, cf. LEVISON, *Filled with the Spirit*, 3–105 (n. 20).

³⁰ R. S. KUBAT, "The Spirit in the Wisdom of Solomon," in this volume 287–308. For a recent edition of the Wisdom of Solomon with a new translation, commentary, and introductory essays, see K.-W. NIEBUHR, ed., *Sapientia Salomonis (Weisheit Salomos). Eingeleitet, übersetzt und mit interpretierenden Essays versehen* (SAPER 27; Tübingen, 2015).

³¹ Op. cit., 306.

unknown date and provenance.³² In the *T. 12 Patr.*, in particular, it is the anthropological aspect that is developed further in comparison with the biblical tradition.

By skilfully and even seamlessly interweaving Stoic thought and a Jewish apocalyptic worldview, the author accounts for the irrational choice of vices as well as traditional discourse of evil spirits by claiming that evil spirits are mixed into the human spirits.³³

On the other hand, in the *T. 12 Patr.*, we also find positive references to the “spirit of truth” or to “God’s spirit”, which are related to the biblical Law of Moses.

Both divine spirit and the law serve the common purpose of expressing God’s divine ordering of existence and prompt human beings to live in conformity with it.³⁴

In a third contribution on ancient Jewish views about the *s*/Spirit, *Carl R. Holladay* inquires into the work of Philo of Alexandria.³⁵ In his investigation, structured by the three main coherent literary works of Philo, Holladay basically distinguishes between statements in Philo about the “divine spirit” (πνεῦμα θελον) or “spirit of God” (πνεῦμα θεοῦ) on the one hand and expressions for the πνεῦμα θελον / πνεῦμα θεοῦ with particular reference to prophecy, on the other. As a result, he observes that “one of the most intriguing features of Philonic thought is the fluidity of the term πνεῦμα”. “Philo operates with a robust sense of ‘divine spirit’ or ‘the spirit of God,’ even though he does not conceive of it in personalistic terms.”³⁶ With regard to Philo’s view on prophetic inspiration, Holladay concludes that it is “anchored deeply in OT conceptions of prophecy”.

Equally clear, however, is that Philo’s detailed conceptualization of prophecy as an ecstatic moment in which rationality gives way to inspired utterance is heavily indebted to Plato.³⁷

³² J. B. WALLACE, “Spirit(s) in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” in this volume 309–340.

³³ Op. cit., 338.

³⁴ Op. cit., 338.

³⁵ C. R. HOLLADAY, “Spirit in Philo of Alexandria,” in this volume 341–363. For the Spirit in Philo, see also most recently V. RABENS, “*Pneuma* and the Beholding of God: Reading Paul in the Context of Philonic Mystical Traditions,” in Frey/Levison, *The Holy Spirit*, 293–329 (n. 3).

³⁶ Op. cit., 358.

³⁷ Op. cit., 362–363.

5. The New Testament Text Basis

Three pairs of the main papers at the symposium as well as (partly) the public lecture concentrated on the three most important witnesses for the Holy Spirit in the New Testament: Luke, John, and Paul.³⁸

5.1 Luke

In comparison to the other Synoptic Gospels, in Luke the Holy Spirit plays a much more significant role in the theological program of the author. Moreover, only in Luke does the Holy Spirit act like a character in the Gospel story. This becomes immediately clear if we take into account the literary composition of Luke-Acts as a whole. The Holy Spirit ties together both literary units of the Lukan 'Doppelwerk'.³⁹ As much as Jesus had been "full of the Holy Spirit" when he returned from the Jordan and was led by the Spirit into the wilderness (Luke 4:1), so also the apostles at Pentecost were "filled with the Holy Spirit" and began to speak in other languages "as the Spirit gave them ability" (Acts 2:4).⁴⁰ Whereas in the Gospel Jesus himself, being filled with and led by the Spirit, acts as the messenger of God (Luke 4:14, 18), in Acts the apostles are told to "be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8).⁴¹

The literary and theological link between Luke's Gospel and the book of Acts is underscored in particular by the ascension story by which the Jesus narrative is finished and at the same time the story about the beginnings of the church is opened. Moreover, the proclamation of the fulfillment of God's promises in the coming of Jesus, filled with the Holy Spirit and anointed as God's Messiah (Luke 4:21), is continued by the apostles, who, empowered by the Holy Spirit, proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ (Acts 2:16–18). Calling his disciples "witnesses of these things" (i.e., the suffering and the resurrection of the Messiah from the dead on the third day), Jesus by his last words in the Gospel announces to his disciples that he will be "sending upon you what

³⁸ These are also the core NT areas in the recent and quite relevant monograph by LEVISON, *Filled with the Spirit*, 253–427 (n. 20).

³⁹ Cf. P. POKORNÝ, *Theologie der lukanischen Schriften* (FRLANT 174; Göttingen, 1998), 71–75. Most recently, cf. H. GUNKEL, *Der Heilige Geist bei Lukas. Theologisches Profil, Grund und Intention der lukanischen Pneumatologie* (WUNT II.389; Tübingen, 2015).

⁴⁰ At both places, Luke uses the same root -πλη-: πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου (Luke 4:1), ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες πνεύματος ἁγίου (Acts 2:4).

⁴¹ Like Jesus, who as the Messiah carries (ἐπ' ἐμέ) the "Spirit of the Lord" when he evangelizes the poor, the apostles will "receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you" (ἐπελθόντος) to become witnesses for the gospel. Cf. F. NEIRYNCK, "Luke 4,16–30 and the Unity of Luke-Acts," in *The Unity of Luke-Acts* (BETHL 142; ed. J. Verheyden; Leuven, 1999), 357–395.

my Father promised” and pronounces that they will be “clothed with power from on high” (Luke 24:45–49). It is clear for any reader educated in the biblical tradition that nothing else can be in view here than the Holy Spirit. However, this is explicitly pronounced only later, at the recurrence of the same scene in Acts 1:6–11: “But you will receive power when *the Holy Spirit* has come upon you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth.” (1:8) The explicit reference in Acts 1:5 back to the baptism scene of Jesus by John as told in the Gospel (Luke 3:16) is an additional demonstration that both parts of Luke-Acts belong together with regard to their understanding of Holy Spirit.⁴²

Both of the two main papers in this volume that deal with Luke focus on a theological interpretation of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts, but they do so by emphasizing different aspects. *Daniel Marguerat* right from the beginning concentrates his investigation on the role of the Holy Spirit in the church according to Luke-Acts. Therefore, he starts with an analysis of the Pentecost story: For Luke, “the Spirit ... comes at Pentecost”.⁴³ From this point of departure, Marguerat briefly looks back to the Jesus story in Luke’s Gospel and highlights the fact that during Jesus’s lifetime only Jesus, but not his disciples, were endowed with the Holy Spirit. “Jesus exclusively monopolizes the Spirit.”⁴⁴ By this fact, the unique status of Jesus in the Gospel story as ‘the Son’ is emphasized. Therefore, only after Jesus’s resurrection do the believers receive the Spirit. As Peter makes it clear in his sermon at Pentecost, Christ “exalted at the right hand of God, and having received from the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit ... has poured out this that you both see and hear” (Acts 2:33), “a pretty pre-Trinitarian formula indeed”, as Marguerat remarks.⁴⁵ In his interpretation of Acts, Marguerat focuses on the Spirit in the church by emphasizing the missionary character and the ‘democratic’ structure of Luke’s understanding of the Spirit (*every* believer is equipped with the Spirit), its universal scope, and its relatedness to Israel.

Christos Karakolis, on the other hand, at the beginning of his contribution, asks a rather ‘dogmatic’ or Christological question: Is the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts to be understood as a personal entity or an impersonal power?⁴⁶ By this question, Karakolis takes on a controversial debate in contemporary

⁴² Cf. Acts 1:5: “for John baptized with water, but you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit”; Luke 3:16: “I baptize you with water; but one who is more powerful than I is coming; I am not worthy to untie the thong of his sandals. He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire.”

⁴³ D. MARGUERAT, “The Work of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts: A Western Perspective,” in this volume 111–128 (quotation: 114).

⁴⁴ Op. cit., 114.

⁴⁵ Op. cit., 115.

⁴⁶ C. KARAKOLIS, “The Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts: Personal Entity or Impersonal Power? A Synchronic Approach,” in this volume 87–109.

Western exegesis on the ‘personal’ character of the Holy Spirit. In the ancient church, by contrast, the theological debate about the Holy Spirit was much more focused on divinity than on personhood. Modern exegesis, however, is divided about the personal character of the Spirit according to Luke. Methodologically, Karakolis concentrates on a literary, synchronic approach by examining all references to the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts and by comparing them with other characters in the narrative. By this analysis, however, Karakolis does not seek to answer the doctrinal question mentioned above, but rather he focuses on the ‘literary’ question of “whether in Luke-Acts the Holy Spirit is an individual character or not”.⁴⁷ Therefore, his approach is predominantly a semantic one, but with a central theological question in mind. The results of his analysis are of particular importance with regard to the numerous activities of the Holy Spirit described in Luke-Acts. Actions of the Spirit are expressed by different verbs, and also by the interaction of the Holy Spirit with other characters in the story. Therefore, in contrast to other, more impersonal ‘spiritual’ powers, “Luke presents the Holy Spirit as a distinct narrative character”.⁴⁸ Only after reconstructing the narratological value of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts does Karakolis turn to the questions of the relationship between Jesus and the Spirit and of the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the church. His results are very similar to those of Marguerat. Karakolis likewise emphasizes that “the identity and the work of the Holy Spirit is revealed in and through the community of Jesus Christ’s believers”, that “the Holy Spirit has a very important impact upon the lives of all members of the Christian church”, that “the Holy Spirit can only be adequately revealed in its fullness by its presence in the post-Easter community of believers-name within the Christian church”, and that “the work of the Spirit is very much understood in close connection with the missionary work of the Christian community and with its witness of faith”.⁴⁹

In addition to Luke, Matthew and Mark also belong to the witnesses for the Holy Spirit among the Gospels. *Armand Puig i Tàrrach*, in his paper on the Holy Spirit and evil spirits, combines the evidence in all Synoptic Gospels for the ministry of Jesus.⁵⁰ The beginning of Jesus’s ministry, according to Puig i Tàrrach, is marked by two closely-related events: the theophany at the river Jordan and the ‘demonophany’ in the desert.⁵¹ This combination of two appearances of the transcendent world in the beginning of the ministry of Jesus according to the gospel narratives “constitutes in effect a single founda-

⁴⁷ Op. cit., 88.

