

Charismatic and Pentecostal Movements: A Challenge to the Churches

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I. History and Phenomenology

A. Origins ¹

The Pentecostal movement originated in the year 1906 in a simple black church in Los Angeles.² W. J. Seymour, the minister of the congregation, was a descendant of the African slaves who had been shipped to America.³ The first Pentecostal meeting place was a disused Methodist chapel with sawdust strewn on the floor; the pews were planks resting on wooden boxes. The leader of this revival was no great orator. It was his custom to pray from behind his pulpit which consisted of two packing cases nailed together, his head bowed and his face covered with his hands, his elbows resting on the pulpit top.⁴ Yet that congregation in Azusa Street, Los Angeles, was the starting point for a Pentecostal movement which today embraces between fifteen and thirty-five million members.⁵ Seekers from all over the world flocked to Los Angeles and there they found "the well-spring of spiritual life" and received a decisive impulse toward their ministry. It was justly said by the English Anglican minister, the Reverend Alexander A. Boddy, that "it was unheard of for white preachers from the southern states to be so eager to visit Negroes in Los Angeles, to share fellowship with them and by their prayers and intercessions to receive the same blessings as they had received."⁶ And Frank Bartleman, an eye-witness at that first revival, proudly affirmed that in Los Angeles "the color line was washed away in the blood."⁷

In the period which followed, the Pentecostal movement succeeded in becoming a church of the poor in

Africa, Latin America, and Indonesia, primarily because it worked *with* the poor. Often, though not invariably, its missionaries themselves belonged to the poor. For the most part the young mission congregations were allowed to create their own liturgy, their own congregational life, their own forms of theology. This policy explains not only the rapid growth of the Pentecostal movement but also the diversity of its forms throughout the world; it justifies the statement that the Pentecostal movement was already an ecumenical movement in itself, with all the difficulties and promises this implies.

B. The Pentecostal movement as an ecumenical revival movement

It is also a fact that from the very beginning the Pentecostal movement thought of itself as an ecumenical revival movement within the churches.⁹ In the first years Pentecostals had no intention of organizing themselves into a new denomination. They believed that "the human religious organization was by its very nature in conflict with the community of the living God."¹⁰ "God had brought us out of old, dead ecclesiasticism and denominationalism. He has made us a free people and we are not going back into 'Babylon' any more."¹⁰ They regarded the old organized power structure of the church as Babylon and there was no question of imitating it.

The time before the birth of the Pentecostal movement is accordingly painted in dark and hopeless colors and in fact as "a Babylonian captivity of the church."¹¹ Then came the miraculous liberation movement, the Pentecostal communities, to put an end to all strife within Christendom. Doctrinal barriers were to be overcome not by an agreed doctrinal minimum but by the abandonment of fixed doctrinal statements of any kind. The bond was to be the presence of the living God, the reality of the Holy Spirit, which people longed

to experience in conversion, sanctification, baptism by the Spirit, and the gifts of the Spirit. Expecting as they did the speedy return of Jesus, they saw no need for theological explanations and paid no heed to political and social issues. Our calling, they said, is not to preach problems, but the gospel, the good news of salvation. Prior to the return of Jesus on the clouds of heaven there was only one legitimate goal: the sanctification and unification of the children of God and the evangelization of the world within a generation.

With the delay of the Lord's return, the diversity of ethical and doctrinal views within the Pentecostalist movement made a minimum of agreed doctrine essential. Only a dwindling minority—among them leading German Pentecostals¹²—resisted the temptation to organize a large free church which would count for something in church affairs. This minority remained faithful basically to the Quaker position, renouncing obligatory dogma and rejecting majority decisions. The majority adopted their dogmatics from the doctrinal arsenal of the last century. Many Pentecostal denominations, especially in America, accepted permanent forms of organization and drew up doctrinal statements, which inevitably provoked new protest movements within Pentecostalism.¹³ The exclusion of non-preachers from the main church offices of the Assemblies of God inevitably resulted in the formation of a Pentecostal laymen's organization, the "Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International." In the older congregations, zeal for sanctification and evangelism weakened. Specialists became needed to implement religious programs, and preachers began to be trained. Questions of congregational organization, baptism, and religious instruction arose. Although the fiction of the universal priesthood is still maintained, in the older denominations we find the majority of churchgoers listening to services conducted by a minister with a

small staff of full-timers and voluntary helpers. The Pentecostal service does indeed still allow scope for active participation in prayer, testimony, and singing, but the actual participation of the ordinary member in worship is no longer the rule in all denominations. Occasionally, therefore, voices are heard calling for the old Pentecostal ideal.

C. Typology

Theologically one can divide Pentecostalism into the following types:

1. *Pentecostals who teach a two-stage way of salvation.*

This includes far and away the largest number of organizations. Representatives of this group are the American and British Assemblies of God, the French Assemblées de Dieu, the Italian Assemblee di Dio, the German Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Christengemeinden, the British Elim Pentecostal Church, the Brazilian Congregação Cristã do Brazil, and many more. *Theologically* the majority of the Protestant wing of neo-Pentecostalism also belongs to this category.

2. *Pentecostals who teach a three-stage way of salvation.*

This group is represented by the Church of God (Cleveland) and its missionary churches, the Pentecostal Holiness Church, and many more.

3. *The "Jesus only" groups.*

These accept only the baptismal formula "in the name of Jesus" and are—wrongly, I think—called unitarians by the other Pentecostals. In fact, they teach something of a modalistic trinitarian doctrine. The most important representatives of this group are the United Pentecostal Church, many of the black Pentecostal churches in the USA (Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, for example), and almost the entire Indonesian Pentecostal Movement.

4. *Pentecostals with a Quaker, Reformed Lutheran, or Roman Catholic doctrine.*

With the exception of the Roman Catholic Pentecostals and the charismatic movement within the historic Protestant churches in Germany and France, this type is not, as might be expected, to be found principally in the neo-Pentecostal movement within the historic churches. On the contrary, the bulk of the Protestant wing of the neo-Pentecostal movement within existing churches in the USA belongs to type "1." On the other hand, almost the entire Chilean Pentecostal movement has a Methodist doctrine, the German Mülheim Association of Christian Fellowship has a Lutheran Reformed doctrine, and the Quaker Pentecostals in the USA (i.e., Pentecostal free churches with a Quaker tradition; not Quakers within the Society of Friends who have made a Pentecostal experience) have a Quaker doctrine.

