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LIVING IN THE HOLY SPIRIT:
A Phenomenological Study of Ecstatic Christian
Charismatic Religious Experience

PhD Thesis

Submitted to the University of Kent at Canterbury

July 1999

By

ALEXANDER REICHELT

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**Living In The Holy Spirit:
A Phenomenological Study of Ecstatic Christian Charismatic Religious
Experience**

Abstract

This thesis attempts to understand the perception of Charismatic Christians of the world they live in in relationship to their religious experiences. It explores a variety of experiences of holiness in the lives of Charismatic Christians, drawing upon numerous testimonies found in their own literature as well as the writings of anthropologists and sociologists of religion, and those obtained through interviews with individual Charismatic Christians. Being sensitive to the methodological difficulties of understanding any religious experience from a perspective outside a religious community, and yet desiring to pursue a non- reductionist approach to religious experience, the phenomenological tool of the *epoche* is applied. As we demonstrate through our discussion of the alternative scholarly approaches to the study of shamanism, religious experience is neither pathological nor a mere therapeutic tool, but irreducible to any other experience. In the light of this methodological principle we describe and interpret Christian Charismatic religious life and experience as it occurs in our own Western world as well as in non Western societies, and in so doing we consider its adaptability to other cultures and its relationship to indigenous religion of Christian and non Christian tradition. In order to identify the relationship of Christian Charismatic religion to our own culture, we compare it to another contemporary Western religious phenomenon, the New Age movement. Finally, identifying similar experiences in the history of Christianity, we find that from the beginning of the Christian Church there has been a struggle between a more hierarchical form of religion, which emphasises the values of the community of believers, and a more individualist form of religion, drawing its authority mainly from the personal experience of the Holy Spirit. Our modern Western culture tends to endorse more the values of the latter. It will be argued that the ecstatic experience of Charismatic Christians can be interpreted as the climax of secularisation: for a rapidly growing number of Charismatic Christians the institutionalised Church has become dispensable.

*Je religiöser Ihr wäret, desto mehr Wunder würdet Ihr sehen....
Friedrich Schleiermacher*

O. Introduction

Religion neither seeks like metaphysics to determine and explain the nature of the Universe, nor like morals to advance and perfect the Universe by the power of freedom and the divine will of man. It is neither thinking nor acting, but intuition and feeling. It will regard the universe as it is. It is reverent attention and submission, in childlike passivity, to be stirred and filled by the Universe's immediate influences.¹

That is what Friedrich Schleiermacher says in the second of his speeches on religion, a phrase which captures the atmosphere of our contemporary religious scene. In public opinion theological arguments seem to be outdated, the search for theological truth a pointless enterprise. The immensely popular American New Age author James Redfield remarks: "We know that life is really about a spiritual unfolding that is personal and enchanting - an unfolding that no science or philosophy or religion has yet fully clarified."² A search for the whole without getting lost in the detail is required, as an exercise by the whole person, not just by the intellect.

The Universe is in unbroken activity, and reveals itself to us at every moment. Every form, every creature, every occurrence is an action of the Universe upon us, and religion is just the acceptance of each separate thing as a part of the Whole, of each limited thing as an exhibition of the Infinite.³

With this statement by Schleiermacher we plunge into the centre of Christian Charismatic thinking. Here the world as it is perceived by the converted and Spirit-baptised Christian is an overabundant source of miracles. To be precise, it is not just the world, but God who pervades all life in the Holy Spirit, and who can be adored in his incarnated son Jesus Christ with almost physical fervour. In perceiving the world through the Holy Spirit, the world is transcended. What generally is conceived as "natural law" loses its character as the limit of intersubjective reality in the perception of reality which transcends the subjective experience of a single individual and which is shared with others: "Miracles" occur, the sick are healed, and God speaks directly in "Prophecy" and "Words of Knowledge" to his believers. What seems to be an everyday occurrence to the outsider can be interpreted as God's direction and action. Coincidences do not exist in a

world where the everlasting God reigns and yet has to fight the last battles with his adversary. Again Schleiermacher:

All intuition proceeds from the influence of the thing perceived on the person perceiving. The former acts originally and independently, and the latter receives, combines and apprehends in accordance with its nature.[...] What is perceived is not the nature of things, but their action upon us, and what is known or believed of this nature is beyond the range of intuition.⁴

Intuition is in the range of faith, faith not meaning "belief", but meaning a form of absolute knowledge. It, therefore, is not disputable and its theoretical discussion would lead us into the metaphysics which is in such low regard amongst many of those who perceive this reality directly.

Many Charismatic Christians are not interested in a philosophically sound system of theology. They have certain experiences in a specific environment, and they accept the meaning of their experiences given to them by that specific environment. A religious meaning happens to them, quite literally, and exactly that is what, according to Jacques Waardenburg, faith indicates. 'Viewed in this way', he says, *'the concept of religious faith would indicate the "happening" of a religious meaning to people*, that is to say the perception of a religious signification and the subsequent modification in behavior.⁵ The latter is observable and somewhat objective; it is "the thing perceived" and the action of the perception on the perceiver. It cannot be denied that this way of separating the observable from the purely subjective destroys the wholeness of the perception, whereas for the believer his or her faith is inseparable from the experience. The perception is, however, as Schleiermacher puts it, 'not the nature of things, but their action upon us'. The nature of things is the "Ding an sich", as Kant would call it, which we cannot grasp theoretically. But by pointing at the "action upon us", we can arouse curiosity for the "Ding an sich".

William James takes on a similar point of view as Schleiermacher by assuming that a personal religious experience is always the foundation of religion:

Churches, when once established, live at secondhand upon tradition; but the *founders* of every church owed their power originally to the fact of their direct personal communion with the divine. Not only the superhuman founders, the Christ, the Buddha, Mahomet, but all the originators of Christian sects have been in this case;- so personal religion should still seem the primordial thing, even to those who continue to esteem it incomplete.⁶

And so James defines religion as *'the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine.'*⁷

This definition can help our purposes, but we cannot accept it completely. Religious experience certainly is for the individual, and it can happen in solitude, but it need not. Religious experience, and therefore religion, does not happen in a vacuum, but in a cultural context. Schleiermacher quite rightly refutes the existence of a neutral "natural religion", which in the academic environment of the age of enlightenment meant a form of religion stripped of all the "superstitious" appearance of "positive religion", i.e. the historically developed forms of religion. The rationalists thus tried to form a rational universal religion.⁸ Schleiermacher insists to his reader that: 'To be satisfied with a mere general idea of religion would not be worthy of you.'⁹ Conceding that true religiosity is in the multitude of religious forms, he nevertheless rejects the idea of reducing the pure, natural religion from them:

You will then find that the positive religions are just the definite forms in which religion must exhibit itself - a thing to which your so-called natural religions have no claim. They are only a vague, sorry, poor thought that corresponds to no reality, and you will find that in the positive religion alone a true individual cultivation of the religious capacity is possible. Nor do they, by their nature, injure the freedom of their adherents.¹⁰

To come to this conclusion ourselves, Schleiermacher invites us, '...to study every faith professed by man, every religion that has a name and a character.'¹¹ We cannot quite fulfil that enormous task, but we can start by studying some of the religious practices of our time and our culture. We are not so much interested in their official metaphysics and theology, which although mostly well intended has so much lost touch with its origins and the religious reality of the world, as with the 'feelings, acts and experiences of the individual', the perception of religion within its context, which we are interested in. We may reformulate James's definition in the following way: 'Religious experience is the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men and women, which can occur in solitude or in collective worship, and which always stand in a relationship to their culture, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine.' These feelings, acts and experiences we can observe, examine and analyse. We will examine these experiences from an outside point of view, but we cannot ignore the

meaning given to them by those who have them. Van der Leeuw writes on the phenomenology of religion: 'Finally, phenomenology of religion is not theology. For theology shares with philosophy the claim to search for truth, while phenomenology, in this respect, exercises the intellectual suspense of the *epoche*.'¹² This intellectual suspense means the bracketing out of all objectifying judgement. 'All phenomena, therefore, are considered solely as they are presented to the mind, without any further aspects such as their real existence, or their value, being taken into account'.¹³ In so far as we take an outside point of view, we do not get involved in "inside" discussion about the meaning of the phenomena, in the theological debates over how the Holy Spirit manifests itself, or how demonic influence can be determined. To a certain extent this intellectual suspense will also prevent us from making reductionist explanations (e.g. we will mention that some scholars have discovered a possible link between Charismatic worship and sexual desires,¹⁴ but we will never claim, Charismatic ecstasy *is* suppressed sexuality). An understanding phenomenology, however, also means 'the interpolation of the phenomenon into our own lives.'¹⁵ Van der Leeuw emphasises the necessity to realise

what we are doing when we commence to speak about what has appeared to us and which we are naming. Further, we must recall that everything that appears to us does not submit itself to us directly and immediately, but only as a symbol of some meaning to be interpreted by us, as something which offers itself for interpretation.¹⁶

So if we interpolate these experiences into our own lives we are aware that we are interpreting them from our own background - in the cases of the author of this thesis that is the background of a German Lutheran graduate in Theology, a practising Christian, but not with any Charismatic experiences made by himself. This background is important to note, since 'the subjectivity of the scholar contains the very source of his interests and intentions, and is related to an existential realm.'¹⁷ And, to ask with Eric Sharpe: 'How, though, is one to begin to identify and respect the holy, unless one has already learned to recognise it in one's own life and the life of the community to which one belongs?'¹⁸ So this research will bring forward certain aspects and insights which are promoted by the mentioned interests and intentions. As Waardenburg puts it:

[I]t is a methodological requirement that religious phenomena be studied by people not only of different specializations but also of different characters and backgrounds. [...] As a result, the phenomena studied as

evidence will be seen not only in their manifold aspects but also in their different meanings to different people.¹⁹

But this does not mean that the phenomena will be interpreted according to the "Weltanschauung" of the author. Waardenburg also warns:

There is reason to distrust *a priori* the work of those who interpret their material according to pre-conceived schemes of reference or closed systems of interpretation [...] who [...] *are precluded from grasping the truthful character, the authentic claim and so the real significance* of the phenomena studied.²⁰

That "authentic claim" lays, according to Ninian Smart, with those who experience the phenomenon in connection with its intention; thus the intention of someone going to mass may be to be released from a feeling of guilt; or to feel a certain inner arousal by singing the hymns; or to find a safe haven, where rituals remain stable in a fleeting world. Smart remarks, 'what the observers "observe" [...] does not bring out at all adequately what the "phenomenon" is, for it is at least a human phenomenon [...], and to understand what an action is one has to understand something about its intentionality.'²¹ This can be verified by examining many phenomena of pentecostal religion: People go to certain meetings, services, rallies, etc. with the clear intentionality of having a certain experience understood in a specific way, e.g. they come for a healing, or to speak in tongues, or to experience the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and sometimes the intentionality can explain many of the phenomena. It is here, however, where Smart's epistemology becomes dangerous - if we apply the idea of intentionality as an explanation to the phenomena, we will make exactly the mistake Smart warns us against, i.e. we will 'load descriptions with explanatory theories.'²² "Intentionality" may be an important area of religious experience which needs thorough examination. However, the uncovering of intentionality can be just one of the tools which could help us to approach the meaning of the phenomena under observation to those who experience them. We could only fully understand it, if we had the experience ourselves, but this would mean a completely different level of insight which we can neither expect from our reader nor are we prepared to reach ourselves. It is not enough to slip into the shoes of the people under investigation and thus discover their intentionality. When we slip into their shoes we can explore our own experiences under the circumstances of a Pentecostal congregation, or a New Age spirituality group. We

cannot experience, however, how someone feels about a prayer, or an exorcism, and for whom this action may be his or her ultimate resort of hope. And although it may be an interesting personal experience to be a Pentecostal for a limited time, it is not a sign of respect towards those who live with their religion as the centre of their life, if one uses it as an academic playground. Our goal therefore is to gain as much insight as possible from our position as an academic outside observer. This observer may have had his own personal experiences with religion, but it is from this position that we will try to understand as deeply as possible how the people with the experiences under discussion perceive reality, as Schleiermacher remarks:

[T]he only remaining way for a truly individual religion to arise is to select some one of the great relations of mankind in the world to the Highest Being, and, in a definitive way, make it the centre and refer to it all others.²³

The people we will encounter in their reports, narratives and writings have ordered their universe around a centre and as we try to approach that centre we will try to understand more and more of their perception of the world. That centre is what is holy to these people, and, according to Eric J. Sharpe, 'the study of religion is first and foremost a matter of learning and respect, what is (or has been) holy in *the lives of individuals and communities*.'²⁴ We will explore what is holy in the life of Charismatic Christians by using the numerous accounts Charismatic Christians have given of themselves in their own religious literature, by some singular interviews with individuals and by exploring what anthropologists and sociologists of religion have found when they were doing their fieldwork.

What does the extensive use of two nineteenth century scholars in this opening chapter justify? It is the similarity of the historic situation of those men with our contemporary situation in the religious world. Schleiermacher's work means the end of an old and the beginning of a new theological era. It was a time when in the Protestant German states the end of religion and the church was openly discussed. "Enlightenment Theology" had turned religion into morals, the Protestant church had turned into just another department of government, being responsible for religion and education, and church service was held mainly to eradicate the remainders of "superstition" in the population. Consequently church attendance went down to almost nil, since people were told in church that religion

was a pointless exercise anyway. But religion was flourishing in the corners: the pietist movement was recording "awakenings" in the countryside, the theological faculty of the University of Halle had just turned from the leading institution of "Neology" and other rationalistic theological ideas into the most pietistic institution under the influence of August Hermann Francke.

William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*, on the other hand, is at the other end of that era which had started with Schleiermacher. A hundred years later America seems to be the land of unlimited possibilities. Science had made incredible progress, the United States had consolidated as a world power after the civil war, and in Chicago the world religions seemed to unite under a white, liberal, and Anglo-Saxon umbrella at the world parliament of religions in 1893 - the future looked bright - also from James' point of view. Contrary to the expectations of many rationalists, religion was not dying out. It was flourishing, even amongst the educated. And James, pragmatic as he was, was not only prepared to record the incidences of religious experience, but also its value for the individual. It was, however, only the experience as such which seemed to be of any value for him; church and doctrine were second-hand, lacking the authenticity of the original experience.