⁴⁸ Op. cit., 99.

⁴⁹ Op. cit., 108.

⁵⁰ A. PUIG I TÀRRECH, “Holy Spirit and Evil Spirits the Ministry of Jesus,” in this volume 365–393.

⁵¹ Cf. Mark 1:10, 12.

tional event consisting of two episodes: the theophany, including the descent of the Spirit, and the temptations in the desert, including Satan's attack".⁵² The power of the Holy Spirit, distributed to Jesus at baptism and testified by his vision of Satan falling from heaven (Luke 10:18), remained determinative for his ministry. "Jesus's control over evil spirits becomes one of the most notable and particular characteristics of his activity."⁵³

At this point, it may be appropriate to take into consideration the remaining references to the Holy Spirit in Matthew and Mark also: Working on the basis of the Two-Source Hypothesis, the conjunction of the baptism of Jesus by John with the endowment of Jesus with the Holy Spirit belonged already to Mark's story (cf. Mark 1:8, 10). Matthew and Luke, respectively, took over this episode from Mark⁵⁴ and inserted it in their own narrative constructions of the beginnings of Jesus. However, already in their infancy narratives, both Matthew and Luke had independently assigned to the Holy Spirit a decisive role with regard to the origin of Jesus (Matt 1:18, 20; Luke 1:35). Nevertheless, the importance of the Holy Spirit for the public ministry of Jesus in Matthew and Luke has not been thereby reduced, even though both highlighted the formative role of the Holy Spirit for Jesus from his origins.

Two passages in Matthew, which have no exact parallels in Mark and Luke, are of particular importance for Matthew's understanding of the Holy Spirit: In one of his formula quotations, Matthew quotes in 12:18–21 from Isaiah 42:1–4, indicating thereby that Jesus in his healing service is to be understood as the Servant of the Lord upon whom God has put *His Spirit*.⁵⁵ This corresponds to the following pericope (Matt 12:22–30) where Matthew combines a passage from Mark with one from the Double Tradition ("Q").⁵⁶ Different from both Luke and Mark, Matthew explicitly points to the *Spirit of God* when it comes to the question of the authority by which Jesus is able to cast out the demons, demonstrating thereby that the kingdom of God has come.⁵⁷ In the following section which concludes his composition (12:31–

⁵² Op. cit., 390.

⁵³ Op. cit., 390.

⁵⁴ Cf. Matt 3:11–17; Luke 3:15–22; both references to the πνεῦμα in Mark are taken over in Matthew and Luke.

⁵⁵ Cf. Matt 12:18: "Here is my servant, whom I have chosen, my beloved, with whom my soul is well pleased. I will put my Spirit upon him, and he will proclaim justice to the Gentiles."

⁵⁶ The disputation on Jesus and Beelzebul, cf. Mark 3:22–27; Luke 11:14–23.

⁵⁷ Luke 11:20 has "by the finger of God" instead of "by the Spirit of God". Cf. K.-W. NIEBUHR, "Jesu Heilungen und Exorzismen. Ein Stück Theologie des Neuen Testaments," in *Frühjudentum und Neues Testament im Horizont Biblischer Theologie. Mit einem Anhang zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti* (WUNT 162; ed. W. Kraus and K.-W. Niebuhr; Tübingen, 2003), 99–112, 101–104.

32), Matthew again combines Mark and the Double Tradition.⁵⁸ Here, Jesus identifies everybody who is against him⁵⁹ with those who sin against the Spirit:

Therefore I tell you, people will be forgiven for every sin and blasphemy, but blasphemy against the Spirit will not be forgiven. Whoever speaks a word against the Son of Man will be forgiven, but whoever speaks against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in this age or in the age to come.

Thus, only Matthew, among the Synoptic Gospels, focuses on God's Spirit when he tries to explain the true origin of the authority of Jesus in his healing service and the fundamental cause for the opposition Jesus had to face in his ministry.

The importance of the Holy Spirit in Matthew can also be underlined by a brief remark on Matt 28:19. This passage has been of particular weight for later developments of Trinitarian church doctrine in ancient Christian theology,⁶⁰ even though in Matthew the focus is more on mission and baptism than on Christology. Nevertheless, in its triadic formulation the reference to "the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" corresponds to similar phrases in the Pauline letters⁶¹ and may go back to an early Christian baptism formula.⁶² Therefore, perhaps, the Holy Spirit in Matthew deserves more attention than it actually receives in New Testament scholarship, as well as in the volume at hand.

Even though there is only scarce evidence for the work of the Holy Spirit and the church in Mark, nevertheless, as the paper by *Joel Marcus* can testify, "the interrelated realities represented by these terms are very much at home in the Markan narrative and, one would suppose, in the Markan world".⁶³ In particular, "the *opposition* between the unclean spirits and the Holy Spirit is an important feature of Mark's unveiling of the 'spirit' theme in his Gospel".⁶⁴ By a critical review of one position in recent research on Mark (the absent Lord as the main focus of this gospel), Marcus demonstrates that, according to Mark, "Jesus *is* present in the world, despite having, in one sense, gone away".⁶⁵ Referring to a similar view in John, he concludes: "one

⁵⁸ The blasphemy against the Spirit, cf. Mark 3:28–30; Luke 12:10.

⁵⁹ Cf. Matt 12:30.

⁶⁰ Cf. U. LUZ, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus. 4. Teilband: Mt 26–28* (EKK I/4; Düsseldorf und Zürich, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2002), 452–454.

⁶¹ Cf. 1 Cor 12:4–6; 2 Cor 13:13; Gal 4:6; Rom 8:15–16.

⁶² Cf. *Did.* 7.1, 3.

⁶³ J. MARCUS, "The Spirit and the Church in the Gospel of Mark," in this volume 395–403 (quotation: 396).

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, 395.

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, 400.

of the main purposes of the Gospel is to assure Jesus' followers that he is still present with them despite all evidence to the contrary".⁶⁶

5.2 John

The most distinguished feature of pneumatology in the Gospel of John⁶⁷ certainly is the identification of the Holy Spirit as the *παράκλητος* (advocate or counsellor).⁶⁸ This remarkable figure appears suddenly and exclusively in the so-called Farewell Discourse (John 14–16), plus one unique reference in the First Epistle of John where this figure is explicitly identified as "Jesus Christ the righteous" (1 John 2:1).

Nevertheless, more is told about the Holy Spirit in John, such as Jesus's address to the disciples after his resurrection and their commission, endowed with Holy Spirit, to forgive or to retain sins (John 20:19–23), or Jesus's talk with Nicodemus about the "wind who blows where it chooses" (3:3–13), and Jesus's statement about his own words as "spirit and life" (6:63), or the declaration of the narrator that Jesus's disciples were to receive the spirit only after he was glorified (7:39).⁶⁹ In his talk with the Samaritan woman, Jesus qualifies the time to come as the hour "when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth" and continues this statement by an identification of God and the Spirit: "God is spirit, and those who worship him must worship in spirit and truth." (4:23–24)⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Op. cit., 400.

⁶⁷ For a theologically-oriented overview, cf. R. SCHNACKENBURG, "Die johanneische Gemeinde und ihre Geisterfahrung," in *Das Johannesevangelium. IV. Teil: Ergänzende Auslegungen und Exkurse* (HThK IV/4; Freiburg, 1984), 33–58. For more recent monographs, see C. BENNEMA, *The Power of Saving Wisdom: An Investigation of Spirit and Wisdom in Relation to the Soteriology of the Fourth Gospel* (WUNT II.148; Tübingen, 2002); C. HOEGEN-ROHLS, *Der nachösterliche Johannes* (WUNT II.84; Tübingen, 1996).

⁶⁸ John 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7. Cf. J. FREY, *Die johanneische Eschatologie. Bd. III: Die eschatologische Verkündigung in den johanneischen Texten* (WUNT 117; Tübingen, 2000), 159–164, 182–204; H.-C. KAMMLER, "Jesus Christus und der Geistparaklet. Eine Studie zur johanneischen Verhältnisbestimmung von Pneumatologie und Christologie," in O. HOFIUS and H.-C. KAMMLER, *Johannesstudien. Untersuchungen zur Theologie des vierten Evangeliums* (WUNT 88; Tübingen, 1996), 87–190; TURNER, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 76–87 (n. 15).

⁶⁹ For an overview, cf. F. HAHN, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Bd. I: Die Vielfalt des Neuen Testaments* (Tübingen, 2002), 658–671. Cf. also M. BECKER, "Spirit in Relationship – Pneumatology in the Gospel of John," in Frey/Levison, *The Holy Spirit*, 331–341 (n. 3).

⁷⁰ A similarly explicit identification can be found only in Paul, cf. 2 Cor 3:17, where it is the Lord (*κύριος*) who is identified as *πνεῦμα*. From the Exodus story referred to by Paul in the context, it is clear that the Lord has to be God (see for this RABENS, "The Holy Spirit and Deification in Paul: A 'Western Perspective'," in this volume, 187–220, 209–211).

Therefore, more so than in Luke, in John the Holy Spirit seems to be mentioned predominantly with regard to the disciples or the believers respectively and their relationship to God or Jesus. This makes John an outstanding subject for the topic of the Holy Spirit and the church. However, the ecclesiological aspect does not diminish the Christological and soteriological importance of the Holy Spirit in John. Rather, it is Jesus who by his words gives life to his disciples (6:63). And it is in the encounter with the glorified Christ that “the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for the Father seeks such as these to worship him” (4:23). True worship to God and to the glorified Christ, ‘*ortho-doxia*’, therefore, is what pneumatology in John is about!