5. *Pentecostal denominations of the Apostolic type.*

These groups have institutionalized the offices of apostle and prophet. In the early stages of the denomination, prophecy played a major role and the church was guided by it. The theory has not altered, although the practice seems less spontaneous at the present day. This type is represented by the different apostolic churches in Great Britain, Germany, Denmark, France, and the Gemeinde für Urchristentum in Switzerland.

6. *Independent African Pentecostal churches.*

Some of these churches (like the Zionists in South Africa) were founded by early converts of Pentecostal missionaries, others (like the Aladura and Seraphim and Cherubim churches in West Africa) have had at some time a link with some American and British Pentecostal churches. Others again (like the Kimbanguists in the Congo) historically do not belong to the Pentecostal churches. Yet it can be argued that, through the close similarity of their spiritual phenomena (speak-

ing in tongues, prayer for the sick, participation of all in the making of the liturgy, etc.), they are close enough to be identified with Pentecostalism.

There is still another distinction to be made; it is the one between *classical* or *historical* Pentecostalism and *neo-Pentecostalism* (Kilian McDonnell). By classical or historical Pentecostalism, McDonnell means the Pentecostal denominations. By neo-Pentecostalism he means the charismatic revival in the historic churches. This distinction is very useful in Europe and America but less precise in Africa.

D. Protestant neo-Pentecostalism in USA

The known origin of neo-Pentecostalism in the USA was a revival in Van Nuys, California. A young Anglican couple had received the baptism of the Spirit with speaking in tongues at an Alliance meeting. From then on they surprised the vicar of their Anglican church by tithing regularly—i.e., giving ten per cent of their income to the church—and by vigorous participation in church life. The vicar's one fear was that they were in danger of becoming fanatics. To sober them down, he introduced them to another ordinary couple. Thereupon, these too experienced the baptism of the Spirit.¹⁴ Through the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International and the Ministry of "Mr. Pentecost," David J. Du Plessis, the movement invaded all churches in the USA and its growth has so far not yet reached its peak.

Theologically most of them teach an experience of the baptism of the Spirit (mostly, but not always, with speaking in tongues). Most of them, but not all,¹⁵ are rather evangelical. But all of them want to stay within their churches and try very hard to remain faithful to their liturgy and theology. Although most of them are politically rather conservative there are some very remarkable political moves to be observed (Pulkingham in Houston, Texas) which could well represent a real

alternative to the false polarization between evangelicals and ecumenicals in the USA.

E. Protestant neo-Pentecostals in Europe

In England, France, and Germany there is a neo-Pentecostal movement within the historical churches which has existed since 1910, although this is generally unknown.¹⁶ Their representatives are Alexander A. Boddy¹⁷ (1854-1930, an Anglican priest in England); the brothers Dallière¹⁸ in France (Reformed pastors of the French Reformed Church); the brothers de Rougement¹⁹ in Switzerland (Swiss Reformed Church); Karl Ecke²⁰ (Lutheran pastor, Germany); C.A. Voget²¹ (Reformed pastor, Germany), and Jonathan Paul,²² a Lutheran pastor in Germany and founder of the German Pentecostal movement. Jonathan Paul, although ignored in the present-day discussion, is one of the most important men for our topic. He was the founder of the Mülheim Association of Christian Fellowship, a Pentecostal organization in Germany which includes communities within the established churches and Pentecostal free churches. They also practice infant baptism and believers' baptism. Furthermore, they are not fundamentalist. It is therefore not by chance that the leader of this organization, Christian Krust, was the first Pentecostal to address an Assembly of the World Council of Churches.²³

Through the mediation of Arnold Bittlinger,²⁴ a newer neo-Pentecostal movement has been growing in Germany since the sixties. It is probably theologically the most articulate neo-Pentecostal movement in the world. Its representatives are well-versed in modern exegetical literature and argue their case on the basis of Hans Küng, Nikos Nissiotis, Ernst Käsemann, and Eduard Schweizer. They do not teach a baptism of the Spirit; they are not evangelicals in the narrow sense, and have within their ranks Catholic²⁵ and Orthodox²⁶ theologians.

The British neo-Pentecostals follow more or less the lines of Protestant USA neo-Pentecostals.⁸⁷

F. Catholic neo-Pentecostalism⁸⁸

In addition to the French and German Protestant neo-Pentecostals the Catholic neo-Pentecostals are theologically the most interesting. Since they are the least known of all and seem to be of great importance for the future, and also because groups are known to exist in almost all the European countries, they are treated here in somewhat more detail. One of the most articulate of these charismatic Catholic theologians is the Dominican, Simon Tugwell from Oxford. He has presented several meditations at the British Broadcasting Corporation, one of them including singing in tongues by three Catholic sisters which provoked several hundred letters of thanks to the BBC. It was prayerfully and meditatively prepared in the studio—of course to the dismay of the technicians who did not appreciate the purpose of this “waste” of valuable studio time and technical facilities, “just for meditation.” The actual meditation was then done extemporaneously.