What, then, is the question? Mainstream and liberal churches are losing members all over in the Western world. They have gone through a "God is dead" Theology, their Gospel has been demythologised, and then been translated into a "social gospel". They have desperately tried to gain credibility for a modern age, and are only realising slowly, that this modern age has gone. The churches are empty - while religion is flourishing. Conservative churches and new evangelical movements in the USA are increasing their membership and are multiplying.²⁵ "House churches" have been appearing increasingly in the UK since the seventies. And outside the Christian religion New Age spirituality offers religious experience à la carte for the millions. Again, it is a turning from materialism to a more holistic outlook, from rationalistic reductionism to a point of view which tries to integrate experience and knowledge. On the New Age market, a Jamesian pragmatism is being proposed: 'good is what works'. It is experimental, it demands authentic personal experience, unmediated by external doctrine, and to a large extent it has retained James' optimistic view of the world, who still expected to be able to develop a scientific view of

religion, which 'might sift out from their discrepancies a common body of doctrine which she might also formulate in terms to which physical science need not to object.'²⁶ - this amounts to a general "Science of Religion"²⁷. From a New Age point of view the age of Aquarius has begun and the world has taken a spiritual development which eventually will transform it into a place of peace and happiness. James Redfield's book, which has been mentioned above, promises on its cover: 'Within its pages are 9 key insights into life itself - insights each human being is predicted to grasp sequentially, one insight then another, as we move toward a completely spiritual culture on earth.'

On the other hand a new form of Christianity has been growing for about ninety years, which also puts authentic personal experience in the centre of its spirituality, rejecting religion based on intellectual activity concerned with academic theological issues. But it is also based on community and stays within the larger body of Christianity. It rejects body/ mind dualism and indulges in a suprarational world view. As Thomas Csordas observes, Charismatic rationality is not a closed worldview, but, as he describes it:

Charismatic thinking is neither isolated nor closed even to scientific reasoning itself. It is precisely this openness that situates the Charismatic Renewal within the postmodern condition. One must not only account for the relationship between common sense and science, or between common sense and religion, but must also include the relation in Charismatic thought between religion and science. Being able to identify the openness that blurs and crosses boundaries amongst these modes is a distinct methodological contribution of invoking the postmodern - the condition of culture conditions the phenomenon.²⁸

Charismatic worldview is not against science; it even makes use of science, but it rejects scientific materialism. Karla Poewe reports that it is even especially attractive to many scientists due to its experimental and non- metaphorical character. One of the scientists she mentions in her article says: 'Experiencing God is an actual experience - it's an experience I see in color, I hear in sound, and I feel in touch.'²⁹

Charismatic spirituality is 'reverent attention and submission, in childlike passivity', as quoted by Schleiermacher earlier, but then it is a form of existence in the world, which can bear life's misery and joy in its attitude of living with the tension between "already", and "not yet". The Kingdom of God is already visible, but it is not yet complete. This attitude at first seems to be otherworldly, but can be immensely practical for life in this world. Somebody who lives with this attitude will not waste his energy on ideological and other battles to save this world, but he will do everything to make the glory of God's

Kingdom visible to everybody. He or she will "save the world" on a practical basis. The believer's knowledge that he or she already belongs to the Kingdom of God enables the believer to apply the strictest moral standards to him- or herself first and it urges the believer to help as many people as possible to join him in the kingdom - and thus to apply the same standards to themselves.

So what is the purpose of this study? It is to examine why Christianity in its Charismatic form has become such a powerful expression of contemporary religion and what its place in our modern culture is. However, first of all we will examine whether the Charismatic religious experience in its ecstatic forms can be justified as a valuable human experience in its own right or if it is just a form of psychopathology, a symptom of a sick society, as some anthropologists have come to see it,³⁰ or critical observers of the role of religion in our own culture, who conclude that religion is the opium of the people. We will try to show that a religious ecstatic experience is an important form of the experience of human life, and although it is phenomenologically similar to other human experiences which can be regarded as pathological, e.g. the experience of a psychosis, it remains distinct to these experiences which are often valued in a negative way. We will show that religion is neither disease nor therapy but a part of human life in its own right, and in order to do this we will leave the area of Christian Charismatics and have a look at shamanism and the societies where this form of religious ecstasy flourishes.

Having established that ecstatic religious experience is not an aberration of human behaviour, we can go on and have a look at the way that Charismatic Christians live that mode of human existence by observing the phenomenology of Charismatic worship. This can be done in a sympathetic but nevertheless critical way. We will describe the action of religion upon those who are perceiving it as religious experience, and this will also give us the opportunity to learn something about how these experiences are being perceived, i.e. we will discover the essential nature of the Charismatic world view.

Observing the fact that the Charismatic form of Christianity is growing world- wide in all cultures from Holy Trinity Church, Brompton, London via the African bush, the Peruvian village, Indian Ashrams to the mega churches in Seoul - we will consider what makes this form of worship so adaptable to any culture - and we will try to come to an evaluation of its role in our own Western society.

This evaluation will be contrasted to another contemporary experiential form of religiosity, the New Age movement. Although the representatives of both movements like to emphasise a certain antagonism between the two, they have much in common. These similarities, as well as the differences, in phenomenology, attitudes and world view will be presented.

This comparison of their present form can be deepened by following the history of experienced based forms of Christianity. Can our hypothesis be verified that there is a continuous struggle of established, hierarchical, and community based Christianity versus a form of Christianity which relies on individual religious experience and that the latter form of Christian religion has been strong when the former was in a crisis? And is this, mostly suppressed, form finally conquering established Christianity and with what consequences?

This all will hopefully form an answer to our question: Why has the Charismatic form of worship become such a powerful form of contemporary religion?

However, before we can start the investigations, we must clarify the use of several terms. What is "Charismatic" and what "Pentecostal"? "Pentecostals" are the denominations which are descendants of the first Pentecostal awakening in the beginning of this century. Although they had ancestors as well, they can be regarded as the "parents" of the style of worship we are concerned with in this thesis. Believing that they were the bearers of a new Pentecost, they soon organised themselves as denominations calling themselves "Pentecostals", normally in opposition to the established denominations which they regarded as spiritually dead. Eventually they formed themselves into institutions, which from an outside point of view became very similar to other evangelical churches in the course of a few decades.

In the nineteenfifties an awakening with similar phenomena and indeed a similar theology started in the established churches in America as in the Episcopal church, the Lutheran church, the Baptist church, and after a while even the Roman Catholic church. This came in several waves in the fifties, the seventies, the eighties and the nineties, and has been called the Charismatic movement. Contrary to the Pentecostals it tried to change the churches from within, not by founding an alternative denomination. Being observed with some suspicion by traditional Pentecostals, who could not see anything good coming

from the older churches, it now has reached and renewed even some of the institutionalised old Pentecostal churches. New ecumenical links between Anglican and Pentecostal churches have become possible. But the Charismatic movement also set off outside both the traditional churches and Pentecostal denominations in the House church movement: private gatherings for Charismatic worship developed into new congregations outside all denominational structures. The future will show if those new interdenominational congregations will develop into new denominations as the Vineyard Christian Fellowship has done, or if they can survive as a 'movement', as the "Toronto Blessing" is still trying to do. Some of these developments, however, make the terms "Charismatic" and "Pentecostal" somewhat interchangeable. The old denominations, as the "Assemblies of God" are certainly to be called Pentecostals, although some congregations within them may now be part of the Charismatic movement. The style of worship has been coined by Pentecostals, and so Charismatics have a Pentecostal style worship, but they probably would prefer to call their worship Charismatic; the Pentecostals again probably would refuse the term "Charismatic" for themselves, since they feel they somehow own the copyrights. So the terms will be used in this thesis interchangeably according to context more than statically according to a certain system. Charismatic or Pentecostal, they all report amazing ecstatic religious experiences, and that is what we intend to investigate now.

- ¹ F.D. Schleiermacher, *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers*, First Edition, transl. and ed. by J. Oman (New York: Harper, 1958), p. 277.
- ² J. Redfield, *The Celestial Prophecy: An Adventure* (London: Bantam Books, 1994), p.9.
- ³ Schleiermacher, p. 278f.
- ⁴ Schleiermacher, p. 278.
- ⁵ J. Waardenburg, 'The Category of Faith in Phenomenological Research', in *Reflections on the Study of Religion: Including an Essay on the Work of Gerardus van der Leeuw*, by J. Waardenburg (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978), pp. 79- 88 (p. 88).
- ⁶ W. James, *The Variety of Religious Experience*, ed. by M.E. Marty (New York: Penguin, 1982), p. 30.
- ⁷ James, p. 31.
- ⁸ Comp. K.H. Miskotte's article on 'Natürliche Religion und Theologie': 'It was the aim of the Enlightenment period (-> Deism) to *abstract* the natural religion from the positive religions, to *isolate* the content and to declare its meaning to be the absolute *norm* of what religion may be. The "positive" is being regarded as superstition in that view, for the reason for the equality of religion in all its diversity of its appearances is only that religion is a result of *reason*; so the aim of all religion is "natural", i.e. according to reason, and its goal is to eliminate all "anthropomorphical" ideas of God.' K.H. Miskotte, 'Natürliche Religion und Theologie', *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3rd ed., ed. by Kurt Gallig a.o., 7 vols. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1960), IV, pp. 1322- 1326. (p. 1322f.), translation by the author of this thesis.
- ⁹ Schleiermacher, p. 213.
- ¹⁰ Schleiermacher, p. 217.
- ¹¹ Schleiermacher, p. 216.
- ¹² G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, 2 vols. (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967), II, p. 687.
- ¹³ Van der Leeuw, p. 646, footnote 1.
- ¹⁴ Comp. M. Percy, 'Sweet Rapture: Subliminal Eroticism in Contemporary Charismatic Worship', *Theology and Sexuality*, 6 (1997), 71- 106.
- ¹⁵ Van der Leeuw, p. 674.
- ¹⁶ *Ibd.*
- ¹⁷ J. Waardenburg, p. 84.
- ¹⁸ E.J. Sharpe, *Understanding Religion* (London: Duckworth, 1983), p. 60.
- ¹⁹ Waardenburg, p. 84.
- ²⁰ Waardenburg, p. 83.
- ²¹ N. Smart, *The Phenomenon of Religion* (London: Macmillan, 1973), p. 54.
- ²² Smart, p. 61.
- ²³ Schleiermacher, p. 222f.
- ²⁴ E.J. Sharpe, *Understanding Religion* (London: Duckworth, 1983), p. 60.
- ²⁵ Comp. R.D. Perrin & A.L. Mauss, 'Saints and Seekers: Sources of Recruitment to the Vineyard Christian Fellowship', *Review of Religious Research*, 33 (1991), 97- 111.
- ²⁶ James, p. 510, comp. also p. 513.
- ²⁷ Comp. James., pp. 433, 456.
- ²⁸ T. Csordas, *Language, Charisma, and Creativity: The Ritual Life of a Religious Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 63.
- ²⁹ K. Poewe, 'Rethinking the Relationship of Anthropology to Science and Religion' in *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, ed. by K. Poewe (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 234- 258 (p. 250).
- ³⁰ Comp. G. Devereux, *Basic Problems of Ethnopsychiatry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

1. Religious Experience and Mental Illness

1.1. The Problem and the Task

What is religious experience? It is communication with the divine, the religious person might answer. But if we want to keep an agnostic view on the nature of the divine - what is religious experience? It is a delusion of the mind, the materialist might answer. But if we still want to keep an agnostic view on the nature of the divine - what is religious experience? Can we prove to the materialist that the description "delusion of the mind" falls short when related to religious experience? And how do we react to those who support the materialist through the back door by claiming that religious experience and mental disorder are just different means to reach another state of consciousness? This is the minefield we are in. Now our task is to find a way out and to try to draw a map of the area. What we must avoid are the traps of hidden preconceptions or of early conclusions which eventually turn out to be cul-de-sacs. Thus we will try to find a way to speak about religious experience which does not ignore modern science, and also uncovers the preconceptions of some scientists.