Predrag Dragutinović in his essay in the volume at hand emphasizes this communicative dimension of the Holy Spirit in the Gospel of John. Even the very language in John’s Gospel – in particular the frequent use of pronouns and verbs in the second-person plural – “reveals a profound connection between the Spirit and the believing community – that is, the Church”.⁷¹ Working on the methodological basis of discourse analysis, Dragutinović examines John 20:19–23 as a prominent text with regard to the theme of the Holy Spirit and the church. Discourse analysis he defines (in a quote from A. B. du Toit) as a means to “open up the main contours of a given text” and to disclose its inner development and main and sub-themes. Of special importance in the Gospel of John are verbal allusions to other texts where the Spirit is mentioned, particularly to the Paraclete in the Farewell Discourse: “Based on the promises of the Farewell Discourse, Jesus in John 20:19–23 *acts through the Spirit in the community*.”⁷² Therefore, the presence of the Holy Spirit in the church is not an individualistic experience, but it constitutes the church as a loving community. Following a line of interpretation in patristic exegesis, Dragutinović concludes his contribution by observing that, with regard to the Gospel of John, “where the Spirit is, there is also love of others”.⁷³

Andreas Dettwiler also interprets the Gospel of John from a primarily synchronic, in this case narratological, perspective.⁷⁴ Based on his monograph on the Farewell Discourses,⁷⁵ he first examines every reference to the Paraclete from this part of the Gospel to clarify the semantics with regard to the Spirit-Paraclete. Asking why the Johannine community used precisely the unusual

⁷¹ P. DRAGUTINOVIĆ, “The Holy Spirit and the Church in the Gospel of John: A Discourse Analysis of John 20:19–23,” in this volume 129–147 (quotation: 145).

⁷² Op. cit., 140.

⁷³ Op. cit., 147.

⁷⁴ A. DETTWILER, “The Holy Spirit in the Gospel of John from a Western Perspective,” in this volume 149–171.

⁷⁵ A. DETTWILER, *Die Gegenwart des Erhöhten. Eine exegetische Studie zu den johanneischen Abschiedsreden (Joh 13,31–16,33) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres Relecture-Charakters* (FRLANT 169; Göttingen, 1995).

term *παράκλητος* to draw a narrative link between Jesus as a figure of the narration and the Holy Spirit as the future representative of the risen Christ, Dettwiler comes to a surprising conclusion:

It could be that the Johannine School used this very rare term ... precisely because of its scarcity, semantic flexibility, and openness. It appears to have been an adequate term to mirror the innovative power of Johannine thinking on pneumatology.⁷⁶

By a thorough theological interpretation of all four Paraclete sayings in their immediate context, Dettwiler then illustrates the innovative and creative way by which the author of (or the school behind) John's Gospel develop their understanding of the presence of the risen Christ in the post-Easter church. After a rapid survey of all Spirit passages outside the Farewell Discourse, Dettwiler concludes by emphasizing the Christological and soteriological character of the references to the Holy Spirit in John. The Holy Spirit, who presents the risen Christ in the post-Easter community of believers, acts like an interpreter. He primarily has a hermeneutical function.

No more charismatic or ecstatic phenomena, no more spirit-inspired miraculous acts, but the miracle of the intelligibility and the innovative re-reading of the Jesus tradition – that is the project of the Spirit-Paraclete.⁷⁷

N. T. Wright, in his contribution, which goes back to his public lecture in Belgrade, combines both John and Paul to develop his idea of a New Testament pneumatology rooted in the biblical and ancient Jewish expectation of God's return to his people at the end of time.⁷⁸ In John's Gospel, Wright detects this link already in the statement of the prologue: "the Word became flesh, and dwelt in our midst (*ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν*)" (John 1:14). The phrase quoted in Greek obviously refers to the tabernacle in the Exodus story.⁷⁹ "For John, the incarnation is the reality towards which the wilderness tabernacle, and then the Jerusalem Temple, had been pointing all along."⁸⁰ However, this does not concern Christology only, but pneumatology as well, because "for John the Spirit is again and again the one through whom the reality of the son's incarnation becomes present, operative and effective in his followers".⁸¹ By dealing not only with the Farewell Discourse, but first of all with passages

⁷⁶ Op. cit., 154.

⁷⁷ Op. cit., 170.

⁷⁸ N. T. WRIGHT, "The Glory Returns: Spirit, Temple and Eschatology in Paul and John," in this volume 73–86. For Paul, see below.

⁷⁹ Cf. 2 Macc 14:35: "O Lord of all, though you have need of nothing, you were pleased that there should be a temple for your habitation among us (*ἡὐδόκησας ναὸν τῆς σῆς σκηνώσεως ἐν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι*)."

⁸⁰ Op. cit., 81.

⁸¹ Ibidem.

from the first part of the Gospel, Wright in his contribution adds an important element to our understanding of the Holy Spirit in John.

5.3 Paul

In Paul's letters, we find both the most extensive and the most multifaceted use of the term πνεῦμα and its cognates in the New Testament.⁸² To organize the rich material, it may be helpful to distinguish between eschatological, Christological, soteriological, ecclesiological and ethical arguments, yet for Paul, the point is that all these arguments belong together and are grounded in his experience of Jesus Christ as God's messiah for Israel and for the believers from the Gentiles.⁸³

From a tradition-historical point of view, everything Paul writes about the Holy Spirit is related to the biblical understanding of God's creative power as testified by the Old Testament writings and by their reception and interpretation in early Judaism. On the other hand, Paul is writing in Greek, and he is 'thinking', in a way, like a Greek-speaking, educated Jew from the Hellenistic-Roman period. Therefore, when he uses the category of 'spirit/s', he must at least be aware that there are, besides his own Jewish religious tradition, alternative ways of thinking about 'spirit/s', including the philosophical tradition of the Greeks,⁸⁴ or the rich world of religious and 'magical' beliefs and practices, or even medical theory and practice.⁸⁵ However, in addition to these two very different but nonetheless interrelated traditions of thinking and believing, there is a third aspect that for Paul takes the lead when he speaks and writes about the s/Spirit/s in his letters: It is his own, very distinctive, personal experience of the power of the Holy Spirit when God revealed his

⁸² More than a third of all references for the noun πνεῦμα are from the Corpus Paulinum. For an overview, see J. KREMER, "πνεῦμα κτλ.," *EWNT* 3: 279–293, and, still very valuable, E. SCHWEIZER, "πνεῦμα κτλ.," *ThWNT* 6: 394–453 (for Paul: 413–436).

⁸³ For a comprehensive exegetical treatment of the evidence in Paul see G. D. FEE, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, 1994). For thorough monographs on the Spirit in Paul see V. RABENS, *The Holy Spirit an Ethics in Paul: Transformation and Empowering for Religious-Ethical Life* (WUNT II.283; Tübingen, 2nd ed. 2013); F. W. HORN, *Das Angeld des Geistes. Studien zur paulinischen Pneumatologie* (FRLANT 154; Göttingen, 1992). For an overview on more recent research, see RABENS, *op. cit.*, 253–306.

⁸⁴ Cf. ENGBERG-PEDERSEN, *Cosmology and the Self* (n. 23).

⁸⁵ Cf. T. W. MARTIN, "Paul's Pneumatological Statements and Ancient Medical Texts," in *The New Testament and Early Christian Literature in Greco-Roman Context: Studies in Honor of David E. Aune* (NT.S 122; ed. J. Fotopoulos; Leiden, 2006), 105–126. For a critical discussion of Martin, cf. the contribution by RABENS, in this volume 187–220.

Son to him to proclaim among the Gentiles the gospel about Jesus Christ crucified and risen from the dead (Gal 1:16).⁸⁶

As can be derived from those passages where Paul looks back to the beginnings of his churches founded by his proclamation of the gospel, what had been going on then was “not in word only, but also in power and *in the Holy Spirit* and with full conviction” (1Thess 1:5). His first believers in Thessaloniki, as he writes, “became imitators of us and of the Lord, for in spite of persecution you received the word with joy *inspired by the Holy Spirit*” (1:6). In a similar way, but this time in a very polemical tone, he reminds his churches in Galatia of the beginnings of their belief:

Did you *receive the Spirit* by doing the works of the law or by believing what you heard? Are you so foolish? *Having started with the Spirit*, are you now ending with the flesh? ... Well then, does *God supply you with the Spirit* and work miracles among you by your doing the works of the law, or by your believing what you heard? (Gal 3:2–5)

To the believers in Corinth, who are proud of ‘having’ spirit and wisdom, Paul writes:

When I came to you ... my speech and my proclamation were not with plausible words of wisdom, but *with a demonstration of the Spirit and of power*, so that your faith might rest not on human wisdom but on the power of God. (1 Cor 2:1–4)

And in the letter to the Philippians, where he again is very polemical in tone in order to defend his gospel, Paul reminds his audience of the climactic moment of his own life when he regarded “everything as loss because of the surpassing value of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord” and “because of the surpassing value of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord”. Since then, Paul has been keen “to know Christ and the power of his resurrection and the sharing of his sufferings by becoming like him in his death, if somehow I may attain the resurrection from the dead” (Phil 3:7–10).⁸⁷ Many of the terms and conceptions Paul is using here are related to biblical and early Jewish eschatological expectations to which also belonged the expectation that God will pour out his spirit on all flesh at that time.⁸⁸ Therefore, it is no surprise that Paul, in an ironic turn, in the face of his opponents in Philippi, claims: “For it is we who are the circumcision, *who worship in the Spirit of God* and boast in Christ Jesus.” (Phil 3:3)

After all, experience of the Spirit in Paul’s churches, received as God’s eschatological donation and based on his proclamation of the gospel of Christ crucified, marks the starting point for Paul’s understanding of the Holy Spirit.

⁸⁶ Cf. J. D. G. DUNN, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Edinburgh, 1998), 177–181, 260–264.

⁸⁷ Cf. K.-W. NIEBUHR, *Heidenapostel aus Israel. Die jüdische Identität des Paulus nach ihrer Darstellung in seinen Briefen* (WUNT 62; Tübingen, 1992), 74–76, 79–111.

⁸⁸ Cf. Joel 3:1–5; Isa 42:1; 44:3–5; Ezek 36:26–27; 37:1–14.

Everything that he thinks and writes about the Holy Spirit is grounded in this experience, which he, as the founding apostle, shares with his churches. Therefore, if we ask about the Holy Spirit and the church in Paul, we cannot separate his references to outwardly visible ‘charismatic’ powers in his churches⁸⁹ from his statements about the Spirit who is ‘in’ the believers.⁹⁰ We should not set in opposition the views that, on the one hand, baptism and reception of the Spirit belong together,⁹¹ from the observation, on the other hand, that Paul never mentions baptism when he speaks about his initial proclamation of the gospel and about the experience of the power of God’s spirit connected to these events.⁹² Likewise, we should not play off Paul’s conviction about Christ as God’s Son sent into the world when the fullness of time had come and born of a woman under the law (Gal 4:4), against his view (perhaps quoted from a confessional formula known to his addressees) that Jesus “was declared to be Son of God with power *according to the spirit of holiness* by resurrection from the dead” (Rom 1:4).