In several publications Tugwell has defended the use of speaking in tongues which appears to him “to mean the production of genuinely linguistic phenomena, which may or may not be identified by one present as some definite language, but which do not convey any ordinary semantic significance to the speaker himself.”⁸⁹ It is not simply identical with “praying in the Spirit,” nor is it simply “God’s kindergarten.” “Prayer which we cannot ourselves fully understand is an essential part of Christian praying: tongues is a particularly straightforward embodiment of this principle.”⁹⁰ But it is—from a phenomenological point of view—ambiguous. That applies, says Tugwell, to all *pneumatic* activities. He concludes that the New Testament does not put pressure on anyone to seek the gift of tongues,

but it encourages those who receive it to use it to grow into fuller and richer experience of the Christian life as a whole. Thus Tugwell suggests that this gift does have a part in the wholeness of the Christian life. “This does not in any way commit us to accepting the Pentecostal understanding of it, nor to their kind of religion.”⁹¹

Tugwell, in fact, goes on to state that “the Pentecostal doctrine is scripturally and theologically unwarrantable”⁹² and is for the theologian “cause for alarm.” Yet he maintains that “Pentecostalism does represent a genuine eagerness for the original, undiluted message of the gospel which is ‘not in words of persuasive wisdom, but in demonstration of Spirit and power.’ (1 Corinthians 2:4) This too makes a legitimate demand on the theologian’s interest and sympathy.”⁹³ He rejects the notion that the baptism of the Spirit adds anything *more* to Christian faith. “Anything *more* than fundamental Christianity is actually *less* than the Gospel.”⁹⁴ Thus the “supernatural” can be seen within an old Catholic tradition as “being precisely the fulfillment of our nature.”⁹⁵

Tugwell uses categories of medieval mysticism in order to interpret his and his fellow Catholics’ spiritual experiences. Mysticism, he says, “is not intrinsically Christian, but it can be *made* Christian.”⁹⁶ He differentiates between oracles and prophecy, between idols and icons. “An idol is a god, or a manifestation of god, or an experience of god, or a doctrine of god, that one has ‘made a thing of.’” But “Christ is larger than his media of communication.”⁹⁷ Prophecy and icon “strip us down before God, peeling off our masks and pretences, our false selves,”⁹⁸ while those using oracles and idols always try to get power over God, showing thereby how right they are. Tugwell knows, of course, that definitions and names (also a kind of idol) are sometimes necessary for our sanity, but they never

capture God adequately. Only "when we have overcome" (Revelation 2:17) shall we find our full identity; only then will there be full correspondence between the reality of the experience of God and its definition. That is why Tugwell sees *no phenomenological* difference between Christian and non-Christian mysticism, between oracle and prophecy, between idol and icon. The difference does not lie on the level of phenomenology, but in that of signification. From outside, both these mysticisms look exactly alike. Only by its function, when it creates room for freedom, does mysticism become Christian. From this Tugwell draws the conclusion that in a charismatic community there must be freedom for speaking in tongues and extemporaneous prayer, and also freedom for abstaining from such kinds of spirituality without losing face.

So one comes to the somewhat astonishing conclusion that the Dominican Tugwell has so far developed the "most evangelical" understanding of *charisma*, i.e., an understanding which rests on the plurality and freedom of the Spirit, a thought which has been expressed by Protestant and Catholic theologians simultaneously. One of them, G. Hasenhüttl,⁹⁹ a student of Hans Küng, describes "*charisma*" as "the ordering principle of the church." Hasenhüttl, who dedicates his book "to those who have left the church or are about to leave it," works on the basis of a very careful exegesis. He believes the World Council of Churches' study, "The Church for Others," with its remarkable re-ordering of the structures of the church, should be defined in terms of *charisma* (and not, as is usually the case, the other way 'round!). Yet in his book he never mentions the Catholic Pentecostals, although they would perhaps be examples for his scholarly work. The dialogue between those who "think" the Holy Spirit and those who "hear" and "touch" the Holy

Spirit in their charismatic meetings is probably still missing!

G. The ecumenical significance of Catholic Pentecostals

1. The prayer meetings of the Catholic Pentecostals shattered the "economic-deprivation" theory that had customarily been set forth as an "explanation" of the older, classical Pentecostalism. It was not the uneducated, but the intellectuals, not the uncritical but the critical exegetes, not frustrated Puritans but quite normal Christians who took part in these meetings. There is not only speaking in tongues but critical discussion of theological and social problems; not only the singing of hymns, but the composition of hymns; not only praying, but eating, drinking, and smoking.⁴⁰ It is possible to laugh and weep, to clap hands—and also to leave the room (without being disqualified!) when one does not like this style.⁴¹ The Jesuit Sudbrack, therefore, sees Pentecostal spirituality in relation to Harvey Cox's *Feast of Fools*.⁴² Political and social topics are not excluded from their discussions. "The prayer meeting is not an end in itself, but its point is to build a mature community of Christians."⁴³ Since the autumn of 1971 they have experimented with commune-like communities.⁴⁴

2. The Catholic Pentecostal movement has developed its own ecumenical momentum. It is true that it was only possible against the background of the Second Vatican Council, but the Catholic Pentecostals have translated this into the scope of experience of the *local congregation*. Here *oikoumene* is not discussed but lived (including its financial aspect). The Catholics accept the fact that this revival has its roots outside the Catholic Church. In spite of the fact that O'Connor does not allow any doubts about his Catholic orthodoxy, he answers the question whether it is thinkable that the Holy Spirit be more at work in the classical

Pentecostal churches than in that church which generally has been accepted to be the most authentic church, as follows: "This may be God's way of demonstrating to members of the Church that he alone is sovereign Lord, and that all institutions and hierarchs on earth, even in the Church, are nothing but instruments and ministers We need to have it demonstrated for us that God's action transcends the action of the church"46

3. In contrast to the Pentecostal revival sixty years ago within the Protestant churches, and the occasional social disqualifications within Protestant neo-Pentecostalism, the Bishops' Conference of the Catholic Church in the USA has rather friendly relations with Catholic Pentecostalism. It affirms that the movement has theologically legitimate reasons for its existence and rests on a solid biblical basis. There are abuses here and there, but the movement as a whole should not be hindered. "Prudent priests" should accompany the groups and help them to maintain the impetus which they have received from the historical Pentecostal churches without adopting their mistakes.⁴⁶ Understandably an observer mockingly criticizes the bishops⁴⁷ who prefer "tamed charismatics" to the revolutionary Berrigans.⁴⁸ Yet a much better informed specialist says that the charismatic groups and political movements, like "Black Power," are not opponents but should be seen as belonging to the same "movements of social transformation."⁴⁹

II. Pentecostal Contribution to the Church Universal

Besides the obvious gifts which Pentecostal spirituality has to contribute (participation of everybody in the liturgy, a liturgy in the making,⁵⁰ involvement of the *whole* person in worship), and on top of the already mentioned ecumenical significance of Pentecostal spirit-

uality, it has a far-reaching potential for alternatives in social theory and theology.