1.2. The Similarities of Mental Illness and Religious Experience

For, happen what may, we must risk everything, and resign ourselves into the hands of God and go willingly wherever we are carried away. St Teresa of Avila (Mystic)

Deliverance; pure, simple, deliverance....Nothing in this world can stay it when it claims its own...I have felt it sweep me and take me - where - I do not know. Lara Jefferson (Psychotic)

Phenomenologically mystical and psychotic states sometimes are difficult to differentiate. The "typical" psychotic shows his or her first symptoms in the age of adolescence or early adulthood.¹ William James regards that age as typical for conversion experiences.² Some of the important visions of St Mary of the last hundred years are by girls of the age of just around puberty (Lourdes, Fatima). In other cultures the young shaman experiences his selection in that period of life. The level of activity changes - the psychotic may show symptoms of hyperactivity, reduced need of sleep or flight of ideas³ - and the future Zulu shaman hardly sleeps, he begins to sing even in the middle of the night, he might climb on a roof and jump like a frog.⁴ Or the psychotic may show reduced activity, as many future shamans do, as Walsh

describes it: '...the shaman - to - be starts to exhibit unusual - even bizarre, dangerous and life- threatening - behavior. The result may be weeks, months, or even years of unpredictable chaos that disrupts the lives of the shaman, his family, and his tribe.'⁵

This already indicates how the affect of the young religious person becomes blunted. St Teresa describes that experience on herself in the following way:

[The person] involuntarily closes his eyes and desires solitude; and, without the display of any human skill there seems gradually to be built for him a temple in which he can make the prayer already described; the senses and all external things seem gradually to lose their hold on him, while the soul, on the other hand, regains its lost control.⁶

And while the psychotic may start speaking "schizophrenese", the Pentecostal Christian very often experiences his "baptism of the Holy Spirit" by talking in tongues,⁷ the same phenomenon which occurs in Korea with shaman initiates. The most similarities between psychotic and religious persons can be observed in the field of delusions. They are mostly experiences of passivity, and the psychotic may experience thought insertions, thought broadcasting, thought withdrawal, he may hear voices talking to each other or voices giving running commentary, he may have general delusions of reference, he may have tactile, percutory, visual, olfactory or non-verbal auditory hallucinations, or he may experience delusions of a religious or somatic sort.⁸ Most of these symptoms could be found in religious people. Charismatic Christians may have prophetic visions or auditions, they may be touched by the Spirit, they may exorcise all sorts of evil spirits. On shamans it is reported:

His helping spirit keeps whispering into his ear and promises him that he will soon be able to give advice to those that come to him. He can hear the whistling of the spirits and converses with them in the language of the humans.⁹

Finally the most severe forms of mental illness, the catatonic states, can be observed with the religious people. Charismatic Christians, when they are "slain by the Spirit", fall on the ground in a cataleptic trance, with trembling bodies and convulsions. St Teresa suffered painful "raptures" before her great experience of union. And the new shaman 'goes home shaking and uttering unintelligible words. An odor of decay and annatto emanates from his body. Suddenly a gust of wind makes him totter; he falls like a dead man.'¹⁰ Part of the shaman's initiation is his disembodiment - his old "selfhood" has got to die before he can gain new life. How similar this is to Lara Jefferson's account:

The fifth morning they took me out of the jacket. I had been wringing wet with perspiration most of the day during those five days and nights and the odor...which assailed me when that jacket was loosened was asphyxiating. Truly, something had died, and was decomposing!¹¹

Attempts to work out the differences in the phenomenology of religious and mad people very often fail; e.g. Richard Noll's emphasis on the difference of the shamanic benign vision to the schizophrenic malignant auditory hallucinations¹² is only correct on the first sight. On closer inspection one will discover that there are psychotic states with "benign" visions as much as shamans with malignant auditory experiences. The shaman often is in fear of malignant spirits, or of the possibility that he could have angered his own tutelary or helping spirits. The other main difference put forward by Noll as well as by Walsh is that of control, viz. 'that the shaman voluntarily enters and leaves his altered states of consciousness (ASCs) while that schizophrenic is the helpless victim of his.'¹³ This is - at least in many cases - only correct after the initiation of the shaman. In the phase of the spiritual awakening of the young shaman-to-be he is not at all in control of his states of consciousness. In this early stage it is often difficult even for his fellow tribe people to find out if the young man or woman is inspired or just crazy.¹⁴

These similarities seem to suggest, that the difference between religious experience and mental illness is if anything a cultural difference or a matter of context. And in fact, it does make a lot of difference, if a bank manager speaks in tongues at his church or in a conference with other bank managers. The context of the conference is not considered appropriate for that which he himself considers to be a valuable gift, the ability to express his prayers in a language different to his everyday language. However, the critic who attends a Pentecostal church service will just notice the gibberish and assume that people under psychological stress seem to relieve themselves in the shelter of the church. The shaman learns to shamanise for other people on request, he learns how to deal with his spirits and the spirits of his community. While Roger Walsh considers the shaman's ability to perform his shamanising in a contextually valuable way as a significant difference to the psychotic,¹⁵ the same fact is for the anthropologist Devereux just a sign of the ill health of the barbaric society as a whole and does not change at all his opinion that the shaman is mentally ill.¹⁶

The close relationship between the different states is also highlighted by the psychiatrist Roland Fischer, who proposed in 1972, 'that normality, creativity,

schizophrenia, and mystical states, though seemingly disparate, actually lie on a continuum. Furthermore, they represent increasing levels of arousal and a gradual withdrawal from the synchronised physical-sensory-cerebral space- times of the normal state.¹⁷

Is religious experience a culturally camouflaged form of psychotic delusion then? Is ecstatic religion, as Devereux puts it, nothing but a sort of a cultural psychosis?

1.3. Psychosis - Misunderstood Religiosity?

While a materialistic way of thinking equates religious experience and madness as being both pathological in the same way, another school of thought equates them in the reverse way. For them transcendental experiences and psychosis are extremely closely related, too, but for them 'Our sanity is not "true" sanity. Their madness is not "true" madness.'¹⁸ But the madman and the religious man attain a new form of sanity, for they both 'enter the other world by breaking a shell: or through a door: through a partition: the curtains part or rise: a veil is lifted. Seven veils: seven seals, seven heavens.'¹⁹ And so, although the madman is often confused, not being able to uphold any form of intersubjective reality, or worse, not being able to uphold any reality at all, 'he can often be to us, even through his profound wretchedness and disintegration, the hierophant of the sacred.'²⁰ "Mental illness" thus becomes a "myth" in the negative sense of the word²¹ and both "schizophrenese" and religious glossolalia become a semantic strategy for overcoming an actual or perceived social inferiority.²² The madman is the one who perceives God's world in our ego-ic, insane, secular world. The madman, confused as he is, experiences what we, if at all, only are encouraged to believe. The madman is the sane man, because he has opened his doors of perception and cut off his ego in order to find his self.

The problem is: this approach has a preconception of religion that is very similar to the first one, although the point of view is different. Religious experience is being equated to a psychological process; glossolaly equates "schizophrenese", God equates the Self, the psychotic is the mystic of a secular world. Mythology 'is psychology misread as biography, history, cosmology',²³ writes Campbell and thus betrays this other form of reductionism. In the end the result, or better the premise, of that way of thinking is the same as that of the view mentioned before: religious experience and psychosis are essentially the same. Pascal may name the centre of his great "fire

experience" the 'God of Abraham. God of Isaac. God of Jacob - not of the philosophers and the wise' - the philosophers and wise will still claim to know better about the origin of his experience; but in the light of Laing and Szasz his experience which helped him all through his life is equal to the one of M. Coate, who in her psychosis thought, 'this is what the mystics mean by direct experience of God'²⁴ and who later identified it as part of her psychosis. We are confronted with two different sides of reductionism: the first one says, all extraordinary experience is delusion per se and pathological, the other one says all delusion is valuable extraordinary experience, and thus this side elevates the pathological to a religious experience. And what the latter criticise about the former, viz. a lack of interest in the content of the experience, can be directed against the critics themselves when they interpret the content of the experience of mystics, religious people and psychotics in their one and exclusive way. Both sides fall into the "primitivist" trap, the one by despising the irrational, primitive society's beliefs and "delusion", the other by painting a therapeutic primitive society where God (as the Self) was still integrated and so true sanity was gained.²⁵

How can one avoid that trap, which is eventually a trap of reductionism? The way we will try to come to a conclusion which is fair and not reductionist is by working out, what exactly happens in a psychosis, what happens in a extraordinary religious experience and, if there are any differences, how those can be described.

1.3.1. Psychosis

'Varying as its definition is, the term "psychosis" generally implies disturbed reality testing manifested as delusions, hallucinations, formal thought disorder, and catatonic and bizarre behaviour',²⁶ Kitamura and colleagues state, and New York psychiatrist Peter Buckley follows M.B. Bowers when he postulates that the acute psychotic experience has three main determinants.

First, that certain aspects of psychotic experience are governed by an altered state of consciousness so that a certain form may be seen to be held in common by acute psychoses and other states. [...] The second group of determinants of structure in the psychotic experience that he [Bowers] proposes are idiosyncratic and reflect the individual's psychology, history and intra- psychic conflict. These factors determine the particular content of psychosis. Finally he postulates that the life events and developmental challenges faced by the individual determine the time of the psychotic episode.²⁷

This model of psychosis allows 'both biological and psychological elements'²⁸ for the psychosis. From a psychological Freudian point of view, the abandonment of reality is the difference between psychosis and neurosis:

In a neurosis the ego, in its dependence on reality, suppresses a piece of the id (of instinctual life), whereas in a psychosis, this same ego, in the service of the id, withdraws from a piece of reality. Thus for a neurosis the decisive factor would be the predominance of the influence of reality, whereas for a psychosis it would be the predominance of the id. In a psychosis, a loss of reality would be necessarily present, whereas in a neurosis, it would seem, this loss would be avoided.²⁹

C. G. Jung's view of psychosis is not so far away from that: 'Neurosis lies on this side of the critical point [of ego- consciousness], schizophrenia on the other. [...] A neurosis approaches the danger line, yet somehow it manages to remain on the hither side. If it should transgress the line it would cease to be a neurosis.'³⁰ So, for the psychotic 'to say that insanity is a dream which has become real is no metaphor.'³¹ Expressed in a little more practical way, the same thing can be said, as does David Lukoff for instance, from the point of view of transpersonal psychology: 'When persons show widespread deficiencies in handling the everyday common-sense tasks involved in independent living combined with severe inability to establish "intersubjective reality" with others in their psychosocial environment, they meet the criteria for a psychotic state.'³² The question is whether this psychotic state can be diagnosed in the traditional medical way, e.g. by the Schneider First Rank Symptoms, considering not only the overlap of First Rank Symptoms and religious experiences, but also the growing uncertainty of the Psychiatric profession to discern the different forms of psychoses, as Peter Buckley, confirms:

The fundamental diagnostic dichotomy between manic depressive psychosis and schizophrenia, first made by Kraepelin, has in general stood the test of time, but even here there is argument since the distinguished British psychiatrist Tom Crow has made the case for a continuum of psychosis rather than a discrete different categories of illness.³³

As a psychiatrist, who still believes that the biological explication of psychosis might be found one day in the future, he nevertheless is parting from the traditional psychiatric concept of symptoms by being interested in the actual content of psychotic delusions.³⁴ The British psychiatrist C. P. Sims goes in a similar direction by claiming: 'There is a great need to acknowledge, have respect for, and use in treatment, the patient's *own* experience.'³⁵

By analysing the content of psychotic patients, we have got to differentiate between bipolar (manic- depressive) illness and schizophrenia, although in praxis this

differentiation sometimes proves to be difficult. When we look at the content of accounts of schizophrenic experiences in comparison to accounts of religious or drug induced experiences, we can find out that the

language that constitutes the description of the schizophrenic experience points to a devalued, negative sense of the self, both of the other "altered states" are associated with a vocabulary connoting a sense of self- enhancement. [...]. The illness connections associated with schizophrenia in these autobiographical accounts are suggested by the high- frequency usage of the words such as "schizophrenia", "illness", "fool", "doctor", and "hospital".[...] What we find most interesting about these data is not only the similarity between different individuals who write about the same type of experience, but also the fact that this similarity is conveyed by the quantitative summary of word usage, regardless of the specific denotative context. For example, not only does the schizophrenic group have a higher use of the deviance category, but when words from the deviance category are used by the other group (e.g., the hallucinogenic group) these words are not associated with the same implications fear or dysfunction as they are in the schizophrenic texts.³⁶

But psychotic experience does not necessarily mean such a negative experience as it usually does with schizophrenic experiences. It also can have positive contents very much related to genuinely religious experiences, as the list of the following eight themes of typical mystical experiences with psychotic features shows:

1. Death: being dead, meeting the dead or meeting Death.
2. Rebirth: new identity, new name, resurrection, apotheosis to god, king or messiah.
3. Journey: Sense of being on a journey or mission.
4. Encounters with spirits: demonic forces and/ or helping spirits.
5. Cosmic conflict: good/ evil, communists/ Americans, light/ dark, male/ female.
6. Magical powers: telepathy, clairvoyance, ability to read minds, move objects.
7. New society: radical change in society, religion, New Age, utopia, world peace.
8. Divine union: God as father, mother, child; Marriage to God, Christ, Virgin Mary, Radha or Krishna.³⁷

John Custance gave us his account of his manic experience, and in many parts it does not differ very much from a mystical experience. He had a very deep experience of God:

I feel so close do God, so inspired by His Spirit that in a sense I am God. I see the future, plan the Universe, save mankind; I am utterly and completely immortal; I am even male and female. The whole Universe, animate and inanimate, past and present and future is within me, All nature and life, all spirits, are co-operating and connected with me; all things are possible.³⁸

Although the subject of that experience feels for ever all powerful, from an outside point of view, it can be expected that he has not reached a certain stage of a spiritual development, but he is on one of the heights of his bipolar madness - the fall into despair will follow as certain as the Amen after prayer. But contrary to the mystic,

who may have very similar subjective experiences, the psychotic is not able to create an intersubjective reality, or as C.G. Jung expresses it:

He cannot free himself from his subjectivism and therefore does not establish any connection with objective thinking and with human society. He does not gain any real understanding of himself because he understands himself merely subjectively, and this precludes intelligible communication. As Feuerbach says, understanding is real and effective only when it is in accord with that of other reasonable beings. Then it becomes objective and connects with life.³⁹

1.3.2. Religious/ Mystical Experience

In 1985 33% of people aged sixteen or over involved in a survey carried out for the Alister Hardy Research Centre by Gallup Poll answered positively to the question 'Have you ever been aware of or influenced by a presence or power, whether you call it God or not, which is different from your everyday self?'⁴⁰. To the question 'Have you ever felt as though you were very close to a powerful spiritual force that seemed to lift you out of yourself?' 31% replied in a positive way in the same year.⁴¹ These are very careful descriptions of what religious experiences are. The significant words in these questions seem to be "awareness", "presence", "power", "different from everyday", "lift you out of yourself"; these words indicate to some extent what a religious experience is about. Religious Experience is awareness of the presence of the divine, the Holy. It is radically different from everyday experience, it is the experience of the "wholly other". Its effect can be to lift one out of oneself, of the ordinary boundaries of life (ecstatic experience) or to melt with the true self, a unification with the truth of life (enstatic experience). It certainly transcends the boundaries of rational thinking, it is "numinous" as Rudolph Otto would call it,⁴² and as a numinous experience it can express itself in the tremendous,⁴³ mysterious,⁴⁴ and fascinating⁴⁵ way. In many cases, the religious experience is an ineffable experience. The experienced divine power can only be described, as in the Upanishads, as "Not this, Not that". It is not necessarily a pleasant experience, the majesty and the wrath of God can be awful and overpowering, the religious experience can have a tremendous side. But on the other hand it is irresistible, it is a fascinosum also because of its incredible majesty, the august aspect of the Holy. Religious experience is wonderful and yet, it can be hurtful:

For one of the chiefest and most general features of mysticism is just this self-depreciation (so plainly parallel to the case of Abraham), the estimation of the self, of the personal "I", as something not

perfectly or essentially real, or even as mere nullity, a self-depreciation which comes to demand its own fulfilment of the self. And on the other hand, mysticism leads to a valuation of the transcendent object of its reference as that which through plenitude of being stands supreme and obsolete, so that the finite self contrasted with it becomes conscious even in its nullity that "I am naught, though art all".⁴⁶

The onset of religious experiences is very often at the age of puberty or any other crisis in one's lifetime.