The two contributions devoted to the Holy Spirit in Paul in the present volume approach their topic in different ways. *John Fotopoulos* starts with reflections on the presence (or rather, non-presence) of the Holy Spirit in modern Orthodox and ‘non-Orthodox’ theology and church life.⁹³ Then he goes on to analyze all references to the Spirit in Paul’s (undisputed) letters. He distinguishes between “the Holy Spirit as gift to the believer; the Holy Spirit as dwelling/living in the believer; the Holy Spirit engaged in action in the believer; and finally the Holy Spirit as personal God (and thus a person of the Holy Trinity)”.⁹⁴ In the end, he collects every hint in Paul’s letters that the Spirit can be seen as personal or as a person. “For Paul, the Spirit is not a mechanical force or divine laser beam of sorts. Rather, for Paul, the Spirit is God’s very self, one divine person within the Triune God.”⁹⁵ Nevertheless, according to Fotopoulos, all four themes dealt with in his contribution “reflect an Orthodox Christian perspective on Paul and the Spirit”.⁹⁶

In a more systematic way, *Volker Rabens* in his article⁹⁷ focuses “on one of the more debated aspects of the vitalizing and community-building effect of

⁸⁹ Cf. 1 Cor 12:1–13; 14:1–25; 2 Cor 11:4; 12:18; Gal 3:1–5; 5:16–26; Phil 1:27; 1 Thess 1:5–6.

⁹⁰ Cf. Rom 5:5; 8:9, 11; 1 Cor 3:16; 6:17; 2 Cor 1:22; Gal 4:6; Phil 2:1; 3:3.

⁹¹ Cf. 1 Cor 12:13.

⁹² See references given above.

⁹³ J. FOTOPOULOS, “The Holy Spirit and the Church in Paul from an Orthodox Perspective,” in this volume 173–186.

⁹⁴ Op. cit., 176.

⁹⁵ Op. cit., 183.

⁹⁶ Op. cit., 186.

⁹⁷ V. RABENS, “The Holy Spirit and Deification in Paul: A ‘Western Perspective’,” in this volume 187–220.

the Spirit in Paul's communities" – namely, on "*the transforming work of the Spirit from the perspective of deification or theosis*".⁹⁸ By focusing on theosis/deification, he chooses a topic of particular importance in the tradition of Orthodox theology. But in more recent times, this topic has found growing interest also in Western exegesis. Building on his monograph on the Holy Spirit and ethics in Paul⁹⁹ and after discussing several terminological problems, his main objective is to clarify how, exactly, the transforming work of the Spirit in the human being has to be understood based on the writings of Paul. In a critical discussion of recent approaches that emphasize the Stoic background of Paul's view on the Spirit, Rabens argues "that the activity of the Spirit in the context of deification in Paul is better understood from a relational perspective".¹⁰⁰ This means that "the Spirit effects religious-ethical life predominantly by means of *intimate relationships* created by the Spirit *with God*".¹⁰¹ With regard to the 'personal' character of the Holy Spirit, he concludes "that a sensible way of conceptualizing the Holy Spirit in Paul is to speak of the Spirit as having 'personal traits'".¹⁰² Finally, as a test case for the transforming work of the Spirit in Paul, Rabens analyzes 2 Cor 3:18. He points out that the "the 'concept' of Spirit-worked transformation into the image of Christ ... in 2 Corinthians 3:18 ... appears to focus on the aspect of moral transformation".¹⁰³ Therefore,

it is precarious to comprehend human deification by the Spirit in Paul in the sense of (total) qualitative identity with God or in the sense of essential deification. It seems more appropriate to speak of deification in the sense of an attributive or *partial* qualitative identity: believers become more like God as they are transformed by the Spirit in God's intimate presence in the context of the body of Christ.¹⁰⁴

In addition to these 'twin papers' on Paul, *N. T. Wright* in his contribution also dealt with the Holy Spirit in Paul.¹⁰⁵ Referring to his recent book on Paul,¹⁰⁶ he brings into consideration the early Jewish expectation of God's return to his people at the end of time. This hope could be developed as part of a temple-theology based on the exodus tradition.¹⁰⁷ The point Wright

⁹⁸ Op. cit., 188.

⁹⁹ RABENS, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics* (n. 83); cf. Idem, "Power from In Between: The Relational Experience of the Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts in Paul's Churches," in, *The Spirit and Christ* (n. 21), 138–155; "Begeisternde Spiritualität. Geisterfahrungen im Leben der paulinischen Gemeinden," *GLern* 26 (2011), 133–147.

¹⁰⁰ RABENS, "The Holy Spirit and Deification," 200. (n. 97)

¹⁰¹ Ibidem.

¹⁰² Op. cit., 206.

¹⁰³ Op. cit., 218.

¹⁰⁴ Op. cit., 219.

¹⁰⁵ N. T. WRIGHT, "The Glory Returns," 77–81 (n. 78).

¹⁰⁶ N. T. WRIGHT, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (London/Minneapolis, 2013).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Exod 40:34–38; 1 Kgs 8; Ezek 43:2, 4–5.

wants to make “is that this hope, of the return of YHWH to Zion, shaped the earliest Christian beliefs about both Jesus and the Spirit, and that we can see this clearly in Paul and John”.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, he can speak of “an Exodus-based soteriology and a temple-based ecclesiology” in Paul (as in John, too).

It was at the Exodus that the glorious divine presence led the people through the wilderness and came to dwell in the tabernacle. In both cases, the early Christians give to the Spirit the role which in the Jewish narratives and symbols is played by YHWH himself. One cannot have a higher Pneumatology than this, nor a stronger basis for understanding what the church really is.¹⁰⁹

For a complete overview of the Holy Spirit and the church in New Testament scholarship,¹¹⁰ the evidence in the Catholic Epistles, the Letter to the Hebrews, and the book of Revelation would also have to be taken into account.¹¹¹ This cannot be done in this context. Nevertheless, the selection of texts and topics discussed in the volume at hand may be regarded as an entry into the rich and multifaceted world of reflection about the power of the Holy Spirit as experienced in the early Christian communities.

6. Reception History

In the development of ancient Christianity, the reception and experience of the Holy Spirit in the church formed a significant ingredient of church life. Probably, we have to suppose much more of such experiences in ancient churches than we find expressed in our written sources from early Christianity. Obviously, debates about the Holy Spirit were formative also for ancient Christian theology.¹¹² From the early Middle Ages, the controversy about the

¹⁰⁸ WRIGHT, “The Glory Returns,” 75 (n. 78).

¹⁰⁹ Op. cit., 77.

¹¹⁰ Cf. for a theologically reflective survey F. HAHN, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Bd. II: Die Einheit des Neuen Testaments. Thematische Darstellung* (Tübingen, 2002), 262–288.

¹¹¹ I can only refer here to the contributions in BURKE/WARRINGTON, *A Biblical Theology of the Holy Spirit* (n. 21) on 1 and 2 Peter by V. SCHAFROTH, op. cit., 238–249, on Hebrews by A. HODSON, op. cit., 226–237, and on the Johannine Epistles and Revelation by J. C. THOMAS, op. cit., 250–256; for Hebrews, see also most recently S. MOTYER, “The Spirit in Hebrews: No Longer Forgotten?,” in *The Spirit and Christ* (n. 21), 213–227; for Revelation, see J. C. THOMAS, “New Jerusalem and the Conversion of the Nations: An Exercise in Pneumatic Discernment (Rev. 21:1–22:5),” op. cit., 228–245.

¹¹² It is not the function of this introduction to give full bibliography. However, good points of entry into several areas of contemporary discussions include the following: W. D. HAUSCHILD, V. H. DRECOLL, eds., *Pneumatologie in der Alten Kirche* (Bern, 2004; collection of texts); G. WENZ, *Geist. Zum pneumatologischen Prozess altkirchlicher Lehrentwicklung* (Studium systematische Theologie 6; Göttingen, 2011); A. BRIGGMAN, *Ire-*

filioque, as part of the Nicene Creed's confession of belief regarding the Holy Spirit, became significant for the protracted process of separation between the Eastern and the Western church.¹¹³

Only a very small selection of topics from the rich and broad areas of research on the Holy Spirit in ancient Christianity could be dealt with during the symposium, and not all of the papers devoted to this topic could be included in the volume at hand. Nevertheless, scholarly contributions about the Holy Spirit and the church in Late Antiquity and in the Byzantine period formed an integral part of the symposium, and it was a deliberate decision not to limit the scope of our conference to canonical texts of the New Testament.

Katharina Bracht, in her contribution on Augustine and his predecessors,¹¹⁴ takes her point of departure from the controversy about the *filioque*. However, in the analysis that follows, she focuses on the use and understanding of NT texts by patristic authors, with a special focus on Augustine, who was formative for Western theology overall, but also on earlier Fathers who wrote on the Holy Spirit and its origin. In a second step, Bracht looks for developments in ancient discourses on the Holy Spirit that precede Augustine, again by analysing their use of NT texts (Tertullian, Origen, Athanasius, and Gregory of Nazianzus). From a methodological point of view, she demonstrates how Augustine and other ancient Christian theologians used quotations or allusions to biblical texts, but also rather free biblical collocations and phrases, to express their own understanding of the Holy Spirit. Although not focusing on only one or two basic reference texts in the Bible in the quest for the origin of the Holy Spirit, passages from John and Paul played a significant role, in particular the combination of John's sayings about the Paraclete in the Farewell Discourse with what Paul wrote in Gal 4:6. This combination of different passages from Scripture seems to be typical of the church fathers in their use of the Bible, as Bracht concludes:

Firstly, one can recognize that the quotation or composite quote – often identified through a citation formula – served as a form of interpretation or scriptural evidence. Secondly, biblical phrases, intertextual references, and extensive cluster formations were used in a new text. In patristic times, the philosophical-theological struggle about the notion of the

naeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit (Oxford, 2012); C. A. BEELEY, *Gregory of Nazianz on the Trinity and the Knowledge of God: In Your Light We Shall See Light* (Oxford, 2008); F. DÜNZL, *Pneuma. Funktionen des theologischen Begriffs in frühchristlicher Literatur* (JAC.E 30; Münster, 2000).