Let me begin with the latter, *the Pentecostals' contribution to theological study*.⁵¹ In spite of the range of doctrinal differences there is in the Pentecostal movement something like a worldwide sense of belonging together. This means that the Pentecostal *oikoumene* is based not on printed and defined doctrine but on shared experience, namely, on the Pentecostal mode of communication transcending all barriers of education, color, social class, and nationality.⁵² Taken seriously this offers a real possibility of discovering a methodology of theology in an *oral* culture where the medium of communication is—just as in biblical times—not the definition, but the description; not the statement, but the story; not the doctrine, but the testimony; not the book but the parable; not the *summa theologica* but the song; not the treatise but the television program. Whoever denies that one can do proper theology in these categories will have to prove that the Bible is not a theological book. Our way of doing theology is a culturally biased form (yet necessarily so, in our culture!). There are other equally relevant forms of doing theology. Pentecostalism offers raw material and elements for such an alternative methodology. How that works in detail I have described elsewhere.⁵³ One thing is absolutely sure: If theology wants to be universal (and it has to be by definition), then it has to be able to transcend the boundaries of literary culture. Only a theological method which gives equal theological weight to a parable, a dance, a song, a mime, a statement, or a definition meets the requirements of being ecumenical and universal. The ecumenical problem of the future will not be the discussion between the Catholics and the Protestants (this is a minor problem from an international point of view) but whether a dialogue will take place between the oral and the

literary theologians. This problem is increased because oral theologians are mostly (but not always) poor and black; literary theologians are mostly (but not always) white and rich. I venture to say that this culture difference is as important as the economic one. Since a great proportion of Pentecostals (not all—some, particularly the older denominations, have been “adapted” and tamed by their Christian entourage) belong to this oral culture, they are of vital importance for this dialogue. That also explains why genuine, independent Pentecostal churches (not the missionary-based Pentecostal churches; they have the same problems as other churches) do not find it difficult to finance their own programs and to train their own pastors. Since they rejected the importation of a foreign and much too expensive church organization from Europe and America with a university-based theological education, they had to invent their own educational schemes. It was a theological education in context, “*en la calle*” as the Chileans say, based on the region in which they live and without cutting them off from their secular work.

The *consequences for the development programs* have been grasped only by very few people although the results are obvious to everybody. The self-help programs of the Kimbanguists in the Congo⁵⁴ or the Indian Pentecostals in Mexico⁵⁵ may look primitive to an expert of UNO or Christian Aid, but the advantage is that they have invented the programs themselves. They have financed them themselves. They do not depend on foreign skill, personnel or spare parts. They have become aware of their own dignity. There is a process of democratization in their worship services. All of this has consequences for the structures of their social and political life which go far beyond the influence of some so-called pressure groups which are often just a new form of foreign ideology based on some middle-class bourgeois groups. The latter's revolution

is by and large a paper revolution and will be reactionary in the long run, because it can never cope with the overwhelming technical means of any internal or external colonial power.

III. What Are Their Weaknesses?

The greatest weakness of the Pentecostal movement is that it is not aware of the potential power of its pluralistic approach. Pentecostals have so far not been able to present their experience other than in the very unsuitable categories of the rationalism of the last century. That is why their writings are, except where they are descriptive, so boring. Instead of developing a theological language which would meet their experience, they have borrowed *our* theological language which of course is a foreign language to them and which they will almost always handle less well than our experts. Nevertheless, there are exceptions to this, too.

Pentecostals try to win the fundamentalists and evangelicals to their cause. But these have proved so far the most stubborn antagonists to Pentecostalism. The modern charismatic movement has *not* broken into the evangelical churches but into the middle-of-the-road churches and into the Catholic church. That would call for a change of policy among Pentecostals. *Their friends are not where they expect them.*

The most difficult point of Pentecostal theology is, astonishingly, their pneumatology. Contrary to what one would expect, they have not developed a pneumatology which would match their experience. The pneumatology of Eduard Schweizer, Ernst Käsemann, Hans Küng, and others, is nearer to the Pentecostal experience than that of the Pentecostals themselves. The Pentecostal doctrine of the baptism of the Spirit can be seen as *one* possible way of describing the Spirit, but within the pluralistic framework of the New Testament there are others. Pentecostals upgrade Luke's

approach to be *the* biblical theory although that is in contradiction to their own experience. The majority of Chilean Pentecostal pastors do not speak in tongues. In most Pentecostal congregations a great proportion, sometimes half, of the membership do not speak in tongues. That a Pentecostal doctrine of the baptism of the Spirit must create untold hardship and difficulties in such a situation is clear, not to speak of the difficulties it creates in relation to other churches. In my opinion the best criticism of Pentecostalism was formulated by a teacher of classical Pentecostalism, the British Bible teacher, Donald Gee (1891-1966),⁵⁶ who was for many years the leader of the British Assemblies of God. Already in 1962 he wrote to his "new Pentecostal friends," the neo-Pentecostals: "Many of you are trained theologians with a good academic background. Do not, now that you have tasted spiritual gifts, become fanatical in your repudiation of consecrated scholarship. Let the Spirit of truth set it all on fire and use it for the glory of God. Some of us in our early folly set a premium upon ignorance."⁵⁷ In my view, the balanced criticism of this Pentecostal has not been taken seriously enough, as can be seen from the fact that most of his critical writings have not been reprinted or translated. Those interested in a detailed criticism of Pentecostalism (classical and neo-Pentecostalism) will find the writings of this extraordinary Pentecostal teacher most rewarding.