The important stages in a person's life are connected by periods of inner purification so that the individual, being properly prepared and in a clear state of mind, undistracted by customary thought processes and memories, may progress to a new and unburdened existence.⁴⁷

"*Rites de passage*" help to master those difficult times, individually as well as socially, 'not only at birth, puberty, and death but especially at the breakthrough from everyday existence to a spiritual dimension, as experienced by religious adepts'.⁴⁸ These rites of passage are still visible fragmentarily in our society - in rites such as baptism, confirmation, bar mizwa, etc.. Even rites of passage into a more spiritual form of being are still playing a certain role in our society - the general excitement about the fact that the Church of England began to ordain women a few years ago indicates that the role of the parish priest is still socially significant to a certain extent. However, the real power of religious initiation is only being experienced by religious and social fringe groups. The religious person there does not go through rites automatically according to custom, but is already awakened to a certain extent, so that he or she feels a physical desire for the religious initiation.

My neighbour took me to a little Pentecostal church. There they told me, that I needed a water baptism with full submersion to be able to have the baptism of the Holy Spirit. I wanted to do that, so I arranged my baptism for the following Sunday. I was full of an incredible sense of expectation and could not think of anything else. Every time when I came across some water I had the urgent desire not to wait till Sunday but to baptise myself. I even woke up in the night and wanted to fill the bathtub with water and baptise myself, but although my heart wanted to do it, my mind stopped me, and I thought it must be done by some pastor or some official person.⁴⁹

The time before the spiritual initiation can be a very difficult time indeed for the seeker. The need for the experience of higher reality is there, already, but the way towards it seems to be hidden.

Known as "The Awakening of the Self", it is the sudden realization of a strikingly new and different emotional experience that seems to exist beyond sensation, and that carries with it the awareness of a "higher", more desirable level of experience.⁵⁰

A pattern seems to appear which seems to be strikingly similar across the religious traditions, as we can see from Eliade's description of the awakening of a shaman:

The candidate becomes meditative, seeks solitude, sleeps a great deal, seems absent minded, has prophetic dreams and sometimes seizures. All these symptoms are only the prelude to the new life that awaits the unwitting candidate. His behavior, we may add, suggests the first signs of a mystical vocation, which are the same in all religions...⁵¹

For a shaman-to-be this period of life can be described by the example of the young inspired Chukchee Indian:

For men the preparatory stage of shamanistic inspiration is in most cases very painful, and extends over a long time. The call comes in an abrupt and obscure manner, leaving the young novice in much uncertainty regarding it. ... He feels "bashful" and frightened; he doubts his own disposition and strength, as has been the case with all seers, from Moses down. Half unconsciously and half against his own will, his whole soul undergoes a strange and painful transformation. This period may last months, and sometimes even years. The young novice, the "newly inspired" (*tur-ene'nitvillin*), loses all interest in ordinary affairs of life. He ceases to work, eats but little and without relishing the food, ceases to talk to people, and does not even answer their questions. The greater part of his time he spends in sleep.⁵²

How universal this experience is can be seen in a comparison with St Teresa's "Prayer of Recollection", as it is described by herself above (see footnote 3).

This period in the religious life of an inspired person can be very disturbing for his or her environment. Not only that the persons retreats into themselves, but they could even act outwardly in ways which are hardly understandable for even close friends and family. Holger Kalweit describes the calling of a Korean shamaness, which can express itself

in various physiological disturbances, conspicuous forms of social behavior, outrageous activities, impoliteness, and a lifestyle that inverts traditional cultural values. For instance, the prospective shamaness may wear winter clothes in summer, bathe in cold water in winter, reveal secrets which are taboo to mention, or begins to tell the fortune of anyone who happens to pass the street.⁵³

The religious person very often has got to go through the typical phases of religious initiation: 'suffering, death, resurrection.'⁵⁴ The Christian who is being baptised must renounce evil, and at the time of the early church he or she had got to go through a long phase as a *κατεχουμνηνος*, a candidate, who had to prove his faith by strict asceticism (suffering). In the baptismal ceremony the candidate is submerged into water symbolically or literally thrice (death), and after the ceremony he puts on white clothes - he is resurrected to a new and pure life in Christ. The mystic may go through these phases with much more vigour than most, even very committed members of exoteric religion. While the process demands some degree of observance

by the faithful convert who desires his acceptance into the Church, it means real physical pain to the mystic, as Wapnick describes:

These trials - the most difficult and painful that Theresa had yet to experience ("The Dark Night of the Soul") - included the following: people accusing her of being deceitful or collaborating with the devil; rejection by her friends; tremendous bodily pains; and feelings of great loneliness, when she felt her self apart, not only from others, but from herself. During the latter times, she would be unable to pray, nor to experience God inside her. Some of her most excruciating pains came during these moments known as "Raptures", when Teresa would experience a "meeting with God". At those moments, she would feel physically freed from her body.⁵⁵

These sufferings led to absolute detachment (death) and eventually to the union with God and the state of pure spirituality. In the end, the "worldliness" outside her secure existence in the monastery was not felt as threatening anymore. Wapnick again:

Teresa found herself in an almost perpetual state of tranquillity, even when performing social functions. She now no longer felt overwhelmed by what she previously experienced the evil in the world. Contrary to what had existed to date, Teresa fervently desired to live in the world and spread the word of God.⁵⁶

Compare that to the experience of the mystic of a completely different culture, the shaman, as described by Eliade:

For example, a Yakut shaman, Sofron Zateyev, states that as a rule the future shaman "dies" and lies in the yurt for three days without eating and drinking. Formerly the candidate went through the ceremony three times, during which he was cut to pieces. Another shaman, Pyotr Ivanov gives further details. The candidate's limbs are removed and disjointed with an iron hook; the bones are cleaned, the flesh scraped, the body fluids thrown away, and the eyes torn from their sockets. After this operation all the bones are gathered up and fastened together with iron. According to a third shaman, Timofei Romanov, the ceremony of dismemberment lasts from three to seven days; during all that time the candidate remains like a dead man, scarcely breathing, in a solitary place.⁵⁷

And Eliade summarises these and many more descriptions in the following passage: 'In all these examples we find the central theme of an initiation ceremony: dismemberment of the neophyte's body and renewal of his organs; ritual death followed by resurrection.'⁵⁸ And after the resurrection experience, the shaman will come out of the wood or the yurk and take an important place in his society. 'Shamans serve their communities. Such service is the final stage of the hero's journey and the end result of all the shaman's trials, initiations, and training.'⁵⁹

1.3.3. Discussion

Kenneth Wapnick discovers the following features which the mystic and the mentally ill have in common:

Their experience of a dichotomy between two levels of experience - the outer or social, as opposed to the inner or personal; the breakdown of their attachments to the social world; their experience of pain and terror as they "entered the inner world"; their feeling of peace following the end of terror; and their "return" to the social world, deriving more satisfaction in their social functioning than before their experiences.⁶⁰

This description fits well with his carefully selected examples - the quotes from St Teresa and Lara Jefferson. It cannot be accepted as generally correct. The problem of the mentally ill person very often is that he cannot maintain any dichotomy between two levels of experience. The outer social and the personal level are mingled in a way, which leads the ill person into desperation and loneliness. The psychiatrist Roderick Anscombe suggests,

that the schizophrenic's deficit in focusing attention leads to difficulty in maintaining a stable topic of thought and in following its theme without being diverted or petering out and that when the patient cannot direct his attention to vague hunches and intuitions, he becomes disconnected from his emotional origins in the subconscious. The capturing of his attention by incidental details in his surroundings or memory means that he increasingly becomes the audience of his mental life, rather than his initiator, so that he becomes passive and displaced. Finally, the loss of a feeling of identity - of "I" as the effective source of mental life - impoverishes the feeling of kinship with other people as humans.⁶¹

The consequence may be that 'Whereas patients with positive symptoms find too many things of significance, patients with negative symptoms suffer from a profound lack of meaning in their lives - too little matters to them or interests them.'⁶² This means that the psychotic patient cannot in every case experience a dichotomy of experience, rather he loses exactly that. He projects the inner level of experience onto the outer positive experience or the outer level onto the inner level of experience. And because the patient has no access to the second level of experience, he either has to find meaning in delusion or he has to resign in the bitter resolution that there will be no meaning for him or her.

The perception of a heightened significance without any ready explanation for it results in a "mental diplopia" [...], which can be resolved, either by suppressing the image of the world as holding any significance - in effect turning one's back on perception - or by remaining connected to the world by accepting the significance and risking delusion. Some authors [...] have viewed the apathy of the patient with negative symptoms as a way of countering stimulation that he cannot regulate and that

would otherwise flood him. To some extent, this "choice" may represent an existential stance [...]. Clinical experience, however, suggests that the active process lies not so much in the person turning away from the world as in turning towards delusion.⁶³

It is true that many religious persons seem to have much in common with psychotic persons, especially in cultures which are as a whole foreign to us. The contributions of a Teresa of Ávila or a Hildegard of Bingen to our own culture and their embedment in culturally accepted forms of religion (the cloister) make us less inclined to regard them as insane, but this may be not the case with ecstatic religious protagonists of foreign cultures. For the psychiatrist and anthropologist Devereux the shaman does nothing else but handle his own psychosis and that of other members of the tribe, he becomes the embodiment of that society's psychopathology.⁶⁴ This betrays a "barbaric view" of foreign cultures, from which 'civilisation represents order based on rationality and organizational complexity.'⁶⁵ The opposite view of that is the Arcadian view. It assumes: 'Primitive society is governed by customs and beliefs which are in accord with "natural law", that is, with how things ought to be without the intervention of consciousness or hierarchical control.'⁶⁶ Consequently it is being assumed from this point of view that primitive societies have intuitively the right way to deal with any form of human behavioural breakdown. So, for example, a Jungian Arcadian view is that shamanism is just a metaphor for individuation and that

it emphasises the difficulties of integrating the archetypal levels of the collective unconscious in the process of reaching wholeness. While individuation occurs as a lifelong process, there are points of dramatic transformation, when the numinous energies of the collective unconscious flood into consciousness and profoundly alter it. Shamanism provides a mythic structure for understanding these periods of dramatic transformation, offering a working context for the individuating person who has been overwhelmed by sudden and mysterious changes in consciousness.⁶⁷

So religious experience is being reduced to a psychological process again, but instead of calling the whole enterprise mad it is being called especially therapeutic, romanticism replaces uncritical rationalism.⁶⁸ Shamanism is being reduced to an ideal primitive therapy and is not seen in its entire background as a religious, political, social and therapeutic function. Mircea Eliade himself is in danger of the latter form of reductionism when he regards the shaman to be formerly sick, the healed healer:

Like the sick man, the religious man is projected onto a vital plane that shows him the fundamental data of human existence, that is, solitude, danger, hostility of the surrounding world. But the primitive magician, the medicine man, or the shaman is not only a sick man; he is, above all, a sick man who has been cured, who has succeeded in curing himself.⁶⁹

This may be so in individual cases, but it cannot be seen as a general fact. Eliade himself points to an important point:

As for the Sudanese tribes studied by Nadel: "No shaman is, in everyday life, an "abnormal" individual, a neurotic, or a paranoiac; if he were, he would be classed as a lunatic, not respected as a priest. Nor finally can shamanism be correlated with incipient or latent abnormality; I recorded no case of a shaman whose professional hysteria deteriorated into serious mental disorder." In Australia matters are even clearer: medicine men are expected to be, and usually are, perfectly healthy and normal.⁷⁰

Of course many young shamans-to-be must go through an initiatory sickness, but this sickness is differentiated by the shamanic society from madness. So after the young Zulu initiate has shown first symptoms of his destination, 'it is still unclear whether he suffers from a sickness that will turn him into an Inyanga (shaman), or whether he is just crazy.'⁷¹ The thesis that traditional societies do differentiate between madness and religious experience is supported by the anthropologist Jane Murphy, who examined Eskimo, Malaysian, African, and Vietnamese shamanic tribes. She came to the conclusion:

Explicit labels for insanity exist in these cultures. The labels refer to beliefs, feelings, and actions that are thought to emanate from the mind or inner state of an individual and to be essentially beyond his control; the afflicted person seeks the aid of healers; the afflictions bear strong resemblance to what we call schizophrenia.⁷²

The reaction of these tribes to those phenomena is a

complex of responses involving first of all the use of healing procedures but including an ambivalent- appearing mixture of care giving and control. These reactions are not greatly dissimilar from those that occur in Western society. Nor does the amount of mental illness seem to vary greatly within or across the division of Western and non- Western areas.⁷³

Interestingly enough, some of these societies have not only patterns to deal with what we would call psychosis by providing certain forms of healers and "asylums" for psychotic people,⁷⁴ they even know of and diagnose untreatable personality disorders of people who in our society are often called "psychopaths".⁷⁵ A broader cross cultural view of human behavioural breakdowns (HBB) will illuminate this further. Horacio Fabrega displays the ontology and epistemology of HBB and the role that culture plays in its elaboration, when he adopts the view

that HBB are universally found in human societies and an important task in cultural psychiatry is to seek to understand how HBB are conceptualised by native people and, given that these differ as a function of culture and history, by the analyst/scientist interested in the topic of cultural differences.⁷⁶

HBB for Fabriega include the following:

[D]isturbances in mentation and awareness that render work and relationships unproductive, impairments in emotional well being, irregularities of social identity and conduct, and failures to meet standards of appearance, dress and cleanliness. Individuals with HBB also frequently show distress and suffering due to associated bodily pain, physiological dysfunction and emotional disturbances. The term breakdown means that the behaviors are defined as constituting a disruption in or threat to organised life and hence are generally disvalued.⁷⁷

Fabrega shows that HBB in ancient Near East societies are treated partly ritually and partly in a rationalistic way. 'Mesopotamian societies diagnosed phenomena resembling our psychoses and dealt with these in terms of magical and ritual practices. Egyptian documents indicate that acute/confusional states were viewed as medical and handled as such.'⁷⁸ From ancient India much of the available material seems to indicate that they treated HBB in medical terms. Although Ayurvedic Medicine treatment was socio- psychological and adaptional, 'Ayurvedic Medicine must be seen as also possessing features suggesting traces of an ontological view and this is particularly in evidence with respect to phenomena described earlier as HBB, since "mental diseases" were described in separate chapters.'⁷⁹ HBB in this culture is explained humorally, as in the case of Sona, a 40 year old low caste Marathi-speaking Buddhist woman, who was diagnosed by the psychiatrists of KEM Hospital Bombay as suffering from a schizophreniform psychosis, who

regarded her current clinical problem as physical rather than mental, clearly distinguishing the two. She explained her illness in terms consistent with the Ayurvedic diagnosis of *pitta unmada* (Caraka 6.9.11.). Indigestion had produced excess *pitta* (bile humor), which rose to her brain and produced her symptoms. Her husband's account also referred to a humoral framework, but the details differed. He explained that fever had caused the disorder by producing excess heat, which he equated with *vata* (wind humor). Upon entering the brain, this heat caused mental symptoms. Sona's interpretation, associating heat and fever with *pitta* rather than *vata*, was more consistent with the classical textual account than her husband's.⁸⁰

They both insisted on that physical explanation of the Lady's suffering, although friends held the opinion, 'that a healing temple could help by setting right magical and religious forces that disturbed her.'⁸¹ The couple identified the problem as an imbalance of forces within Sona, not outside.