¹¹³ For more recent scholarly research about the *filioque*, cf. A. E. SIECIENSKI, *The Filioque: History of a Controversy* (Oxford, 2010); P. GEMEINHARDT, *Die Filioque-Kontroverse zwischen Ost- und Westkirche im Frühmittelalter* (AKG 82; Berlin/New York, 2002); B. OBERDORFER, *Filioque. Geschichte und Theologie eines ökumenischen Problems* (FSÖTh 96; Göttingen, 2001).

¹¹⁴ K. BRACHT, "Augustine and His Predecessors Interpreting the New Testament on the Origin of the Holy Spirit. The Question of *filioque*," in this volume 231–250.

Holy Spirit and his position in the trinitarian unity is invariably carried out in the exegesis of the biblical tradition and in its legitimation.¹¹⁵

The Orthodox perspective has been expressed in the contribution by *Demetrios Bathrellos*.¹¹⁶ He focuses on one single author from the late Byzantine period, St. Symeon of Thessalonica († 1429). However, like Bracht, Bathrellos also first sketches the major points of disagreement between the Latin and the Greek Church about the origin and the role of the Holy Spirit. In the main part of his paper, then, Professor Bathrellos investigates biblical quotations Symeon used in order to support his theology of the Holy Spirit, thereby demonstrating “how the New Testament shapes his Pneumatology and, vice versa, how his Pneumatology shapes the way in which he approaches and interprets the New Testament”.¹¹⁷ Interestingly enough, Symeon in his use of Scripture also focused on Paul and John, sometimes drawing on exactly the same reference texts as Augustine (John 15:26 and Gal 4:6 in particular), but with different theological results. Obviously, for Symeon’s arguments, not only verbal quotations from John or Paul are determinative, but his theological and hermeneutical convictions as well, such as the distinctions in Byzantine theology between God’s essence and his energies or between theology and economy. Consistent with the use of Scripture by Symeon, Bathrellos refers to the hermeneutical circle applied by Patristic theologians: “The Church follows the teaching of the New Testament, which, however, is understood on the basis of the life, the liturgy, and the doctrine of the Church.”¹¹⁸

Different traditions of interpretation of Scripture in the Eastern and Western churches are also discussed in the contribution by *Harald Buchinger* on the Holy Spirit and the Church in Liturgy.¹¹⁹ He focuses his investigation on the Eucharistic prayers as an exemplary case,

asking first how the Spirit is addressed in the earliest available evidence ..., then briefly reviewing the epicleseis of some developed rites, before discussing the problematic case of the Roman liturgy in the light of other evidence.¹²⁰

Finally, Buchinger critically evaluates the more recent renewal of the Eucharistic prayer in Western churches in the light of historical and ecumenical research.

¹¹⁵ Op. cit., 250.

¹¹⁶ D. BATHRELLOS, “The Holy Spirit and the New Testament in St. Symeon of Thessalonica († 1429),” in this volume 221–230.

¹¹⁷ Op. cit., 223.

¹¹⁸ Op. cit., 230.

¹¹⁹ H. BUCHINGER, “The Holy Spirit and the Church in Liturgy. A “Western Perspective”,” in this volume 251–284.

¹²⁰ Op. cit., 252.

Taras Khomych, in one of the contributions emerging from the seminars, also deals with the epiclesis as part of the eucharistic liturgy by taking into account all references available in and outside of the ‘official’ liturgical traditions of the churches, with a special emphasis on the *Acts of Thomas*.¹²¹ He acts on a suggestion widely accepted in recent research that “traces origins of the epiclesis back to earlier sources, associating the beginnings of these invocations with an Aramaic expression *Maranatha*”.¹²² One invocation of the Holy Spirit documented in the *Acts of Thomas* presumably was part of an early Christian ritual of initiation. “The Spirit is asked to come to/upon the initiates. A very similar invocation, embedded within the context of a Eucharistic celebration, is found somewhat later in the narrative.”¹²³ In the *Didache*, *μαραναθά* concludes lengthy eucharistic prayers. It might be interpreted as an invitation to Christ to be present at the Eucharist and thus viewed as the origin of the epiclesis. However, after a critical evaluation of the sources, Khomych concludes that

the ritual invocations found in the *Acts of Thomas*, which most probably stand at the origins of the development of the later epicleses, originated independently from the expression *μαραναθά*.¹²⁴

Not every author or group in early Christianity, however, developed their views about the importance of the Holy Spirit in the same way. In another contribution emerging from the seminars, *Tobias Nicklas* surveys the Ignatian letters for an “implicit or indirect pneumatology”.¹²⁵ In comparison to Paul, there are rather few references to the Holy Spirit in Ignatius; his own theological thinking is shaped predominantly by a ‘binitarian’ view of God and Jesus Christ. However, if one takes into account what Ignatius has to say about charisms and grace, there is some evidence for a more ‘implicit pneumatology’ or, better to say, “a partly ‘hidden’ pneumatology”.¹²⁶ But Ignatius’s main intentions are directed to the unity of the church.

From Ignatius’s perspective, his communities are not churches without Spirit, as long as they remain in unity with the bishop, the council of presbyters, and the deacons, a unity that also guarantees their unity with ‘their God Christ’ and the Father.¹²⁷

¹²¹ T. KHOMYCH, “From Maranatha to Epiclesis? An Inquiry into the Origins of Spirit Invocations in Early Christianity,” in this volume 427–440.

¹²² Op. cit., 428.

¹²³ Op. cit., 431.

¹²⁴ Op. cit., 440.

¹²⁵ T. NICKLAS, “A Church without Spirit? Pneumatology in the Writings of Ignatius of Antioch,” in this volume 405–426.

¹²⁶ Op. cit., 430.

¹²⁷ Op. cit., 424.

7. Conclusion

When theologians from the East and from the West meet to exchange their ideas about the Holy Spirit and the church, one may expect to gain fresh insights into one of the most important points of divergence between Eastern and Western theology. I refer to the quarrel about the *filioque*, which to this day separates the churches in the Orthodox Eastern and in the Roman-Catholic and Protestant Western traditions. In fact, this well-known and much-debated theological dispute was also touched on during the symposium in Belgrade, and several of the contributions published in this volume may offer new impulses to continue research on this matter, in particular those which dealt with the reception history of New Testament texts. Nevertheless, if we take our point of departure from the New Testament, it becomes clear very soon that this theological debate originated only later from developments in the church doctrine about the Holy Spirit and Jesus Christ, but was not yet discussed on this level in the NT texts themselves. On the contrary, we noticed that different positions in this doctrinal conflict often were supported by reference to the same biblical evidence and that the same biblical writings or even quotations were used to establish contrasting theological convictions. This leads us to the important insight that the responsible use and evaluation of biblical writings in doctrinal debates requires more than just looking for the right passages from the Bible to quote. The hermeneutical problem, therefore, remains of key importance for any theologically informed discussion about the Holy Spirit and the church, especially when biblical scholars want to take an active part. Understanding, strengthening, and further developing hermeneutics in their own churches and theological traditions, respectively, should be of particular importance for any common undertaking of biblical scholars from the East and from the West.

With regard to this hermeneutical task and challenge, we should, perhaps, reflect more thoroughly on a dimension of theological interpretation of the Bible that has been touched upon only in passing in our symposium and in the contributions to this volume: the church doctrine of the inspiration of Holy Scripture. This doctrine can be traced back already to the New Testament itself, where the Apostle Paul writes to Timothy, his “beloved child”, and calls him to “guard the good treasure entrusted to you, with the help of the Holy Spirit living in us” (2 Tim 1:14). Later in his letter, the Apostle continues his admonition by referring Timothy to the Scriptures:

But as for you, continue in what you have learned and firmly believed, knowing from whom you learned it, and how from childhood you have known the sacred writings that are able to instruct you for salvation through faith in Christ Jesus. All scripture is inspired by God and is useful for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteous-

ness, so that everyone who belongs to God may be proficient, equipped for every good work.¹²⁸

Interpreted in a hermeneutically reflective way, such a challenging and provocative exhortation for any ‘modern’ way of interpreting the biblical texts may deserve more attention than it generally receives today. For a contemporary understanding of the Bible in our churches, not only historical and literary methods of interpretation are worthwhile, but also an attitude to the biblical texts that regards them as an expression of the voice and the will of God to be listened to and to be understood by the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Notwithstanding any historically reasonable distinctions between the Pastoral Epistles on the one hand and the uncontested Pauline letters on the other, from a theological perspective it may be fruitful to take into consideration here also what Paul writes in 1 Thessalonians about God’s will and the holiness of the church. When he admonishes the church in Thessalonica to seek for instructions from the Lord Jesus Christ to organize their lives in holiness according to the will of God, he justifies this by reference to God and to the Holy Spirit as the ‘teacher’ of the church:

For God did not call us to impurity but in holiness. Therefore whoever rejects this rejects not human authority but God, *who also gives his Holy Spirit to you*. Now concerning love of the brothers and sisters, you do not need to have anyone write to you, *for you yourselves have been taught by God* to love one another.¹²⁹

Another aspect of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament was dealt with more thoroughly: the relationship between the Holy Spirit and Jesus Christ. Even though the later developments in church doctrine about Christology and Trinitarian dogma are not yet present in the NT writings terminologically, there are many texts in the New Testament that, either by their narrative design or even by their theological argument, point to the intrinsic connection between the Holy Spirit and Jesus Christ or God, respectively. Moreover, from the perspective of theological interpretation, one may judge that the Holy Spirit in the New Testament can only be understood appropriately if he is related to and bound to the one and only God in his dealing with the world and with all humankind in Jesus Christ. This inseparable relationship of the one and only God to Jesus Christ, his earthly ministry, his death, and his resurrection, bound together by the power of the Holy Spirit, may be regarded as an identifying marker of any Christian theology whose fundamentals are rooted in the New Testament.

¹²⁸ 2 Tim 3:14–17.

¹²⁹ Cf. 1 Thess 4:1–12 (quotation vv. 7–9). One may also note here the reference to God, to Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Spirit, which are inseparably connected in Paul’s admonition.

The New Testament writings offer abundant evidence for the conviction of the first Christians that the Holy Spirit was a lively reality experienced in the churches right from the beginning. Considered more closely, the evidence demonstrates that this conviction often was deeply rooted in promises of the Old Testament, alive also in early Judaism, that God at the end of time would pour out his Holy Spirit on his people and on all believers. From there, the reception of the Holy Spirit in the first Christian churches could be interpreted as an eschatological event or even as the presence of the end of time, as 'realized eschatology'. Hence, from the point of view of Biblical Theology, the New Testament evidence for the Holy Spirit in the church can also be regarded as an important theological link between the Old and the New Testaments, connected by convictions found in early Judaism.