In conclusion, this chapter suggests that the contribution of the Pentecostals must be taken seriously at the level where they are at their best, namely in their ability to create alternatives for theological education (education in the street, through apprenticeship, particularly in the Third World), alternatives for development programs, and liturgies which offer the possibility for congregational participation. On the other hand, it is my conviction that the systematic and rationalizing

categories which they use in order to describe their activities fall short of conveying what they are actually doing. This might suggest that for the description of an un-systematic, or perhaps trans-systematic, reality, we might have to develop categories which are nearer to the narrative style of the Bible (or the modern writers), than to the Greek philosophers and the fundamentalist theoreticians.

Notes

Important Terms

Classical or historical Pentecostals: Those Pentecostals who are organized in denominations like the Assemblies of God and others.

Neo-Pentecostals: Those Pentecostals who belong to a Protestant or Catholic church.

Baptism in the Spirit: A religious crisis experience subsequent to and different from conversion; mostly, but not always, identified with speaking in tongues.

Speaking in tongues: A meditative, non-rational form of prayer, wrongly confused by non-specialists with ecstatic experiences; highly valued by Paul for private prayer, (1 Corinthians 14:4, 39) but regulated for liturgical use. (1 Corinthians 14:27) It sounds as if somebody has turned on the radio and picked up a broadcaster whose language he does not understand. Whether tongues are actual languages or not is controversial but irrelevant.

Abbreviations

PGG (German) Walter J. Hollenweger, *Enthusiastisches Christentum: Die Pfingstbewegung in Geschichte und Gegenwart* Zurich and Wuppertal, 1969.

PGG (English) _____, *The Pentecostals*. Minneapolis, Minnesota and London, 1972. French (*Le Pentecôtisme*, Geneva and Yaoundé, 1975) and Spanish versions (*El Pentecostalismo*, Buenos Aires, 1974) in preparation.

Handbuch _____, *Handbuch der Pfingstbewegung*, 10 Vols., 1965-67. Xerox and microfilm copies available from ATLAS, Board of Microtexts, Library of the Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut, USA. This is the most complete collection of Pentecostal documents, addresses, statistics, etc.

Notes

1. Some of the standard works: PGG (German, English, French, and Spanish; the different versions are not identical in content)—Handbuch—Nils Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen. En undersøkelse av pinsebevegelsens tilblivelse, utvikling og saerpreg med saerlig henblikk på*

- bevegelsens utforming i Norge*, Oslo, 1956; abridged and revised English version: *The Pentecostal Movement: Its Origin, Development and Distinctive Character*, London, 1964; B.R. Wilson, *Sects and Society*, London, 1961; John T. Nichol, *Pentecostalism*, New York, 1966; Plainfield, New Jersey, 1972; Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1971; Arthur Sundstedt, *Pingsväckelsen—dess uppkomst och första utvecklingskede*, 5 Vols. planned, Normans Forlag, 1969ff.; W.J. Hollenweger, (ed) *Die Pfingstkirchen. Selbstdarstellungen Dokumente, Kommentare*. Stuttgart, 1972; Paul Fleisch, *Die Pfingstbewegung in Deutschland. Ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte in fünfzig Jahren*, Hanover, 1957.
2. There were some Pentecostal outbreaks in the USA before Los Angeles (Charles Parham in Topeka and the beginnings of the Church of God, Cleveland). Yet, with the exception of the different Churches of God, almost all Pentecostal groups in the USA can be traced back to Los Angeles.
 3. A special area, which cannot be treated here, are the Black Pentecostals in the USA. On this, see V. Synan, *op. cit.*, passim; W.J. Hollenweger, *Black Pentecostal Concept*, June, 1970, WCC Geneva—PGG (English and German), passim; A.M. Brazier, *Black Self-Determination: The Story of the Woodlawn Organization*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1969; Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia Hine, *People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation*, Indianapolis and New York, 1970; W. J. Hollenweger, "Pentecostalism and Black Power," *Theology Today*, Vol. 30, No. 3, October, 1973, pp. 28-45, *Handbuch*, 02a.
 4. Best interpretation of the difficult sources in Bloch-Hoell, *op. cit.*, p. 38, note 99. Sources in Hollenweger, *Black Pentecostal Concept*.
 5. Uncertainty on statistics is because many Pentecostal denominations do not care for exact numbers, and because a considerable number of large Pentecostal denominations are not known since they do not have any connection with a missionary society. Furthermore, researchers are not sure as to which denominations should be called "Pentecostal." I have proposed to call a church "Pentecostal" when it teaches at least two subsequent and different crisis experiences in the life of a believer, the second being usually—but not always—characterized by speaking in tongues. I am not very consistent in this as some of the most interesting Pentecostals (Simon Tugwell, Jonathan Paul, Louis Dallière, and others), who are usually included in Pentecostalism, do not fit this definition.
 6. Alexander A. Boddy, "Ueber Land und Meer," *Pfingst-*