Sona, as other patients described by Weiss and colleagues, interpreted their illness in a traditional way, which allowed religious interpretation as well as physical interpretation, and they decided that their problem was distinct from religious experience. Whereas the temple would have been the place to seek advice and help in

case of spirit possession, they decided that a modern hospital was the most appropriate place to deal with their humoral imbalances.

About classic China, Fabrega writes:

[M]adness is singled out as resulting from excess Yin influences in the Yin vessels.[...] In legal discussions about the matter of criminal responsibility, it is clear that madness as a distinct entity was given attention [...]. All of this suggests that HBB as madness had a medical and socio- political individuated character.⁸²

The researcher in cross- cultural psychiatry A. Kleinman reports that in modern Taiwan, despite traditional Confucian resistance to the phenomenon, the number of shamans today is higher than ever before.⁸³ The chief activity of the shamans is healing, respectively it is the chief activity of the god of the shaman. The shamans Kleinman did his research with were all in good psychological health.⁸⁴ Shamans trained with older shamans or Taoist priests to control trance, about herbs in Chinese medicine, but also, 'how to speak to clients and how to respond to everyday problems, including commonly occurring illnesses'.⁸⁵ They also learn to keep within their limits:

They learn, for example, not to treat acute trauma or any other serious, acute health problem that looks like it might eventuate in death; if they do treat these problems, they also refer patients for appropriate medical attention. Nor will they treat violent psychotic behavior or chronic psychotic disorders. They learn to extricate themselves from these situations without damaging the popular ideology that the gods are powerful therapists.⁸⁶

In the classical Mediterranean societies we can find the roots of our own understanding of mental illness. 'Two things need to be singled out: (1) many instances of HBB were viewed as medical in nature, that is, conceptualised as illness; and (2) in their medical texts they used terminologies that are still with us to day.'⁸⁷

Physiologically religious ecstasy is described as a form of creative experience, connected with the exchange of the two brain hemispheres.

Unconsciousness would thus be a question of the degree of communication between the hemispheres through the brain bridge. Analogically to this, creativity would be a capacity to translate unconscious experiences in the right hemisphere to left hemispheric verbal categories or an integration by means of the corpus callosum. With creativity is also associated religious ecstatic or meditative states, while schizophrenia is explained as a sort of disintegration of the inter- hemispheric coordination in this simplified organically orientated thinking.⁸⁸

The claim by some psychologists (e.g. R.D. Laing, see below) that people who are being "labelled" psychotic in Western society might be considered as being people with some special shamanic power is not necessarily true. In fact, this view can rightly be regarded as a romantically primitivist view of other cultures. These

societies are and always have been very well able to differentiate between spiritual power and psychotic features. However, another question, which could reinstate the latter claim to a certain extent remains unresolved: Is our society able to make this important differentiation? Or do we kill a whole dimension of our lives with psychiatric wards, drugs, and electric shock therapy?

This chapter does not intend to get involved with the intermedical discussion on the origins of a psychosis and if they are physiological or not. Neither does this thesis try to intervene in the discussion of whether psychosis should be valued as an experience or if the suffering person should be treated with all possible means to return to a state as "normal" as possible. These are questions which will only be relevant to our concerns if we decide definitely that in our society spirituality is being misunderstood as psychosis. In this concern the medical discussion can be helpful for our purposes.

Fifteen years ago the psychiatrist Peter Buckley published an article on 'Identifying Schizophrenic Patients Who Should Not Receive Medication'.⁸⁹ He conceded:

The phenomenological overlap in some aspects of the acute mystical experience and acute schizophrenia [...] and the circumscribed, self-limited nature of the altered state of consciousness in the former suggest that the presence of similar subjective phenomena in some acute schizophrenics might be a possible marker of patients who should not receive medication.⁹⁰

He reckons that

subjective experiences of racing of thoughts, confusion of sequences and timelessness are "markers" of schizophrenic patients for whom a psychotherapeutic approach might be preferable to, or as potent as a pharmacological one. On a more complex level of subjective experience, the patient's interpretation of the psychotic episode as meaningful or revelatory and offering the opportunity of personal psychological growth might be tested as another differentiating factor.⁹¹

And so Buckley concludes: 'Those patients who are free of both a negative attitude towards their illness and a romantic idealisation of the psychotic experience might be studied to see if they can be maintained free of medication.'⁹²

Here we still have a purely medical point of view and there is no doubt that Buckley's concern is about ill people only - he is clearly distinguishing between mystics and psychotics whose experiences resemble those of a mystic⁹³ - but what we detect here is a certain sensitivity for the fact that there is a need for differentiation, and that there can be a certain grey area which is difficult for the purely scientific mind to deal with. Without contradicting our earlier statement that there is a cross

cultural phenomenon of madness which is distinct to religious experience, there might be a middle ground which is difficult to define. Georg Feuerstein writes on holy- mad religious adepts who are 'at the far end of the spectrum of what some cultures find permissible as part of religious or moral life. They are, I propose, liminal characters who travel the no- man's- land between sanity and insanity or normalcy and abnormality.'⁹⁴ Those travellers, however, still decide themselves on which side of the borderline they want to travel, and this keeps them distinct from psychotic people. As Laing has pointed out, the madman, although he is confused, 'he can often be to us, even through his profound wretchedness and disintegration, the hierophant of the sacred.'⁹⁵ The one who enters it and comes back may have had a glimpse of heaven or of hell, he may be truly born again - if he comes back and it remains the unresolved question how far one should intervene to help him back. 'Madness need not be all breakdown. It may also be breakthrough. It is potentially liberation and renewal as well as enslavement and existential death,'⁹⁶ says Laing. This does not, however, mean that madness needs to be equated with religious experience. There still needs to be maintained a difference between a psychotic disorder and a religious transformation crisis. The religious experience, especially the mystic experience differs from the psychotic here in an important point: 'The schizophrenic's inability to manage this inner experience and his break with social reality strikingly contrasts with the mystic's tolerance for the inner experience.'⁹⁷ Marilyn Agar, who argues for a teleologically religious approach to psychosis, makes the following distinction:

Whilst the mystic and the shaman, despite attempts to pathologise both phenomenon [*sic*], are generally regarded as undergoing an experience which can be of positive, creative value the schizophrenic experience by comparison is deemed to be totally valueless, meaningless, anomic and without a context, lacking any kind of interpretive [*sic*] label to give it meaning.⁹⁸

This is very often exactly the difference between the experiences. While the religious person undergoes a certain training which enables him or her to deal with his or her experience, the psychotic is thrown into his experience absolutely unprepared. 'His "muscles" are undeveloped and when "thrown" into this "inner world" he is overwhelmed, with no means of dealing with his experience and no conviction that he will survive it.'⁹⁹ This preparation is a long and thorough one certainly for the mystic, but it also happens for the more exoteric religious person as the Charismatic Christian. If he experiences the "baptism of the Holy Spirit", he will have gone through a phase of search on his own, he will have contacted other Charismatic Christians, he

probably has watched others showing the symptoms of the baptism. Nils Holm calls it the "preparation phase" of the Charismatic Christians:

Before they are baptised in the Spirit, they undergo a socialisation process that familiarises them with the theology and ritual of the movement. In this way a specific predisposition for acceptance of the baptism experience is created. They learn to realise the necessity of baptism in the Spirit as they observe other members of the movement practising glossolalia in ritual. The norm structure of the movement is such that a personally experienced baptism in the spirit is expected to happen to every member of the movement.¹⁰⁰

This is a typical first hand account of a glossolalic:

I had heard about the gift of tongues, and my first reaction was that this was meaningless sound, like word- salad or syllable- salad. The more I thought about it, the more real God became, the more a real possibility it seemed. It became very plausible. When I was prayed over (for the baptism), I asked for the gift of tongues. I didn't speak in tongues at that time. A couple of people were confident that I had the gift but just hadn't used it. I was attending a concert four or five days later - one of the Requiem Mass at Hill Auditorium. During the concert I became bored and went outside. I had been advised that if I wanted tongues, I ought to cry, to make sounds, so I did, thinking how stupid I would look later on; so I made a sound, and a gift was there, full-blown. I began immediately praying in tongues. It was for me a specific proof that I had received the Holy Spirit. It was detached from any emotionalism.¹⁰¹

So this man had thought about what glossolally was long before he experienced it. He had come from a dismissive attitude towards a positive attitude, he then desired it to experience it and thus eventually had the experience. This is in accordance to physiological research, as Kai Björqvist writes:

Schachter & Singer (1962) with their widely accepted two- factor theory of emotion, proved that at least in the case of physiological arousal, the cognitive interpretation is of utmost importance. An aroused person might interpret his experience as anger, fright or euphoria, depending on what he expects.¹⁰²

This is very different to the sudden and uncontrolled ego- loss of the psychotic, who does not have any choice over if and when to enter any form of experience, negative or positive. He or she does not know what (s)he will encounter and has no idea how to find his/ her way out - (s)he is lost, and only if (s)he is lucky he will be able to return to a socially minded consciousness.

The old idea of the psychotic as being "possessed" by spirits could be helpful in that context. The psychotic has not prayed for these spirits, as the Charismatic has for the Holy Spirit. They possess the psychotic without his consent, they rule his thoughts, his will, his perceptions. This is different to Teresa: she opened herself up for God, she deliberately allowed the Spirit to enter her and to transform her. This is also different to the shaman. The young shaman may or may not go through a

personal crisis on the occasion of his or her vocation. But even if he does, in the end it is he who governs his spirits. The psychotic can never learn that, not even in traditional shamanic societies. This does not mean that psychotic people cannot have truly religious experiences, neither that religious persons, be it a shaman, a Christian mystic or a Hindu yogi, cannot have psychotic experiences. Teresa of Avila certainly showed some psychotic features herself.

In one respect, the religious person and the psychotic resemble each other again: they both normally need the help of an outside person, a guide, a guru, a priest, a doctor. The young shaman has got his older colleague who initiates him and teaches him how to deal with spirits, how to prepare his heavenly journeys and how to perform the necessary tricks. St Teresa had St John of the Cross, the yogin has his guru, and the psychotic has a doctor. 'Among physicians and priests there should be some who are guides, who can edict the person from this world and induct him to the other, to guide him in and to lead him back again.'¹⁰³ But the priest, the shaman and the guru can lead their followers on a path which is well trodden by the experience of tradition and they can offer the security robes of dogma and faith. The physician has no other possibility but trying to find out where the patient is, trying to draw a map for him and to give him a sense of security in his despair. The decline of the role of the Priest in our own society and the fact that professional counsellors and psychologists have taken over so many of his former roles could be one reason for the confusion about religious experience and psychology. Since neither the materialistic minded psychiatrist nor the Jungian or Freudian psychologist has metaphysical or philosophical access to traditional religion, he or she reduces it to physiological or psychological phenomena and experience in order to make it fitting to his or her own world view. Shamanism becomes thus a "Technique of Ecstasy", which can be learned in courses at alternative health centres. It is being overlooked that Shamanism is also a service within a community with pastoral, priestly and even political features.