In conclusion, there exists a great plurality and diversity of references to the Holy Spirit and the church in the New Testament. It has been a challenge to deal with this diversity at a conference devoted to the theological understanding of the Bible on the basis of the approaches to the New Testament used in modern biblical scholarship. The multifaceted testimony of the New Testament writings must not be hidden or flattened by any attempt to find theological meaning therein. Nonetheless, biblical scholars should not be satisfied with a colourful picture of plurality or with an accidentally structured collection of intriguing fragments. If they take seriously their task – and if they take seriously what the texts of the New Testament want to express – they will also have to listen to the living voice of the one and only God who by the power of his Spirit through the Holy Scripture speaks to his people and calls them to faith in His Son Jesus Christ.

Part One:
Biblical Scholarship in Serbia

The Holy Spirit and the Church

An Orthodox Perspective

Irinej Bulović

Opening Address (26 August 2013). Presentation at the Sixth International Symposium of Western and Eastern New Testament Scholars “The Holy Spirit in the New Testament and the Church” (Belgrade, 25–31 August 2013).

Your Excellency,
Your Graces,
reverend Fathers,
respected colleagues,
dear friends,
brothers and sisters.

In this festal and joyous moment, after the prayerful invocation of the Holy Spirit, at the beginning of the proceedings of the Sixth International East-West Symposium of New Testament Scholars, in this city that from its foundation until the present rests between East and West, under the roof of this honourable school of both the Church and the university, a school dedicated to the theology of the Church – which in itself is beyond East and West, yet embraces both East and West – I have the blessing, honour, and pleasure to greet all of you, the participants in this Symposium, as well as our guests here present, in the name of the very reverend Dean, professors, other teachers, and students of our Faculty, as host on this occasion, and to wholeheartedly extend our greeting: Welcome to Serbia and Belgrade! And lastly, but not least, to prayerfully wish all of you successful work and good spiritual fruit with regard to our Symposium. Grace, peace, and illumination be to all of us from the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit during the ensuing days and throughout all the days of our lives! Since we are presently in an Orthodox environment, I should also follow these words of greeting and welcome with a few words on the theme, *The Holy Spirit and the Church: An Orthodox Perspective*.

1.

The being and life of the Church are inseparably linked to the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit. Ecclesiology is not an autonomous theological discipline, independent of pneumatology, Christology, or Trinitarian theology. And conversely, outside of the life and grace-giving experience of salvation in the Church, one cannot authentically speak about the Holy Spirit, about Christ, or about the Holy Trinity. Ecclesiology represents the space and time of pneumatology and of theology in general: *Ubi enim Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei, et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia et omnis gratia* (St. Irenaeus).

Christ's economy of salvation is the birth of the New Testament Church, but its true birthday is Pentecost: "Had the Holy Spirit not descended, the Church would not have been constituted" (St John Chrysostom: Εἰ μὴ Πνεῦμα παρῆν, οὐκ ἂν συνέστη ἡ Ἐκκλησία). The Holy Spirit constitutes the Church and enables the functioning (liturgy) of all the ministries and grace-giving gifts in it; therefore, in the Church, both charisma and institution (θεσμός) are equally the fruit and gift of the Holy Spirit. The Church is the *Body of Christ*, but only if it really is the *Communion of the Holy Spirit*, which gives witness to the love of *God the Father* towards humankind and the world. Christ is the head of the Body of the Church; the Spirit, however, is the living and vivifying Soul of that Body, and these are not metaphors but the living hypostases of the Holy Trinity.

The Church – and especially its Eucharist, the holy sacraments, and its whole grace-giving life – is the fountain of the theology on the Holy Spirit, and the biblical texts are an authentic and God-inspired written expression of the experience that comprises the content of pneumatology and theology in general. As is well known, the long period of atrophy of pneumatology in western theological thought, in significant measure transported into the old school theology of the Orthodox as well, resulted in ecclesiology's being expounded primarily in the light of Christology and in the Holy Spirit's not being mentioned in the writings about the Church, or mentioned only in passing. After the renewal of Orthodox theology in the twentieth century, as well as after the Second Vatican Council, this state of affairs is no longer possible.

Of course, this does not mean that today we have a complete pneumatological-ecclesiological consensus of the Christian West and East, but the dialogue in relation to the theme of the Holy Spirit in the Church and of the Church in the Holy Spirit is much simpler and less painful than it was previously. For we should be reminded that the divergent developments in pneumatology, perceptible as early as the third century and onwards, produced grave effects not only in Trinitarian theology (the over-emphasized Christocentrism of the western tradition, in some cases almost a Christomonism, as is suggested by the addition of *Filioque*), but also in

ecclesiology, where, speaking in general and simplified terms, we see two parallel currents of development: in the West, the one-sided Christocentric model *Christ – Peter – the Bishop of Rome*, and in the East, the Christological-Pneumatological model, *Christ – Holy Spirit – the Apostles*.

Perhaps it is not an exaggeration if we say that the theology of the Western Church never fully freed itself from the insufficiencies and temptations of pre-Nicene theology: it did not establish a balanced relation between *theology* in the strict sense – that is, Trinitarian theology – and *economy* – that is, divine revelation in history and salvific activity in the Church, *eo ipso* in the world. Two types of pneumatology may be discerned in the New Testament texts, and they continue to develop in parallel in the theology of the early Church, as Zizioulas and, among us Serbs, Atanasije Jevtić have emphasized. In the first case, the Holy Spirit is experienced through His activity in the Church, insofar as He is theologically contemplated through the prism of economy, from the perspective of theophany and revelation, or history and mission. In the second case, He is also experienced through His presence and activity in the Church, through the prism of the Holy Eucharist, from the liturgical-eschatological perspective. An illustration of the first perspective, for instance, is the ancient, pre-Nicene formula of liturgical doxology (“Glory to the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit”), and an illustration of the second is the doxological formula of St Basil the Great (“Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit” or “Glory to the Father and to the Son with the Holy Spirit”).

These two perspectives do not exclude one another, for they mutually inform each other. The second one represents a necessary corrective or correct interpretation of the first one, since there is no possibility here for any kind of subordination or neglect of the Holy Spirit, for He is doxologized as essentially equal with the Father and the Son, as a hypostasis of equal glory and dignity with the first two hypostases of the Holy Trinity. Moreover, in the economy of salvation as well, we find a mutual conditioning of the Son and the Holy Spirit: the Father and the Son issue forth and confer the Spirit (or: the Spirit is issued forth by the Father through the Son; or: by the Son from the Father), but both the Father and Spirit issue forth Christ. The descent of the Spirit upon the Apostles, upon the Church, is preceded by the incarnation of the Logos, by the event of Christ, by the mystery of Christ. Before that, however, the Son of God becomes a human being “from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary”, He becomes Messiah/*Christos* through the anointing of the Holy Spirit, He acts and works miracles by the Holy Spirit, the Father raises Him from the dead by the Holy Spirit, and so on. Therefore, if there is a place for the *Filioque* as a theologically relevant formulation, then it is to be found only within the economy of salvation and by no means in theology, on the plane of the Eternal, Co-Essential Trinity. Wittily, albeit with a bit of exaggeration, Paul Evdokimov wrote that we can accept the

phrase *Filioque* as legitimate only if, on the plane of economy, we also accept the phrase *Spirituque* for Christ.

The dispute over the addition of the *Filioque* into the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed is a pneumatological and ecclesiological one at the same time. On the ecclesiological-canonical level, it can be overcome by excluding the addition from the Creed (which some Western Churches have done already) and by transposing this teaching on the issuing forth of the Spirit “from the Son as well” from the pedestal of ecclesial dogma to the level of *theologoumenon* (which in fact was the case for centuries). On the Trinitarian-pneumatological level, the dispute can be overcome by accepting the interpretation based on the consistently applied distinction between theology and economy, which does not imply the separation of the two. This distinction, which is found consistently in the Eastern patristic tradition, presupposes an exegetical approach to biblical texts as well, which finds its point of departure in the basic biblical distinction between the Creator and the creation (the uncreated and the created) that is also a distinction between theology and cosmology. For example, St. Athanasius the Great clearly and without ambivalence distinguishes the concepts of *begetting* and *creating* – that is, concepts of divine *nature* and divine *will*. Furthermore, through the Cappadocian Fathers, St. Maximus the Confessor, St Gregory Palamas, and others – at the Sixth Ecumenical Council and at the Eastern Councils in the fourteenth century – and down to the Orthodox theologians of our times, this exegetical and Trinitarian-pneumatological tradition develops into the well-known distinction between divine essence and divine energy (that is, between nature and power) but also between the hypostasis (divine person) and eternal, uncreated grace.

In virtue of this distinction, retaining the apophatic approach and prayerful fear before Mystery, the activity of the Spirit as Paraclete in the Church – Who everywhere and always actualizes Christ’s feat of salvation – is interpreted as real communion with God and as deification (as Christization or Spiritization), as the “morning star in our hearts”, which heralds the advent of the Day of the Lord, as His presence in glory “here and now”, in the Eucharistic and liturgical *today* of the Church. This approach simultaneously avoids the fiction of communion with the Spirit of God through “created grace”, as well as the possibility of communing with the divine hypostases “in essence” (κατ’ οὐσίαν μετουσία). The brief amount of time allocated for this extended introductory address prevents me from venturing into the numerous themes that fall under the general framework of the theme, *the Holy Spirit and the Church*. I shall mention only the theme of the activity of the Holy Spirit in the “pre-Church” (Προεκκλησία) of the Old Testament era and of His activity in our own New Testament time, “the time of the Holy Spirit”, outside of the visible or canonical borders of the Church, as well as the cosmic dimension of His presence and action. In any case, “the Spirit

blows where it wills”. Today not even the most conservative among Roman Catholic and Orthodox theologians venture to interpret the saying *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus* by positing limits and conditions on the love of God and the power of the Spirit of God.