- grüsse* Vol. 5, No. 8, November 24, 1912, p. 63. This is a translation from an early issue of the British Pentecostal periodical, *Confidence*, which I have so far not been able to find.
7. Frank Bartleman, *What Really Happened at "Azusa Street"?* (ed., John Walker), Los Angeles, 1962, p. 29.
 8. Cf., the statement of the German Pentecostal minister, Christian Krust, at the Fourth General Assembly of the WCC in Uppsala: "The Pentecostal movement . . . originally hoped to become an ecumenical movement. This hope has not been fulfilled." (Christian Krust, "Pentecostal Churches and the Ecumenical Movement," in N. Goodall (ed.), *The Uppsala Report 1968*, Geneva, 1968, p. 343).
 9. A. Reichenbach, "Sind wir deshalb eine Sekte?" *Verheissung des Vaters* (Zurich), Vol. 55, No. 10, October, 1962, p. 5.
 10. E.S. Williams, "Forty-Five Years of Pentecostal Revival," *Pentecostal Evangel* (Springfield, Missouri, 1945), August 19, 1951, 3f.
 11. G. G. Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada*, Toronto, 1958, p. 24.
 12. PGG (English), pp. 231-243; PGG (German), pp. 216-230; W.J. Hollenweger, "'Touch' and 'Think' the Spirit. Some aspects of the European charismatic movement," in a forthcoming collection edited by Russ Spittler (Plainfield, New Jersey, 1974); Christian Krust, *50 Jahre deutsche Pfingstbewegung Mülheimer Richtung*. Altdorf bei Nürnberg, 1958; Idem, *Was wir glauben, lehren und bekennen*. Altdorf bei Nürnberg, 1963; W.E. Failing, "Neue charismatische Bewegung in den Landeskirchen," in W.J. Hollenweger (ed.), *Die Pfingstkirchen*, pp. 131-145.
 13. A recent example are the Jesus People. Most of their leaders in the USA are former ministers or members of Pentecostal churches. Best "history:" R.M. Enroth, E.E. Ericson, C.B. Peters, *The Story of the Jesus People. A Factual Survey*. Grand Rapids, Michigan, and Exeter, 1972.
 14. PGG (English, pp. 3-20 and passim)—The literature is legion. A selection: Ivar Lundgren, *Ny Pingst: Rapport från en nutida väckelse i gamla kyrkor*. Den Kristna Bokringer, 1970; Don Basham, *A Handbook on Holy Spirit Baptism*, Monroeville, Pennsylvania, 1969; M.R. Carothers, *Prison to Praise*, Plainfield, New Jersey, 1970; D.J. Du Plessis, *The Spirit Bade Me Go*, Plainfield, New Jersey, n.d.; J.L. Sherrill, *They Speak With Other Tongues*, Spire Books, 1964; Larry Christenson, *Speaking in Tongues and its Significance for the Church*, London, 1968; D.J. Bennett, *Nine O'Clock in the Morning*, Plain-

- field, New Jersey and London, 1970. Periodical: *Logos* (Plainfield, New Jersey). Extensive bibliography in, W.J. Hollenweger, *New Wine in Old Wineskins; Protestant and Catholic Neo-Pentecostalism*, Gloucester: Fellowship Press, 1973.
15. Morton Kelsey, *Tongue Speaking: An experiment in spiritual experience*. New York, 1964; J. Rodman Williams, *The Era of the Spirit*, Plainfield, New Jersey, 1971.
 16. More on this in my essay mentioned, note 12.
 17. Handbuch, 07.150.001 (Lit). "There is just as much danger sooner or later for a 'Pentecostal Church' (so called) as for any of the churches that have risen or fallen." (A.A. Boddy, "Unity, not Uniformity," *Confidence*, March, 1911, quoted by Boch-Hoell, *op. cit.*, p. 210)
 18. Louis Dallièrè, *D'aplomb sur la parole de Dieu*, Valence, 1932—Handbuch, 07.334.001—French version of PGG in detail.
 19. PGG (see index) and Handbuch, 08.211.001, 05.28.048, 08.212.001.
 20. Karl Ecke, *Schwenckfeld, Luther und der Gedanke einer apostolischen Reformation*, Berlin, 1911; abridged 2nd edition: *Kaspar Schwenckfeld. Ungelöste Geistesfragen der Reformationszeit*, Gütersloh, 1952; revised 3rd edition: *Fortsetzung der Reformation. Kaspar von Schwenckfelds Schau einer apostolischen Reformation*, ed. by H.D. Gruschka in connection with the Schwenckfeld Library, Pennsylvania, Memmingen, 1965; Idem, *Der Durchbruch des Urchristentums seit Luthers Reformation: Lesestücke aus einem vergessenen Kapitel der Kirchengeschichte*, Altdorf/Nbg., 1952, 2nd ed. n.d.; Idem, *Die Pfingstbewegung: Ein Gutachten von kirchlicher Seite*. Mülheim/Ruhr, 1950; Idem, *Sektierer oder wertvolle Brüder? Randglossen zu einem Sektenbuch*, Mülheim/Ruhr, 1951; Idem, *Der reformierende Protestantismus: Streiflichter auf die Entwicklung lebendiger Gemeinde von Luther bis heute*. Gütersloh, 1952; Idem (together with O.S. von Bibra), *Die Reformation in neuer Sicht*, Altdorf/Nbg., 1952.
 21. Handbuch, 08.543.001.
 22. Ernst Giese, *Pastor Jonathan Paul, ein Knecht Jesu Christi: Leben und Werk*, Altdorf/Nbg., 1964. Further literature in Handbuch, 08.097 and in PGG (index).
 23. Above, note 8.
 24. Arnold Bittlinger, *Im Kraftfeld des Heiligen Geistes: Gnadengaben und Dienstordnungen im Neuen Testament*, Marburg a.d. Lahn, 1968; Idem, *Gifts and Graces: A Commentary on 1 Corinthians 12-14*, London, 1967.
 25. Articles by Paul Verghese and Bishop Johannes in, R.F. Edel (ed.), *Kirche und Charisma: Die Gaben des Heiligen Geistes im Neuen Testament, in der Kirchengeschichte und in der Gegenwart*. Marburg a.d.Lahn, 1966. Period-