The differentiation between spiritually inspired persons and mad people in shamanic societies reminds us of the fact that although spiritual persons do not lose their own, maybe slightly neurotic, personality, it has to be kept in mind what James Royster says, viz. 'before the depths of mystical experience can be fully plummed, a certain amount of psychic health must prevail.'¹⁰⁴ Otherwise the religious experience will be misinterpreted by the neurotic ego. This means in the less severe case that religion, even religious experience degenerates into ritual in the neurotic sense. The

shaman has not got his spirits under control then, and the Charismatic Christian will then be tempted to use his ability to get into touch with the Holy Spirit not in order to live his life in the Spirit, but in order to escape reality. The Charismatic preacher Guy Chevreau realises that danger and refers to his colleague when he tries to make it clear

that we ought not to come seeking a particular manifestation - "I want the joy..." - nor should we feel that God has "passed us by" if nothing very dramatic seems to be happening physically. The issue is not the shaking, or falling, or laughter; rather, it is receiving the tailor-made gift that our Heavenly Father wants us to impart to each of us as individuals, not so that we each are glorified in and of ourselves, but that the Body of Christ is built up and edified collectively.¹⁰⁵

1.4. Summary and Conclusion

There is a state of mind, known to religious men, but to no others, in which the will to assert ourselves and hold our own has been displaced by a willingness to close our mouths and be as nothing in the floods and waterspouts of God. In this state of mind, what we most dreaded has become the habitation of our safety, and the hour of our mortal death has turned into our spiritual birthday.
(William James)

Religious experience and certain neurotic and psychotic experiences have much in common. They certainly share a phenomenology, since they are experienced physiologically in a similar way. Fischer's perception- hallucination continuum, which tries to design a cartography of ecstatic and meditative states, shows pathological, creative and religious/mystic states on the same "metre" of states of consciousness,¹⁰⁶ which confirms Peter Buckley's suspicion, 'that there is a limited repertoire of response within the central nervous system for such altered state experiences, even though the precipitants for entering this altered state may be extremely different.'¹⁰⁷ These phenomenological similarities should not tempt us to fall for any form of fruitless reductionism. It should neither lead us to the conclusion that all religious experience is of pathological nature or at least a consequence of some physiologically caused unbalanced mental states, for, as William James writes:

[H]ow can such an existential account of facts of mental history decide in one way or another upon their spiritual significance? [...] Scientific theories are organically conditioned just as much as religious emotions are; and if we only knew the facts intimately enough, we should doubtless see "the liver" determining the dicta of the sturdy atheist as decisively as it does those of the Methodist under conviction anxious about his soul.¹⁰⁸

It is as important to avoid any reductionism through the back door. Not only are religious experiences not pathological, also psychotic experiences are distinct from religious experiences. To regard a shamanic crisis as equally a crisis of transgression as a psychotic experience, as sometimes happens in transpersonal psychology, is, from the religious point of view, eventually the same as calling the shaman a psychotic in the first place.¹⁰⁹ It is similarly short sighted to make the call of the shaman and his or her spiritual growth an archaic form of the Jungian individuation process (see above). And the experience of a Charismatic Christian can be much more than artificially induced hysteria, it can mean the opening of a huge spiritual dimension of life.

What is it then, that makes the difference between the pathological and the religious? William James can be helpful here: 'By their fruits shall ye know them, not by their roots.'¹¹⁰ James understood that in a rather moralistic way. We know, however, that religion and morality cannot be equated as it has been done at the turn of the century, and so we have got to understand the "fruits" in a more holistic way. While the psychotic person's life normally shows signs of disintegration and impoverishment, the religious persons have integrated another dimension of life, the spiritual dimension, their life is enriched, first of all for themselves. The conception of everyday life is put into a different perspective: The little or even grave troubles and relieves of everyday life are secondary in the knowledge of a dimension which gives life a centre, as described in the following account of a 27 years old man:

What I felt on these occasion [of intense religious experience] was a temporary loss of my own identity, accompanied by an illumination which revealed to me a deeper significance that I had been wont attach to life. It is in this that I find my justification for saying that I have enjoyed justification with God. Of course the absence of such a being as this would be chaos. I cannot conceive of life without its presence.¹¹¹

An important part of this is the religious tradition and the cultural setting of the religious experience. It opens the gates to express the religious sentiments. The ineffable, the numinous, tremendous and august, receives a framework, like rituals, dogmas or images, which cannot make it less ineffable, but which can make it fruitful for oneself and the community. Luckoff, who calls for "intersubjective reality" to differentiate between lunatics and mystics (see above, footnote 26), has got a point here: the religious tradition helps to create an intersubjective reality for the religious people. The Zulu boy who behaves awkwardly can be recognised as a future shaman

only when this particular tradition exists. St. Teresa can go her mystic path only because the Catholic mystic tradition at some monastic orders exists. The Charismatic Christian can express his abundant joy of God through the tongues only because this tradition of glossolaly exists. But on the other hand, one must be careful not to reduce one specific general "religious experience" as the true essence of all religious traditions. The fact that many religious experiences are phenomenologically so similar can be connected just with the restricted ways our physiology can deal with abnormal states of consciousness, and mystics as well as other religious people who locate their experiences definitely with specific religious traditions or teachings must be taken as seriously as those who experience a general oneness or "the void" and feel connected with all other religious people through their experience, regardless of their tradition or dogma. So although phenomenologically and maybe even physiologically and psychologically very similar things happen with the Charismatic Christian who falls in trance and speaks in a language he does not speak in normal consciousness and a spiritualist medium who does the same thing, spiritually two totally different things are happening: while the latter may feel to be in contact with the ghost of some diseased person, the former feels to be in contact with the Holy Spirit. The ritual settings of both events will be different as well as the meaning for the lives of the two person and the spiritual consequences of that event.

However, the religious person can, at least when the actual trance, ecstasies or enstasis of his experience is over, very well distinguish between the reality of his experience and the reality of the everyday world, whereas the psychotic very often fails exactly at this point. The religious person feels very close to God, maybe even in union with God or one with God. The Indian yogin reaches the siddhi state, when he feels he has god- like powers, but as soon as he identifies his ego with God, he is falling over the fence onto the lunatic's side. What strengthens the self of the mystic, deludes the ego of the psychotic. The religious person may well have an elaborated superrational world view, but he or she is normally aware where the borderline between the generally shared view and the superrational begins. These superrational views are also normally not only used by himself, but they may belong to a system of values and meaning shared by a whole group - a tiny sect which regularly communicates with aliens in flying saucers or a world church which believes that a consecrated piece of wafer is actually the real flesh of Jesus Christ.

When a doctor meets a patient, the most important is the fact is

that two individuals face each other, one of them needs help and the other one offers help, and only the professional role of the helping one forces him to confront himself with the scientific objectification of his actions as well with his socio- political power and the juridical categories and religious relevance of that person; both of those applications include chances and risks.¹¹²

The doctor therefore should be very careful to draw a neat borderline between religion and psychology/ psychiatry. The student of religious studies, however, must enter the theoretical and practical mine field. He will not be able to draw the line without any holes or leaving out some grey area, and maybe he will blow up one or another mine, but what this chapter tried to do was to show that there is a "there" and "here", that there is a borderline, however difficult it may be to draw it.

- ¹ According to Huber, 55% of all cases of schizophrenia break out before the patient is 30 years old, 24.5% before they are 20 years old, and 90% of the latter in the age between 15 and 19 years. Comp. G. Huber, *Psychiatrie: Lehrbuch für Studierende und Ärzte*, 5th edn, rev., (Stuttgart, New York : Schattauer, 1994), p.256.
- ² Comp. W. James, *The Variety of Religious Experience*, ed. by M.E. Marty (New York: Penguin, 1982). 1982, p. 199.
- ³ Comp. T. Kitamura and others, 'Symptoms of Psychoses: A Factor- Analytic Study', *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 166 (1995), 236- 240, (p. 237).
- ⁴ Comp. H. Kalweit, *Dreamtime & Inner Space: The World of the Shaman* (Boston: Shambala, 1988), p. 82.
- ⁵ R. Walsh, *The Spirit of Shamanism*, (New York: Tarcher, 1990), p. 40.
- ⁶ St Teresa, quoted at K. Wapnick, 'Mysticism and Schizophrenia', in *The Highest State of Consciousness*, ed. by J. White (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1972), pp. 153-174, (p. 159).
- ⁷ Thomas Szasz makes this equation when he writes: 'There have always people who talked crazy. Formerly, when our world view was theocentric, their behaviour was viewed in religious terms and was called the "gift of tongues". Today, when our world view is mediocentric, such behaviour is viewed in medical terms and is called a "symptom of schizophrenia" or "schizophrenese".' T. Szasz, 'Crazy Talk: Thought disorder or psychiatric arrogance?', *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 66 (1993), 61- 67, (p. 63).
- ⁸ Comp. T. Kitamura and others, p. 237.
- ⁹ H. Kalweit, p. 82.
- ¹⁰ M. Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Technique of Ecstasy*, 2nd edn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 82f.
- ¹¹ K. Wapnick, p. 168.
- ¹² Comp. R. Noll, 'Shamanism and Schizophrenia: A State-Specific Approach to the "Schizophrenia metaphor" of Shamanic States', *American Ethnologist*, 10 (1983), 443- 459 (esp. p. 453).
- ¹³ *Ibd.*, p. 450.
- ¹⁴ Comp. e.g. H. Kalweit, p. 82.
- ¹⁵ Comp. R. Walsh, p. 226.
- ¹⁶ Comp. G. Devereux, *Basic Problems of Ethnopsychiatry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 17.
- ¹⁷ R. Fischer, 'On Creative, Psychotic and Ecstatic States', in *The Highest State of Consciousness*, ed. by J. White, (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1972), pp. 175- 194 (p. 181).
- ¹⁸ R.D. Laing, 'Transcendental Experience', in *The Highest State of Consciousness*, ed. by J. White, (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1972), pp. 104- 113 (p. 113).
- ¹⁹ *Ibd.*, p. 109f.
- ²⁰ *Ibd.*, p. 105.
- ²¹ Comp. T. Szasz, *The Myth of Mental Illness: Foundations of a Theory of Personal Conduct* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1962).
- ²² Comp. T. Szasz, 'Crazy Talk: Thought disorder or psychiatric arrogance?', *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 66 (1993), 61- 67 (p. 64).
- ²³ J. Campbell, *The Hero With A Thousand Faces* (London: Paladin Grafton Books, 1988), p. 256.
- ²⁴ M. Coate, *Beyond All Reason* (London: Constable, 1964), p.22.
- ²⁵ Comp. R.H. Lucas & R.J. Barrett, 'Interpreting Culture and Psychopathology: Primitivist Themes in Cross- Cultural Debate', *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, 19 (1995), 287- 326 (p. 289).
- ²⁶ American Psychiatric Association, 1987, according to T. Kitamura and others, p. 236.
- ²⁷ P. Buckley, 'Introduction' in *Essential Papers on Psychosis*, ed. by P. Buckley (New York: New York University Press, 1988), pp. xi- xxx (p. xiii) on M.B. Bowers, *Retreat from Sanity* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1974).

- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ S. Freud, 'The Loss of Reality and Psychosis', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. By J. Stachey, 24 vols. (London: The Hogarth Press, 1961), xix, 181- 187 (p. 183).
- ³⁰ C.G. Jung, 'On the Psychogenesis of Schizophrenia' in *The Psychogenesis of Mental Disease*, The Collected Works of C.G. Jung, 23 vols., iii, ed. by Sir Heribert Read and others. 3, (London: Routledge, 1991) pp. 233- 249 (p. 238).
- ³¹ Ibid, p. 241.
- ³² D. Lukoff, 'The Diagnosis of Mystical Experience with Psychotic Features', *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*, 17 (1985), 155- 182 (p. 165f).
- ³³ P. Buckley, private letter to the author from 27th. Feb. 1997.
- ³⁴ Comp. P. Buckley, 'Introduction', p. xxix.
- ³⁵ A. Sims, 'Psyche - Spirt as well as Mind?', *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 165 (1994), 441- 446, (p. 445), italics as in the original.
- ³⁶ T.E. Oxman and others, 'The Language of Altered States', *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 176, (1988), 401- 408, (p. 406f).
- ³⁷ D. Lukoff, p. 168.
- ³⁸ J. Custance, *Wisdom Madness and Folly*, (New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1952), p. 51.
- ³⁹ C.G. Jung, 'On Psychological Understanding' in *The Psychogenesis of Mental Disease*, The Collected Works of C.G. Jung, 23 vol., iii, ed. by Sir Heribert Read and others (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 179- 193, p. 189.
- ⁴⁰ Comp. D. Hay, *Exploring Inner Space: Is God still possible in the twentieth century?*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Mowbray, 1987), p. 123.
- ⁴¹ Comp. ibd.
- ⁴² Comp. R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the non- rational factor in the idea of the divine and its relation to the rational*, transl. by J.W. Harvey, 2nd edn. (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 5- 7.
- ⁴³ Comp. ibd., p. 12.
- ⁴⁴ Comp. Ibd., p. 25.
- ⁴⁵ Comp. Ibd., p. 31.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., p.21.
- ⁴⁷ H. Kalweit, p. 90.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Val's account (see appendix I).
- ⁵⁰ K. Wapnick, p. 156.
- ⁵¹ M. Eliade, p. 35.
- ⁵² W. Borgoras, quoted from R. Walsh, Shamanism, p. 40.
- ⁵³ H. Kalweit, p. 84.
- ⁵⁴ M. Eliade, p. 33.
- ⁵⁵ K. Wapnik, p. 161.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 162.
- ⁵⁷ M. Eliade, p 36.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 38.
- ⁵⁹ R. Walsh, p. 210.
- ⁶⁰ K. Wapnick, p. 169.
- ⁶¹ R. Anscombe, 'The Disorder of Consciousness in Schizophrenia', *Schizophrenia Bulletin* 13 (1987), 241- 260 (p. 242).
- ⁶² Ibid., p. 256.
- ⁶³ Ibid., p. 255.
- ⁶⁴ Comp. G. Devereux, p. 25. (The shaman is being compared to a psychotic child, which allows a family to remain latently neurotic: 'like the child, he is mad in the name and on behalf of the "others", whom his "madness" enables to maintain a semblance of psychological stability.')
- ⁶⁵ R.H. Lucas & R.J. Barrett, p. 293.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ⁶⁷ J.V. Downton, 'Individuation and Shamanism', *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 34 (1989), 73- 88 (p. 73).
- ⁶⁸ Compare also Richard Noll's critique of Downton's article (R. Noll, 'Comment on