In the light of the history of salvation, the Church is to be viewed as a lasting Pentecost. From the eschatological perspective, the Church is the Kingdom of God that is to come and already is coming “with power” (Mark 9:1; Luke 17:21; Matt 26:29; Col 1:13). It is no coincidence that in certain instances, instead of using the supplication “Let Your Kingdom come” from the Lord’s Prayer, the ancient Christians offered an alternative supplication, “Let Your Holy Spirit come!” It is my prayerful wish that the theological reflections and messages from this Symposium also become transformed into that supplication. In every age, the “Spirit speaks to the Churches” (Rev 2:7). He also speaks to us, gathered here. If we acquire the Spirit of wisdom and the Spirit of knowledge – that is, the charisma of God-knowing, of the only and true theology – we shall be listening to His voice when it is like “the sound of many waters” (Rev 19:6) and when it is quiet, even when it is inaudible. To listen and to witness – in the Spirit, in the Church of Christ.

Orthodox New Testament Scholarship in Serbia

Vladan Tatalović

1. Introduction

The eminent German Slavist and Byzantinist Gerhard Podskalsky (1937–2013) wrote prolifically about where and how the Bible was translated, read, and understood among the South Slavs, as well as about the theological sources and climate of medieval Serbia. In the preface to his principle work about the theological literature of the Middle Ages in Bulgaria and Serbia,¹

¹ G. PODSKALSKY, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien (865–1459)* (München, 2000; Ser. ed. Belgrade, 2010). As is clear from the title of this extensive study, it encompasses the medieval era, which is commonly divided into three crucial periods: 1) The first commenced in the middle of the ninth century with the Christianization of the Slavs through the missionary work of equal-to-the-Apostles Cyril (869) and Methodius (885), which was primarily based on the translation of selected liturgical and biblical texts into the Slavonic language using the newly standardized *glagoljica* (Glagolitic) alphabet. This first period gave birth to entire generations of disciples who would later on play particularly important roles, like Naum (910) and Clement (916), and who are also to be appreciated for the regeneration of an ecclesiastical entity called the Archbishopric of Ochrid, with one of its later archbishops, Theophylact (1126), being the most translated exegete among the Slavs. 2) Then, there is a period when medieval Serbia was gaining power and independence, starting from the second half of the twelfth century on, which is altogether inseparable from the granting of autocephaly to the Serbian Orthodox Church in 1219 – that is, it became independent from the Ochrid Archbishopric. In this period, two key figures spurred the flourishing of the Serbian national and spiritual identity: Stefan Nemanja (1199), later monk Symeon, the founder of the ruling Nemanjić dynasty, and his youngest son Sava (1236), the first Archbishop of the Serbian Church. 3) Finally, there is a period that started with the Battles of Maritsa (1371) and Kosovo (1389), and the subsequent fall of a vast Serbian empire at the end of the fourteenth century, to end with the weakened Serbian Despotate being conquered by the Ottomans in 1459. For more on the rise and development of Serbian theological literature in the medieval era, see: H. G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (München, 1959; 2nd ed. 1977); I. DUČHEV and S. NIKOLOV, *Kiril and Methodius: Founders of Slavonic Writing. A Collection of Sources and Critical Studies* (New York, 1985); F. DVORNIK, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, 1970); F. GRIVEC, *Konstantin und Meth-*

Podskalsky maintained that knowledge of medieval sources and the ways in which they were transmitted has a decisive significance for understanding modern Orthodox Christianity that goes far beyond appreciating the standpoints of contemporary intellectuals (many Orthodox among them), who occasionally cannot refrain from polemics and bias.² Although we share Podskalsky's conviction about the broader significance of the medieval sources of Serbian thought and culture, we nevertheless observe that in the West there have been no detailed studies of the tendencies in modern Serbian theology, although information of this kind surely would be of utmost importance for the following discussion, which is dedicated to the narrow topic of modern biblical studies up to the present moment. Therefore, remarks about the broader contexts are crucial, for we must examine those historical roots and wellsprings of theological literature in modern Serbian society. Without such a foundation, an evaluation of the scientific output by individual scholars in a specific field of inquiry is not actually possible. So, we will turn our attention first to the tendencies in theological education and consequently to the foundation and development of theological schools in Serbia, wherefrom we will shift our focus to the founding of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade [FOTB] (1920) – that is, to its Biblical Theology Department, which is expected to be a “queen bee” of Serbian biblical scholarship.

od. *Lehrer der Slawen* (Wiesbaden, 1960); J. MATL, “Der heilige Sawa als Begründer der serbischen Nationalkirche. Seine Leistung und Bedeutung für den Kulturaufbau Europas,” in J. MATL, *Südslawische Studien* (SOA 63; München, 1965), 32–44; H. MIKLAS, “Kyrillomethodianisches und nachkyrillomethodianisches Erbe im ersten ostslawischen Einfluß auf die südslawische Literatur,” in *Symposium Methodianum. Beiträge der Internationalen Tagung in Regensburg (17. bis 24. April 1985) zum Gedenken an den 1100. Todestag des heiligen Method* (eds. K. Trost, E. Völkl, and E. Wedel; *Selecta slavica* 13; Neuried, 1988), 437–472; D. OBOLENSKY, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), 34–82, 115–172; C. K. Papastathès, *Tò νομοθετικὸν ἔργον τῆς κυριλλομεθοδιανῆς ἱεραποστολῆς ἐν μεγάλῃ Μοραβίᾳ* (Thessalonike, 1978); P. J. SCHAFFARIK, “Übersicht der vorzüglichsten schriftlichen Denkmäler älterer Zeit bei den Serben und anderen Südslawen,” *JL* 53 (1831), 1–58; K.–D. Seemann, ed., *Gattungen und Genologie der slavisch-orthodoxen Literaturen des Mittelalters. Dritte Berliner Fachtagung 1988* (VOEI 73; Wiesbaden, 1992).

² One of the most contentious issues in contemporary Orthodox thought concerns not the challenges of biblical exegesis but those of liturgical renewal; however, the noise of these polemics remains inversely proportional to the scholarly use of sources, as may be seen from the following study: N. GLIBETIĆ, “Liturgical Renewal Movement in Contemporary Serbia,” in *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship. Selected Papers of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Rome, 17–21 September 2008* (J ECS 12; ed. B. Groen, S. Hawkes–Teeples, and S. Alexopoulos; Leuven, 2012), 393–414.

2. Analyzing the Context: Serbian Theological Education before the Opening of the FOTB

Nowadays, it is widely known that the European educational system stemmed historically from Christianization, as shown by the fact that many West-European colleges had their forerunners in monastic schools.³ In this regard, Serbia did not fall behind the most developed European nations: figures such as Cyril and Methodius, Clement, Naum, and Theophylact, and especially the first Archbishop Sava, have always been regarded as the *enlighteners of nations*,⁴ while the monasteries of Ochrid, Studenica, Žiča, Peć, and Chilandar on Mount Athos⁵ may be counted worthy of belonging to the Eastern and

³ Among the many reference monographs that deal with the rise and development of the medieval universities, see especially the following: A. B. COBBAN, *The Medieval Universities: Their Development and Organization* (London, 1975); H. DENIFLE, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400* (Berlin, 1885; repr. Graz, 1956); W. RÜEGG, *Geschichte der Universität in Europa. Band 1: Mittelalter* (München, 1993); J. VERGER, *Les universités au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1973; new ed. 2013). Also noteworthy is the renowned work of Serbian bishop (of Banat), who was one of the first professors (of canon law) at the FOTB, Vikentije Vujić (1874–1939), “Европски универзитети од постанка им до хуманистичких покрета” (“European Universities from their Emergence until the Humanistic Movements”), *Богословски гласник (Theological Herald)* 21 (1912), 26–31, 145–152, 236–246, 344–353, 425–443. With the recently published study, B. ŠIJAKOVIĆ and A. RAKOVIĆ, *Универзитет и српска теологија. Историјски и просветни контекст оснивања Православног богословског факултета у Београду (University and Serbian Theology: Historical and Educational Context of the Establishment of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade)* (Belgrade, 2010), the FOTB shows a pressing need to [re]think its existence in the context of the emergence, evolution, and contemporary situation of European universities (see esp. 9–33).

⁴ Synodic of [Bulgarian] Tsar Boril (1207–1218), most probably written in 1211, mentions Cyril the Philosopher as “the leader of the Slavic apostles and the enlightener of Bulgarian nation”: M. G. POPRUŽENKO, *Sinodik carâ Borila (Synodic of Tsar Boril)* (Sofia, 1928), 77. At about the same time (1242/1243), an Athonite (Chilandarian) monk Domentian (1264), who stands as a major figure in medieval Serbian literature, wrote the first biographies of Archbishop Sava and his father Nemanja (St. Simeon the Myrrh-streaming), frequently calling both of them “the enlighteners of the homeland”: R. MARINKOVIĆ, *Доментијан. Живот св. Саве и Живот св. Симеона (Domentian. Life of St. Sava and Life of St. Symeon)* (Belgrade, 1988), passim; in addition to this title, see: A. SCHMAUSS, “Die literaturhistorische Problematik von Domentijans Sava–Vita,” in *Vorträge auf dem V. Internationalen Slawistenkongress, Sofia, 1963* (Opera Slavica 4; eds. M. Braun and E. Koschmieder; Göttingen, 1963), 121–142. Also take into account the following: S. HAFNER, *Stefan Nemanja nach den Viten des hl. Sava und Stefans des Erstgekrönten* (vol. 1 of *Serbisches Mittelalter: Altserbische Herrscherbiographien*; Graz/Vienna/Cologne, 1962).

⁵ See D. BOGDANOVIĆ et al., *Chilandar: On the Holy Mountain* (Belgrade, 1978); M. ĐURASINOVIĆ et al., *Medieval Monasteries and Churches in Serbia* (Belgrade, 2006); S. MILEUSNIĆ, *The Medieval Monasteries of Serbia* (Novi Sad, 1995; 4th ed. 1998).