- icals: *Aion* (Great Britain) and *Logos* (Ft. Wayne, Indiana, not to be confused with the periodical *Logos* which is published at Plainfield, New Jersey).
26. Wilhelm Schamoni and Eugen Mederlet in, R.F. Edel (ed.), *op. cit.*
 27. Michael Harper, *As at the Beginning*, London, 1965 (and many more books published by the Fountain Trust, London). Periodical: *Renewal* (London).
 28. Extensive bibliography in, W.J. Hollenweger, *New Wine in Old Wineskins*. A few important publications: K. Ranaghan, *Catholic Pentecostals*, New York, 1969; Ernst Benz, *Der Heilige Geist in Amerika*, Düsseldorf, 1970; Messlingberd Ford, "Toward a Theology of 'Speaking in Tongues,'" *Theol. Studies* Vol. 32, 1971, pp. 3-29; Virginia H. Hine, "Pentecostal Glossalalia. Toward a Functional Interpretation," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* Vol 8, No. 2, 1969, pp. 211-226 (Lit.); Kilian McDonnell, *Catholic Pentecostalism: Problems in Evaluation*, Watchung, New Jersey, 1971; A. Bittlinger and K. McDonnell, *The Baptism in the Holy Spirit as an Ecumenical Problem*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1972; Donald L. Gelpi, *Pentecostalism. A Theological Viewpoint*, New York, 1971; Edward O'Connor, *The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1971; Francis A. Sullivan, "The Pentecostal Movement," *Gregorianum* Vol. 53, No. 2, 1972, pp. 238-265. Periodical: *New Covenant* (Ann Arbor, Michigan). There exists also vast French and Spanish literature (see W.J. Hollenweger, *New Wine in Old Wineskins*).
 29. Simon Tugwell, "The Gift of Tongues in the New Testament." *Expository Times*, Vol. 84, No. 5, February, 1973, p. 137.
 30. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
 31. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
 32. Simon Tugwell, "Reflections on the Pentecostal Doctrine of 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit,'" *Heythrop Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 3, July 1972, p. 268. Such and similar statements evoked the protest of Michael Harper. See his review on S. Tugwell in *Renewal*, Vol. 39, June-July, 1972, p. 8.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
 34. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
 35. Simon Tugwell, *Did You Receive the Spirit?* London, 1972, p. 18.
 36. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
 38. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
 39. G. Hasenbüttl, *Charisma: Ordnungsprinzip der Kirche*, Herder, 1969.
 40. Descriptions of meetings in, Ranaghan, *Catholic Pentecostals*; O'Connor, *Pentecostal Movement*; and Ernst Benz, *Der Heilige Geist in Amerika*.

41. Tugwell, *Did You Receive the Spirit?*, p. 18.
42. Josef Sudbrack, "Streiflichter des nordamerikanischen Christentums," *Geist und Leben*, Vol. 43, No. 5, November, 1970, pp. 369-387.
43. *An Introduction to the Catholic Charismatic Renewal*. Communication Center, Notre Dame, Indiana, n.d., p. 10.
44. Stephen Clark, *Building Christian Communities: Strategy for Renewing the Church*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1972; John Connor, "Covenant Communities: A New Sign of Hope," *New Covenant*, Vol. 1, No. 10, April, 1972, pp. 2-9; Max Delespesse, *Church Community: Leaven and Life Style*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1972; "Families and Community Life," in *New Covenant* Vol. 1, No. 6, December, 1972, pp. 6-8. On the influence on the convents: Sr. Cyprian, "I Will Pour Out My Spirit On All Flesh," *New Covenant*, Vol. 1, No. 9, March, 1972, pp. 2-5; Sr. Florette Amyot, "What is the Spirit Saying to Religious Today?" *ibid.*, pp. 6-8; Sr. Mary Reddy, "A Gate: Through Which Many May Pass to Jesus," *ibid.*, pp. 10-13, 21.
45. O'Connor, *Pentecost in the Catholic Church*, Watchung, New Jersey, 1971, p. 28; Ranaghan, *Catholic Pentecostals*, p. 153.
46. Quoted in O'Connor, *Pentecostal Movement*, pp. 291-93.
47. Catholic Pentecostalism finds support from Pope Paul (*Fatti Attenzione*, October 12, 1966, quoted J. Byrne, *Threshold of God's Promise*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1971, p. 1), Cardinal Suenens "Cardinal Suenens on the Charismatic Renewal," *New Covenant*, Vol. 2, No. 1, July, 1972, pp. 6f.), and from well-known theologians (Karl Rahner, "Meditation on the Renewal of Priestly Ordination," *New Covenant*, Vol. 1, No. 12, June, 1972, pp. 8f.; Gregory Baum, "Ordination: On the Charismatic Renewal" *ibid.*, pp. 12f., p. 23) and from some of the American bishops: Joseph McKinney, "An Open Letter to Priests," *ibid.*, p. 11; Idem, "The Bishops, Atlanta, 1972," *ibid.*, pp. 10f.; Josef Hogan, "Charismatic Renewal in the Catholic Church: An Evaluation," *ibid.*, Vol. 1, No. 3, September, 1971, pp. 2-5; H.S. Cohen, "Contacts with Bishops in New Orleans," *ibid.*, p. 6; Hugh Beahan, "Interview with Bishop Joseph McKinney," *ibid.*, pp. 10-15; Stephen A. Leven, "What I Want for the Catholic Pentecostal Movements," *New Covenant*, Vol. 1, No. 5, November, 1971, pp. 24f.; E.E. Plowman ("Catholics Get the Spirit," *Christianity Today*, July 16, 1971) gives a more critical picture of the attitude of the Catholic bishops toward the charismatic renewal.
48. Karl Weber, "Katholische Pfingstbewegung in Amerika," *Orientierung*, Vol. 36, No. 7, April 15, 1972, pp. 84-86.
49. L.P. Gerlach and V.H. Hines, *People, Power, Change*.
50. On this see: W.J. Hollenweger, "The Social and Ecu-