- Individuation and Shamanism', *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 35 (1990), 213-217), esp. on p. 213, where he writes: 'The problem is that the author's conception of shamanism is an all too common ethnocentric romantic or ideal metaphoric abstraction of what any Westerners believe the experiences of shamans *ought* to be.' (Italics by Noll).
- ⁶⁹ M. Eliade, p. 27.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- ⁷¹ H. Kalweit, p. 82.
- ⁷² J.M. Murphy, 'Psychiatric Labelling in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Similar kinds of disturbed behavior appear to be labeled abnormal in diverse cultures', *Science* 191 (1976), 1019- 1028 (p. 1027).
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ *Comp. ibd.*, p. 1025.
- ⁷⁵ *Comp. ibd.*, p. 1026.
- ⁷⁶ H. Fabrega, Jr., 'A Cultural Analysis of Human Behavioral Breakdowns: An Approach to the Ontology and Epistemology of Psychiatric Phenomena', *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 17 (1993), 99- 132 (p. 99).
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 100.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.
- ⁸⁰ M.G. Weiss and others, 'Humoral Concepts of Mental Illness in India', *Social Science and Medicine* 27 (1988), 471- 477 (p. 472).
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 473.
- ⁸² Fabrega, p. 104.
- ⁸³ *Comp. A. Kleinman, Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture: An Exploration of the Borderland between Anthropology, Medicine, and Psychiatry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 211.
- ⁸⁴ *Comp. ibd.*, p. 214.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁷ Fabrega, p. 105.
- ⁸⁸ N. Ahlsberg, 'Some Psycho- physiological Aspects of Ecstasy in Recent Research' in *Religious Ecstasy*, ed. by N. Holm (Stockholm: University of Uppsala Press, 1982), pp. 63- 73 (p. 70).
- ⁸⁹ P. Buckley, 'Identifying Schizophrenic Patients Who Should Not Receive Medication', *Schizophrenia Bulletin* 8 (1992), 429- 432.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 430.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 431.
- ⁹³ *Comp. also P. Buckley, 'Mystical Experiences and Schizophrenia', Schizophrenia Bulletin* 7 (1981), 516- 521.
- ⁹⁴ G. Feuerstein, *Holy Madness: The Shock Tactics and Radical Teachings of Crazy-Wise Adepts, Holy Fools, and Rascal Gurus* (New York: Arkana/ Penguin, 1992), p. 236.
- ⁹⁵ R.D. Laing, *Transcendental Experience*, p. 105.
- ⁹⁶ R.D. Laing, *The Divided Self* (London: Pelican, 1969), p. 133.
- ⁹⁷ K. Wapnick, p. 170.
- ⁹⁸ M. Agar, *The Teleology of Schizophrenia: A Study of the Relationship Between Psychosis and Religious Experience*, (MA in Theology and Religious Studies by Research and Thesis, University of Kent at Canterbury, 1996) , p. 158.
- ⁹⁹ K. Wapnick, p. 171.
- ¹⁰⁰ N.G. Holm, 'Function of Glossolalia in the Pentecostal Movement' in T. Källstad (ed.), *Psychological Studies on Religious Man*, ed. by T. Källstad (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1978), pp. 141- 158 (p. 152).
- ¹⁰¹ M. Harrison, 'Preparation for life in the spirit: The process of initial commitment to a religious movement', *Urban Life and Culture* 2 (1974), 384- 414 (p. 405f).
- ¹⁰² K. Björqvist, 'Ecstasy from a Physiological Point of View' in *Religious Ecstasy*, ed. by N.G. Holm (Stockholm: Uppsala University Press, 1982), pp. 74- 86 (p. 85).
- ¹⁰³ R.D. Laing, *Transcendental Experience*, p. 109.

¹⁰⁴ J. Royster, 'Personal Integration and Mystic Union in Sufism', *Journal of Religious Studies* (Patiala: Punjabi University) 8, (1980), 61-77 (p. 63).

¹⁰⁵ Guy Chevreau, *The Toronto Blessing: An Experience of Renewal and Revival* (London: Marshall Pickering, 1994), p. 102.

¹⁰⁶ Comp. R. Fischer, 'A Cartography of Ecstatic and Meditative States: The experimental and experiential features of a perception- hallucination continuum are considered', *Science* 174 (1971), 897- 904 (esp. p. 898).

¹⁰⁷ P. Buckley, *Mystical Experience and Schizophrenia*, p. 521.

¹⁰⁸ W. James, p. 14.

¹⁰⁹ One cannot avoid this impressions with titles as 'When Insanity is a Blessing: The Message of Shamanism' by H. Kalweit in *Spiritual Emergency*, ed. by S. & Chr. Grof (New York: Tarcher, 1989), pp. 77- 97. Kalweit emphasizes the fact, that shamans in traditional societies are in fact distinguished from mentally ill, but why does he, or the editors of his article, call the shaman insane in the title then? I also find it questionable to equal the spiritual crisis of the shaman with transformational crisis' of modern western man. The crisis of the shaman happens in a certain religious and cultural context. To equal it with the midlife crisis of a City stock broker does not take that fact into account.

¹¹⁰ W. James, p. 20.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹¹² From a private letter from psychiatrist Dr Hartmut Schoefer.

2. Charismatic Experience as a Phenomenon

Considering the conclusions of the chapter which compares general religious experiences with mental illness we can now come to the specific experiences of Charismatic Christians. We will see how these experiences in particular can be compared to experiences which are regarded as symptoms of pathology by psychiatrists. We will analyse those experiences with the help of first hand descriptions, but after the distinction between psychosis and religious experience we made in the last chapter we will see how they affect their subjects in a positive way as religious experiences, not in any pathological way. Most importantly, though, we will try to find out what those experiences mean to their subjects, how they can be evoked and how their subjects deal with them. It also needs consideration what role the experiences play within the communities of Charismatic congregations and, conversely, what role this community plays in order to evoke, direct and interpret those experiences.

2.1. A Charismatic Phenomenology

2.1.1. The Baptism of the Holy Spirit

The Baptism of the Holy Spirit can duly be called the initiatory rite of the Pentecostal family of churches. In accordance with Acts 8. 14- 17, Pentecostal Christians believe that the mere baptism by water as is the custom in most churches is not all that a Christian can receive. They believe that a second step is necessary to receive the fullness of the gifts of a new life in Christ. This second "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" is not absolutely necessary to attain salvation, but to renounce it is, in their view, as foolish as to renounce the fullness of life, the free love of God. 'This empowering is available for every believer. Salvation is God's free gift to the sinner; the baptism in the Spirit is God's free gift to the saints.'¹, is a typical Pentecostal statement by P. Gammons, a Pentecostal theologian.

Although even for Pentecostals one can be a true Christian without the Baptism of the Spirit, in many enthusiastic congregations it has become the sign of true Christian faith. The author of the previous statement explains the importance of the baptism of the Spirit in the following way:

Jesus told his disciples to wait in Jerusalem until they had received this baptism in the Spirit. He warned them that, even after three years of having walked as his close companions, they could not be the effective

witnesses that he had called them to be without this empowering (Lk 24.49). If Jesus needed the empowering of the Holy Spirit (Mt 3.16), how much more do we?²

So there is a certain amount of pressure on Charismatics to receive that form of spiritual baptism.

Traditionally the baptism of the Spirit happens to be in the form of glossolalia, speaking in tongues. Although Pentecostals stress that it can happen in any form, this is still seen as being the most obvious sign of that spiritual event. The theologian Gammons explains this in the following way:

I am not seeking to emphasise tongues above other gifts. However, this gift is different, in that the other gifts are primarily for ministering to others; tongues is for ministering to the Lord and for edifying ourselves spiritually (1 Cor 14.2,4).³

So what is this "Baptism of the Holy Spirit"?

Somebody who receives the baptism of the Holy Spirit normally has been going to a particular Charismatic or Pentecostal congregation for a while. He or she would have seen others who had received the gifts and the phenomena which accompany the event. He or she would have had a conversion experience of some kind and "given his or her life to Jesus". Maybe the person would have received a water baptism, since many Pentecostal churches do not recognise the baptism of infants as it is practised by most traditional churches. Maybe his or her conversion was an ecstatic event already, but the Baptism of the Spirit certainly is expected to be an ecstatic event. The subject also has had opportunities to watch other, experienced, people in the congregation and how they evoke their state of hyper arousal. The new member is probably in a state of high expectation. The following case, collected by Felicitas Goodman, illustrates the preparatory phase of the baptism very well:

Nicolas, Mérida, Yucatán, Summer 1969

I used to live like everybody else, sinning. Especially I used to like to go to dances. My brother Gilberto used to tell me about the Gospel, but I wasn't really interested. Then my father died, and there was a special service. I went, not to hear the Gospel, but only out of courtesy to my mother and my brother. I liked the singing, but the rest of the service didn't really impress me. However, I did go next Sunday again, more out of boredom than interest. The following week goes by, I go again, and another, and already I liked the service better. I don't particularly pray for the Holy Spirit. I saw my mother receive its baptism [he imitates the very typical fluttering movement of her hands], and it frightened me. There is an altar call, and just so that I would not feel out of place, I go up to the altar with the others. All of a sudden I feel myself to be the greatest sinner in all the world. I start praying in a very loud voice, asking for forgiveness, and suddenly I become aware that I am standing there, before the altar, all alone, and I am puzzled. Another week goes by and a friend comes and says, "Let's go dancing." So I take my bath, and I say, "Pues - let's go." For a while we stand there across from the dance hall, looking. Finally my friend says, "Why don't we go in?" So we cross the street to go in, when all of the sudden I hear a voice. Very clearly it says, "No entras aquí, no es tu lugar" - "don't enter here, you don't belong here." This was the turning point for me. From then on, I started going to services regularly. I was baptized, and a few weeks later I also received the gift of tongues. So you see, I think that I really received the baptism of the Holy Spirit at that time when I understood that I was a sinner. It must be possible, therefore, to be baptized by the Holy Spirit even without speaking in tongues. But for the church, for the congregation, the gift of tongues is the

outward sign. This is how the congregation knows that the Holy Spirit really baptized the person. The other kind of baptism only God knows. After speaking in other tongues, the person remains with joy and with the hope that God will keep his promise of salvation.⁴

So the Baptism of the Holy Spirit can be regarded as the completion of an initiation into the group of enthusiastic Christians. From now on the novice will be able to experience this and other ecstatic experiences quite frequently - provided a lifestyle which is in accordance to the sometimes rather drastic moral guideline of Pentecostal Christians. One of my own informants told me, she was in "spiritual exile", i.e. she was currently not able to worship in the Charismatic way, because she lived unmarried with a Muslim man. And one of Felicitas Goodman's informants says:

This manifestation never leaves you. Do you know in what way it will only leave you? If you offend God. If you commit transgressions, if you commit something that is not proper. Then, that is it. Many *hermanos* have told me that they went and did wrong. And then they no longer received the benediction of the Lord. The Lord leaves.⁵

Consequently the subject is not only initiated into a group, but also into a new state of being, a state within the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, where the "benedictions of the Lord" can be experienced. Whilst the actual experience of the Baptism of the Spirit can be regarded as the completion of the initiation process, its beginning can be seen in the search for new spiritual life, at the latest at a conversion experience, either to Christianity as such, or at least to the form of Charismatic worship. The latter is the case with Val and Mary, the two who gave me first hand accounts about their own experiences. Both were already practising Christians when they were looking for a new form of spirituality. Both of them experienced a breakthrough in their spiritual journey when they arrived at Charismatic worship. On the other hand, another of my informants, Nikki, had her first experience in absolute privacy and only started to go to church afterwards; she did, though, 'feel close to God in many ways'⁶. She writes:

My first charismatic experience came at the time of my conversion - I prefer to call it my commitment - which was actually a *recognition* of who Jesus was and what He had done for me and also a confirmation of what I had already "known" inside. I had believed in God for many years but had never given Jesus a thought - Christmas and Easter were just days to receive presents - although we did attend Church in Germany at Christmas. My conversion came one night at home - I can't even remember the date or day - it may have been a Sunday night. Bill had gone to bed and I wanted to stay up and read my Bible. I opened a Bible I had been given on my Methodist confirmation and started to read John's Gospel. I was devastated to read the crucifixion account, but it was the Emmaus road story that did it for me. [...] I made my commitment there and then by praying the prayer in the Journey Into Life booklet. Having said the prayer I then read on to Acts and the giving of the Spirit at Pentecost - I had my own Pentecost experience in my living room and immediately began speaking in tongues. Yes like the lady you described who "couldn't switch off" when she was walking down the street - neither could I. I was in "heaven" - hot, aglow and "gibbering"!!!! Luckily Bill didn't wake up or I'm sure I would have ended up being sectioned!! Anyway I did make it to bed eventually but desperately wanted to wake him up and tell him - but didn't. We lived in a large old house at the time and our room was right at the top and

the bathroom at the bottom - at the back of the house. Well no sooner had I got into bed than I needed to go to the loo!! Without a thought I travelled the journey to and fro and it wasn't until I got back into bed that I realised I hadn't put on *any* lights - up until that night I was *terrified* of the dark and used to walk around with my eyes shut or put on every light. My experience was incredible - beautiful and awesome - I felt so different inside.⁷

The same pattern is still visible: search - conversion - baptism in the spirit. At last an account reported by another researcher, Felicitas Goodman, will be quoted, in order to demonstrate how universal this pattern is amongst Charismatic/ Pentecostal Christians:

...I kept on searching. I encountered many people who told me that Catholicism was the true religion of Christ. But although it was their religion, they didn't try to understand it. I kept thinking: if only I could meet someone who would be able to talk to me in the buses, on the roads, things like that.

Finally I met a woman, and she said, "Come to my house, and I will take you to some Baptists, and perhaps you will like that." And I asked her, "Do you think that theirs is the real, the true religion?" And she said, "Well, the real religion is in the Bible, which all of the churches have, but not all churches do what God tells them to do. In other words, there are churches that are disobedient to God." She wanted to give me a Bible, but I didn't know how to read.

Finally I met another woman, and she took me to this church, here in Mexico City, which was the real one. This was on the first day of the year, which is in January.

Only I still didn't know how to read. But I wanted to enter into the creed completely, and I was angry and I cried, and feeling in this way, and with all that enthusiasm of mine, I learned to read. I waited just one month, and I became baptized. And I felt a beautiful benediction, and without any shame or embarrassment, I went to the altar railing, and I went down on my knees, and there was I saying, "*Gloria Christi, Gloria Christi*", and the blessing I felt - oh! - but how beautiful I felt! And every day after that, no matter who was present at the church, I always went to the altar, and I always gave testimony, because after all, now I also had heard many sermons, and I was not so ignorant any more.