Western medieval tradition of monasteries as the chief, if not sole, centers of literacy and education.⁶ However, under these circumstances, larger monasteries in the West began, in addition to monastic education (*schola interna*), to develop alternative paths of education in secular services (*schola externa*), whereas in the East, in Byzantium and Serbia, it was rare to find a monastic school not closely related to taking monastic vows.⁷ Subsequently, in the East, people were educated mainly in diocesan and parish theological schools,⁸ and attending monastic schools did not become customary before

⁶ Since *Vita S. Joannis Calybitae* shows that only one book (the New Testament) should be considered both the spiritual and material property of a Byzantine monk (PG 114:569), it is also assumed that biblical books played a major role in the Serbian medieval school system, which was placed almost entirely within the monastery walls after the arrival of the Ottomans in the mid-fifteenth century. An extensive list of all available editions of medieval Slavic translations of the biblical books is to be found in PODSKALSKY (*Literatur*, 144–152 [n. 1]). Regarding biblical interpretation among the medieval Slavs, Podskalsky draws his conclusions by starting his review with the genre of homilies and noticing that, compared to Kievan Russia, exegesis emerged as a new literary genre, though not a dominant one (*Literatur*, 169–170 [n. 1]). In fact, except for John the Exarch (ca. 930), hardly any layman independently dealt with professional exegesis in Bulgaria and Serbia, and if anyone did, it was in a random and discontinuous manner; Theophylact of Ochrid, after all, was an archbishop, not a layman (*Literatur*, 227–236 [n. 1]). Finally, we should also mention the work of a renowned Serbian historian, a professor at FOTB, Radoslav Grujić (1878–1955): “Школе и манастири у средњовековној Србији” (“The Schools and the Monasteries in Medieval Serbia”), *Гласник Скопског научног друштва* (*Herald of Skopje's Scientific Society*) 3 (1928), 43–50.

⁷ Although it may be further discussed whether the cause of this difference lies in the fact that the Church in the West consciously overtook the role of cultural savior during the chaotic Middle Ages, or whether it may be explained by the fact that the Eastern Orthodox monks, always being regarded as “τὰ νεῦρα καὶ ἐδραῶματα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας” (Theodore the Studite, *Sermo* 114; PG 99:657), were less interested in secular or theological education than in maintaining the true Christian faith, it will suffice here simply to acknowledge, as Podskalsky also does in his other representative work, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz. Der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte (14.–15. Jh.), seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung* (BA 15; München, 1977; Ser. ed. Belgrade, 2010), 34–48, that the reorganization of monastic life in the medieval East, unlike the reformation of contemplative orders at about the same time in the West, did not take fields of study into account (see: n. 124, p. 37).

⁸ See PODSKALSKY, *Theologie*, 48–64 (n. 7); in Serbia: S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, “Pismenost i obrazovanje u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji” (“Literacy and Education in Medieval Serbia”), in *Istorija škola i obrazovanja kod Srba* (*History of Schools and Education of the Serbs*) (ed. E. Hasanagić; Belgrade, 1974), 9–30; Č. S. DRAŠKOVIĆ, “Die kirchliche Ausbildung der Serben zur Zeit der Nemanjićen,” *OS* 8 (1959), 230–239; J. P. ILIĆ, “Српске школе у доба Немањића” (“Serbian Schools in the Time of Nemanjići”), *Гласник Српске Православне Цркве* (*Herald of the Serbian Orthodox Church*) 27 (1946), 175–181; A. VESELINOVIĆ, “Образовање у средњовековној Србији” (“Education in the Medieval

the period of Ottoman rule⁹ – though now with a completely different foundation and results dissimilar to those in the West.¹⁰ On the eve of the fourteenth and at the dawn of the fifteenth century, Serbian culture was on the rise, but this potential hive of humanistic and Renaissance ideas, ready to turn its primary educational centers into more acclaimed institutions, was violently and abruptly interrupted. Moreover, since it was afterwards systematically sabotaged and even destroyed, it is quite understandable that it had to wait for a new set of circumstances, so as to reappear like a subterranean river.¹¹

This became possible at the beginning of the eighteenth century. A conjunction of rather intricate and, for Serbians, very unpleasant historical circumstances resulted in massive migrations to the areas north of the Sava and Danube, then under Habsburg rule and today within Serbia.¹² As soon as the first compact cells of Serbian society grew on the soil of this organized Christian empire, ambitions to establish a modern Serbian school system naturally

Serbia”), in *Образовање код Срба кроз векове (Education of the Serbs through the Centuries)* (eds. R. Petković, P. V. Krestić, and T. Živković; Istorijski institut [Historical Institute] 21; Belgrade, 2003), 9–19; M. VUKIČEVIĆ, *Школе и ширење писмености у држави Немањића (The Schools and the Spread of Literacy in the State of Nemanjići), Godišnjica Nikole Čupića (Anniversary of Nikola Čupić)* 18 (1898), 191–232.

⁹ For more on medieval Serbian education under Ottoman rule, see: J. PARLIĆ-BOŽOVIĆ, “Образовање Срба у време турске власти” (“The Education of Serbs During Turkish Rule”), *Зборник радова Филозофског факултета у Приштини (Proceedings of the Faculty of Philosophy in Priština)* 41 (2011), 555–568; R. SAMARDŽIĆ, “Општи услови српске образованости под Турцима” (“General Conditions of Serbian Education under the Turks”), in *History of Schools and Education of the Serbs* (n. 8), 31–36.

¹⁰ It was a monk (named Sava) from Dečani Monastery (Kosovo), who composed the first Serbian alphabet book at the end of the sixteenth century, having printed it in Venice. See: *Prvi srpski bukvar Inoka Save: Venecija 1597 (The First Serbian Alphabet Book of Monk Sava: Venice 1597)* (ed. M. Blečić; Belgrade, 2009; 2nd ed. 2010).

¹¹ ŠJAKOVIĆ and RAKOVIĆ, *University and Serbian Theology*, 26 (n. 3).

¹² Let us explain these circumstances in the shortest possible way: After the failure of the Turks’ thrust into central Europe (1683), when more Southern Slavs than ever before partook in the war against the occupiers, the Sultan’s armies and landholders had to withdraw southward; but shortly after this defeat, they put down the rebellion and pushed back the Austrians together with the Serbian combatants. Escaping a furious revenge, the Serbian people migrated northward in great numbers, across the rivers Sava and Danube (1690), being led by their Patriarch Arsenije III (1633–1706), to seek shelter under the auspices of the Habsburg Empire. See: C. JELAVICH, “Some Aspects of Serbian Religious Development in the Eighteenth Century,” *ChH* 23 (1954), 144–152; *Пампујарх српски Арсеније III Чарнојевић и велика сеоба Срба 1690. године (Serbian Patriarch Arsenije III Čarnojević and the Great Migration of Serbs in 1690)* (ed. S. Vuković; Belgrade, 1997); D. POPOVIĆ, *Velika seoba Srba 1690. Srbi seljaci i plemići (The Great Migration of Serbs, 1690: The Serbian Peasantry and Nobility)* (Belgrade, 1954); H. SCHRECKEIS, “Die Grosse Wanderung der Serben ab 1690,” *Donauschwäbische Forschungs- und Lehrerblätter* 39 (1993), 12–17; M. SVIRČEVIĆ, “Migrations and Patriarchate in 18th Century Serbia,” *Yugoslav law* 31 (2004), 63–80.

appeared. In this endeavor, the following towns gained in importance: Karlovitz or Sremski Karlovci, the center of a newly-formed Serbian Metropolitan, evolved from an exiled elite into a leading entity of Serbian *national and spiritual identity*. Belgrade, which remained free from Turkish rule for almost two decades (1718–1737) thanks to the Austrian conquests, proved significant, too. Also important was the newly established city of Novi Sad (as its Latin name says: Neoplanta).¹³

In response to pleas from the metropolitans of Karlovci and Belgrade, Russian authorities sent learned emissaries, who assisted in the formation of first theological schools,¹⁴ whereafter Serbian students were sent to the Kiev

¹³ Having emerged in such a short time and in such a confined space, many educational initiatives proved somewhat fruitful despite ambivalent state and political circumstances; see J. P. ADLER, "Habsburg School Reform among the Orthodox Minorities, 1770–1780," *Slavic Review* 30 (1974), 23–45; S. DAVIĆ, "Српско школство у Хабзбуршкој Монархији до половине XVIII века" ("Serbian Education in the Habsburg Monarchy until the Mid-Eighteenth Century"), in *Education of the Serbs through Centuries* (n. 8), 31–39; P. DESPOTOVIĆ, *Школе Срба у Угарској и Хрватској (The Schools of Serbs in Hungary and in Croatia)* (Kragujevac, 1888); R. ČURIĆ, "Српске школе у Хабзбуршкој Монархији до половине XVIII века" ("Serbian Schools in the Habsburg Monarchy until the Mid-Eighteenth Century") and N. GAVRILOVIĆ, "Српско школство у Хабзбуршкој Монархији у другој половини XVIII века" ("Serbian Schools in Habsburg Monarchy in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century"), in *History of Schools and Education of the Serbs* (n. 8), 99–153; R. M. GRUJIĆ, *Српске школе у Београдско–Карловачкој Митрополији (од 1718 до 1739 г.). Прилог културној историји српскога народа (Serbian schools in the Belgrade–Karlovci Metropolitanate [from 1718 to 1739]: A Contribution to the Cultural History of the Serbian People)* (Belgrade, 1908); D. KIRILOVIĆ, *Srpske škole u Vojvodini u XVIII veku (Serbian Schools in Eighteenth Century Vojvodina)* (Sremski Karlovci, 1929), 1–13, 20–25, 33–37; M. NEŠKOVIĆ, *Историја српских школа у Аустро–Угарској Монархији (A History of Serbian Schools in the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy)* (Sremski Karlovci, 1897).

¹⁴ For a better understanding of this new beginning, R. M. Grujić (n. 6) published primary sources that contain pieces of original correspondence between Serbian metropolitans and Peter the Great: "Прилози за историју српских школа у првој половини XVIII. века" ("Contributions to the History of Serbian Schools in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century"), *Споменик Српске Краљевске Академије (Monument of the Serbian Royal Academy)* 42 (1910), 99–143. This publication includes an important letter of Maxim Suvorov (dated 9 October 1726) to the Metropolitan of Belgrade and Karlovci, Mojsije Petrović (1677–1730), which tells about the Russian theologian's agreeing to come to Sremski Karlovci and establish a school there (p. 103). Under Suvorov's direction, this newly opened school was organized in accord with the Kievan and implicitly Jesuit educational model, whose cornerstone was the arts of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*; furthermore, at the request of Metropolitan Mojsije, Suvorov expanded this model by opening another school in the second administrative center of Belgrade (1727), whereafter he left for Russia due to many unexpected obstacles he had to deal with (p. 108). However, this "Latin Academy" system in Sremski Karlovci and the initiative of bringing Russian theologians did not cease with his leaving. In 1733, the next Metropolitan of Karlovci, Vikentije Jo-