- menical Significance of Pentecostal Liturgy," *Studia Liturgica*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1971-72, pp. 207-215.
51. On this see: Harding Meyer, "Die Pfingstbewegung in Brasilien" in, *Die Evangelische Diaspora: Jahrbuch des Gustav-Adolfvereins*, Vol. 39, 1968, pp. 9-50; Abdalazais de Moura, *Importancia das Igrejas Pentecostais para a Igreja Catholica*, Recife (duplicated typescript from the author, Rua Jiriquiti 48, Boa Vista, Recife); Idem, "O Pentecostalismo como fenômeno religioso popular no Brasil," *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira*, Vol. 31, No. 121, March, 1971, pp. 78-94.
52. Most Pentecostals do not see the situation like this. They distinguish two crisis experiences in the life of a believer. The second is usually identified by speaking in tongues. This theory of the two experiences is found by Pentecostals in particular in the Lukan writings of the New Testament. The special characteristics of the Lukan pneumatology have been excellently set forth by Eduard Schweizer in his article in Kittel's *Dictionary to the New Testament*. Luke's particular interest in the Holy Spirit is clear from the very fact that the word *pneuma* as a designation of the divine Spirit occurs in his gospel three times as often as in Mark. The first twelve chapters of Acts provide the most frequent use of the term in this sense, with thirty-seven occurrences (E. Schweizer, art. "*Pneuma*," *Theol. Dict. of the New Testament*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Vol. VI, 1968, pp. 332-451). Luke, who was not himself an apostle, appeals, as he expressly states, (Luke 1:1-4) to oral and written tradition. His editorial procedure is clear from one especially interesting passage where he cites verbatim from Matthew. (Matthew 2:11) His interest in the Holy Spirit is clear from his substitution of the words "Holy Spirit" for Matthew's "good things." The good thing which the heavenly Father wishes to give to those who ask him for it is, according to Luke, the Holy Spirit. Luke places this saying in a context different from that in Matthew, making it the conclusion of the parable of the Friend at Midnight. This is a way of saying we must ask for the Holy Spirit. Luke also distinguishes between the receiving of salvation and the receiving of the Spirit (contra J.D.G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in Relation to Pentecostalism Today*, London, 1970; and F.D. Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit. The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1970). According to Luke you can be a Christian without having received the Spirit. For Luke, as for the Pentecostals, the Spirit is something additional to salvation. For example, the Samaritan Christians believed and had been baptized. Who but Luke and the Pentecostals

would say of such Christians: "The Holy Spirit had not yet fallen on any of them but they had only been baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus"? (Acts 8:16) According to Luke, the reception of the Spirit is visibly marked by external signs, usually but not always including speaking in tongues. "Now when Simon saw that the Spirit was given through the laying on of the apostles' hands . . ." (Acts 8:18) According to Luke, Paul had still to receive the laying on of hands after he had already encountered Christ. (Acts 9) How did Peter tell that Cornelius had received the Spirit? By his faith? By his love? By his fruits? Not at all! According to Luke Cornelius was already a devout man who feared God. Peter recognized Cornelius' reception of the Holy Spirit by his speaking in tongues. (Acts 10:46) The same is repeated in Acts 15. As a sign that the Gentiles had become believers Peter speaks of the fact that "God who knows the heart bore witness to them, giving them the Holy Spirit just as he did to us." (15:8) The Christians at Ephesus are not asked: Have you come to believe in Christ? Have you grown in faith, patience, and doctrine? The important question is: "Did you receive the Holy Spirit when you believed?" (Acts 19:2) This reception of the Holy Spirit can refer only to what then follows: "The Holy Spirit came on them; and they spoke with tongues and prophesied." (Acts 19:6) Schweizer sums up his account of Luke's pneumatology as follows: "The peculiarity of Luke's testimony lies in its demonstration that a Church which has no special power to fulfill its missionary task is a Church without the Spirit." According to Luke, the believing person who prays receives the Holy Spirit; according to Paul—as we shall see—prayer and faith are a consequence of the work of the Spirit.

Unlike Luke, Paul recognizes manifestations which are not distinguished by any extraordinary features. He differs from the Corinthians in including among the gifts of the Spirit: service, (Romans 12:7, 1 Corinthians 12:5) leadership, (Romans 12:8) mercy, (Romans 12:8) liberality, (Romans 12:8) and even being single or being married. (1 Corinthians 7:7) Yet Paul thanks God he speaks in tongues more than the Corinthians. (1 Corinthians 14:18) Nor is he any stranger to visionary experience. (2 Corinthians 12:2) He does not assign any priority to the exceptional as opposed to the normal or vice versa. "The greatest and most important gift is always the one which is most needed at any given time" (A. Bittlinger, in, R.F. Edel (ed.), *Die Bedeutung der Gnadengaben für die Gemeinde Jesu Christi*, Marburg, 1964, pp. 5-18), i.e., the gift most likely to serve the common good. (1 Corinthians 12:7) Paul makes a radical break with the notion

that the exceptional (i.e., the supernatural) is the divine. For Paul there are no phenomena which because of their strangeness are nearer to God. But their strangeness, their unrational character, does not mean that they are nearer to the devil either. For Paul the criteria to be applied are: where faith is born and trust in oneself is conquered, where Christ is allowed to be Lord and where the body of Christ is edified, there is the Spirit. For Paul, the Spirit is not something additional to faith; this is where he differs from Luke.

Summa: The quarrel between Pentecostals and reformation-based theologians is an *inner-canonical quarrel*. A great deal has been written about the relationship between the Pauline and Lukan pneumatologies. In my view, they are not fundamentally contradictory, nor need we try to harmonize them in a system. Pentecostals who presuppose that the Bible is a unified system solve the difficulty here by positing two modes of the Spirit's operation: a primary mode, essential for regeneration (the Pauline view), and a secondary mode, providing additional equipment for service (the Lukan view).

It seems to me, however, that the two pneumatologies raise afresh the question of the expression of unity in non-conceptual terms. The existence of a logical inconsistency is far from meaning necessarily a real inconsistency. Indeed, the above outline could be taken to suggest the unsuitability of a consistently systematic approach for expressing non-consistent and non-systematic realities.

53. W.J. Hollenweger, "Flowers and Songs. A Mexican Contribution on Hermeneutics," *Int. Review of Mission*, Vol. 60, No. 238, April, 1971, pp. 232-244 (detailed in PGG, Spanish).
54. See M.L. Martin, *Kirche ohne Weisse: Simon Kimbangu und seine Millionenkirche*, Basel, 1971; Martial Sinda, *Le Messianisme congolais et ses incidences politiques*, Paris, 1972; W.J. Hollenweger, *Marxist and Kimbanguist Mission: A Comparison*, Birmingham, 1973—PGG (Spanish and French).
55. Above, note 50.
56. Summarized in PGG (German, pp. 192-200; English, pp. 208-213). Handbuch, 07.496. See also a forthcoming thesis on Gee by Brian Ross (University of Toronto).
57. D. Gee, "To Our New Pentecostal Friends," *Pentecost*, Vol. 58, 1962, p. 17.