Then finally on the fifteenth day of August, I was baptized by the Holy Spirit. This feels wonderful. It is very difficult for me to explain, but one feels delight, and one doesn't care that people are looking on, that they see the foolish things one does, one shouts, one despairs, cries, well, anyway, it is a very, very strong emotion, you feel as if your veins would burst open; well, anyway, it is a very beautiful thing.⁸

Thus the pattern search - conversion - baptism of the spirit mirrors the pattern of spiritual awakening - spiritual crisis - spiritual rebirth, or in Eliade's words "suffering - death - resurrection". Whilst the suffering happens in various ways - the search for the spiritual life can be different in each individual case - the "spiritual death" is very often symbolised in the required new baptism after the conversion, and many Charismatic and Pentecostal congregations require full submersion (compare the baptism of Val in the appendix). The Baptism of the Spirit can then be regarded as the spiritual resurrection of the new Charismatic Christian, experienced by themselves but also visible to the congregation by their newly gained ability to speak in tongues. They are now one of them, in their form of worship, in their life style, in their spiritual experience. They can now expect the support of their group, spiritually, but also socially, as long as they do not distance themselves by change of style of worship and life. They have taken on certain values and also a certain vocabulary concerning the spiritual life. This shows the two seemingly contradictory strains of Charismatic Christian worship: the individualistic one, based on the individual salvation and a close personal

relationship with God after the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, but the congregation plays an important part in Charismatic worship. As Thomas Czordas observed:

When the social organization of Pentecostalism is examined, it becomes clear that the individual is often absorbed in a communalistic structure which demands a great deal of time for collective worship and considerable effort for mutual aid. Thus within Pentecostalism as a motivational system, the person can either be defined primarily as an individual member or as a community member.⁹

The new spiritual dimension of his life will accompany him in all everyday situations - 'During the following week as soon as I opened my mouth for prayer, I could not help it and started to sing in tongues',¹⁰ says Val. In times of crisis or doubt the memory of the Baptism in the Spirit alone can be sufficient to rebuild spiritual strength: 'The memory of it is like a scar on the body - in moments of doubt I only need to look at it.'¹¹

2.1.2. Glossolalia

Most available studies on the phenomenon of glossolalia are from the early seventies. The four major publications are, *The Psychology of Speaking in Tongues*, by John Kildahl (1972), *Speaking in Tongues: A Cross- Cultural Study of Glossolalia* by Felicitas Goodman (1972), *Tongues of Men and Angels*, by William Samarin (1972), and, a little later, *Voices from the Gods: Speaking with Tongues*, by David Christie- Murray (1978). In 1964 M.T. Kelsey had already reported his own experiences with tongues in his monograph *Tongue Speaking: An Experiment in Spiritual Experience*.

2.1.2.1. John P. Kildahl

The clinical psychologist John P. Kildahl published the results of his research in glossolalia which he started at the end of the 1960s when he, the psychiatrist Paul A. Qualben, and the New Testament scholar Lowell J. Satre were approached by the American Lutheran Church to do an interdisciplinary study on the phenomenon of glossolalia. He and Dr Qualben continued their studies after the publication of the report, and after observing and recording firsthand information from all over the US, the distribution of detailed questionnaires to tongue- speakers and other examinations, Kildahl published his results in the book *The Psychology of Speaking in Tongues*.¹²

After giving a brief description of the phenomenon as such and how it is being triggered off, Kildahl offers the compiled answers to 18 questions he put to glossolalists and thus a subjective description of what is happening by the tongues- speakers themselves. He

then recapitulates briefly the history of Christian glossolalia, which is followed by seven theories on the nature of tongue- speaking, ranging from the neo- Pentecostal Theologian, who does not allow any other view that it is a phenomenon, which 'involves the supernatural manifestation of the Holy Spirit,'¹³ to the old and mainly psychological evaluation of the phenomenon by G. B. Cutten.¹⁴

For Kildahl himself one question has special significance, viz. '...how a tongue- speaker is able to call upon his conscious so that he can fluently produce unintelligible speech and still maintain enough control to drive a truck on an interstate highway.'¹⁵ He finds in the behaviour of the glossolalist and the hypnotised person a certain parallel - they both develop a certain trust in another person, the hypnotist or the charismatic leader of the congregation. And he comes to five hypothesises:

- Glossolalists are more submissive, suggestible, and dependent than non- tongue speakers. The result of our tests showed that the autonomy ratings of the nonglossolalists were significantly higher than those of the glossolalists.¹⁶

This implies that it is essential for glossolalists to be in close contact with a group leader:

When our glossolalists spoke in tongues, they always maintained positive feelings for their group leader. In fact, it appeared absolutely necessary that they have a relationship of continuing trust and confidence if they were to experience glossolalia as spiritually important and meaningful.¹⁷

- The regression of the ego which allows glossolalia helps them to be 'characteristically less depressed than nonglossolalists'¹⁸.

- The hypothesis that this feeling of well being would decline over the time proved to be untrue.¹⁹

- Glossolalia is not xenolalia.

The important points in his study are his claim that glossolalists are uncertain personalities who need a leader figure.

Our study has produced conclusive evidence that the benefits reported by tongue- speakers which are subjectively real and continuous are dependent upon acceptance by the leader and other members of the group rather than upon the actual experience of saying the sounds.²⁰

But the benefits are very valuable: 'Feeling supremely confident because of his experience, the glossolalist is willing to risk more in life, to be bolder in his work, even to be more active in bed with his wife!'²¹

The facts that lead Kildahl to the opinion that a certain psychological predisposition is necessary to speak in tongues which is similar to those of the hypnotised person, lead him to

the conclusion that glossolalia is learned behaviour.²² Not from the point of view of the glossolalist, of course. 'Their glossolalia was irrational in the sense that the speakers did not attempt to conceptualize or understand it within the framework of their usual world.'²³ His own critical evaluation of the phenomenon points to its often divisive character, and he concludes his book, saying: 'Whether or not it is a gift of God's providential care for His people depends on varying subjective interpretations of the nature of what is spiritual and what constitutes a good gift for man.'²⁴

2.1.2.2. Felicitas Goodman

Felicitas Goodman produced the hypothesis '*that the glossolalist speaks the way he does because his speech behavior is modified by the way the body acts in the particular mental state, often termed trance, into which he places himself.*'²⁵ Goodman conceived of the glossolalia utterance 'as an artifact [sic] of a hyperaroused mental state or, in Chomskyan terms, as the surface structure of a nonlinguistic deep structure, that of the altered state of consciousness.'²⁶ She went on proving her hypothesis by doing anthropological fieldwork at the "Cuarta Iglesia Apostólica de la fe en Cristo Jesus" in Mexico, a Pentecostal Church, and her aims were cross-cultural studies which would enable her to compare glossolalia amongst people of Indo-European tongue and non-Indo-European tongue. Thus she stayed with a Spanish speaking congregation of the "Apostolicos" at Mexico city and a Maya speaking congregation of the same Church near the peninsula of Quintana Roo, in a village which she calls Utzpak. She reports ten conversion stories from both congregations in detail, each story telling a personal way into the experience of glossolalia, and based on these reports she draws the conclusion that the glossolalia experience is made in an altered state of consciousness²⁷ or states of dissociation, which are states of hyperarousal.²⁸ This state has certain similarities to the dreaming or sleeping state.²⁹ The hyperarousal is normally induced wilfully, though there are examples of really spontaneous dissociation.³⁰ In many cases, however, 'what looks like a spontaneous occurrence is not really that. A powerful conditioning factor is present, often out of awareness but still decisively affective. This factor, mentioned before, is cultural expectation.'³¹ This factor has, against her own resolve caused even herself, who did not want to play any role but that of the observer, experience the dissociation in the church.³² So one need not wonder about the other members in the congregation, considering

how the expectation about speaking in tongues is set up: first of all, there is the central, oft-repeated tenet that achieving it is of utmost religious importance. [...] If glossolalia does not ensue, people are admonished to continue to pray, to fast, not to resist.³³

But it is not mere expectation, people can actually be taught how to fall into trance. 'In one way or another most supplicants receive some preliminary information concerning such behavior, what happens and how it appears to the onlooker.'³⁴ Also the actual vocalisation within the process of glossolalia is something people learn to perform. For some it

does and can occur spontaneously. But for most the step is a hard learning task, the reason being that learning is a process that requires the calling up of a host of mental faculties, among them awareness, focusing of attention, desire for verification, and memory, all of which are diminished or possibly not available at all in hyperarousal dissociation.³⁵

The trance can be facilitated by some mechanism, which Goodman calls "driving". 'Driving, basically, has to do with rhythm. Human behavior patterns are rhythmical: our heart beats at a regular rhythm, we breath rhythmically, we also walk and speak that way.'³⁶ Certain preliminary measures may support the driving: 'Fasting has important biochemical consequences, among others a lowering of the blood- sugar level, which in turn can affect consciousness.'³⁷ Biochemical factors and physical effort such as heavy labour may play a certain role as well.³⁸

Once achieved, the threshold of hyperarousal which allows the subject to speak in tongues decreases:

[Yet] my data show, within the time of observation, a considerable decline in the energy content discharged. This is perceived in a decrease in loudness, intensity, and difference in pitch between the lowest and the highest point of the curve [...] as well as in the disappearance of the majority of the high- effort vowels ([i, u]), with others such as [a, ə] taking their place. There is also an increase in the variety of pulses, the duration of the individual utterance becomes progressively longer, and the total episode tends to shrink.³⁹

Whereas the subjects very often repeat their utterances in several sessions of dissociation, they very often cannot remember what they uttered in their "normal" states. Goodman therefore concludes, that 'the memory skips the waking state, operating from trance episode to trance episode.'⁴⁰

Her strongest argument for the dissociation based character of glossolalia utterance Goodman detects in a cross- culturally encountered configuration of patterns. In a careful analysis of intonation and vocalisation of her collected samples from Mexico, but also from Pentecostal congregations in the USA and the Brazil Umbanda cult she detects several agreements on the phonetic and suprasegmental level,⁴¹ but also other cross- cultural similarities, e.g. its stereotyped character, the change over time and its non- communicative character.⁴²

Goodman proposes that the glossolalist does purposely something similar to that

which happens to the epileptic, *viz.*

the glossolalist switches off cortical control. Then, with considerable effort, at least initially, he establishes a connection between his speech cortex and some subcortical structure, which then proceeds to drive the former. Thereupon the vocalization behavior becomes an audible manifestation of the rhythmical discharges of his subcortical structure, resulting in the described pattern.⁴³

So she comes to propose,

that glossolalia should be defined as a vocalization pattern, a speech automatism, that is produced on the substratum of hyperarousal dissociation, reflecting directly, in its segmental and suprasegmental structure, neurophysiologic processes present in this mental state. It is not circular, to my mind, to continue by stating that the presence of the patterns identified above marks a speech behavior as glossolalia.⁴⁴

The hyperaroused state of consciousness, she remarks, is one amongst various altered states of consciousness, which '...have a worldwide distribution, although, not all societies make use of the total behavior in all its phases. Rather, various groups ritualize, institutionalize and thus elaborate only one or a few of its several aspects.'⁴⁵ In the rationalistic western world an increasing number of people make use of that ability in the churches and Christian congregations. Staying inside the Christian tradition, they, just like the Mayas in Mexico, find ways to institutionalise otherwise tabooed religious experience.

2.1.2.3. William Samarin

William Samarin's linguistic interpretation rejects the psychological approach to glossolalia as much as Felicitas Goodman's anthropological approach. For him, glossolalia is '...not aberrant behavior, only anomalous.'⁴⁶ He understands glossolalia as '...symbolic as in the way that the eucharist is symbolic.'⁴⁷ He denies that glossolalia is connected with an altered state of consciousness. Conceding that it might have an emotional component, and that there can be certain "peaks" in the spiritual life of a Charismatic Christian, 'it is certainly not the case that glossolalia only occurs in those peaks. Therefore, if glossolalia can be independent of highly charged psychological states, whatever that might mean for the responsible observer of human behavior, it is not merely the product of those states.'⁴⁸ He denies that there is any special "Charismatic" state of consciousness necessary to experience glossolalia:

Glossolalia is not simply a product of some altered state of consciousness, whether it be a pleasurable one (as in 'ecstasy') or not. There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that many of the "ecstatic" experiences of glossolalists are the same as those of non glossolalist but pious Protestants and Catholics.⁴⁹

He dismisses the evidence given by Felicitas Goodman, questioning on the one hand

the validity of her research, accusing her on the other hand of the misinterpretation of some forms of speech as trance. He writes, 'the interpretation [of F. Goodman] completely overlooks the possibility that the intonation she attributes to trance is nothing more than a style of speaking that can be used in any religious discourse.'⁵⁰

From his linguistic point of view, glossolalia can be defined as: '*A meaningless but phonologically structured human utterance believed by the speaker to be a real language but bearing no systematic resemblance to any natural language, living or dead.*'⁵¹

As the other authors do, Samarin observes that glossolalia normally has got a preparatory phase: the desire to speak in tongues grows after someone learned to regard Charismatic worship as something valuable. In the group he is being taught how to start what he observes in his fellow worshipers. 'More often than not the seeker receives a great deal of guidance and instruction,⁵² Samarin remarks. And yet, 'It would seem, [...], that there is very little about speaking in tongues that most seekers are really taught. [...] Beginning to speak in tongues is largely a jump into the dark.'⁵³ But then a process of learning begins:

For most people the facility of speaking in tongues comes gradually and with much practice. While some people seem to experience fluency in improvising pseudolinguistic utterances at the very beginning, others, caught up in the emotion of the event, only confuse the joyous repetition of a limited number of syllables with linguistic facilities.⁵⁴

After reaching a certain degree of fluency, the liberation of the normal restraint of language leads to a state in which 'it is easier to speak in tongues than it is in one's natural language.'⁵⁵

The great value of Samarin's work is his linguistic analysis of glossolalic utterance. He observes: 'A glossolalic discourse appears to be divided into units of speech that might be called "sentences" (more accurately "breath- groups"), because of the rather natural use of rhyme or accent, rhythm, intonation (or melody), and pauses.'⁵⁶ Those breath- groups themselves 'can often be divided into subgroups like those set off in written English by a comma at points where phonological features like temporary pause and "suspended" pitch level occur.'⁵⁷ But the linguistic structure of glossolalia has its limits:

The illusion of word- structure is destroyed when one tries to dissect all the breath- groups of a text. Apart from the prominent syllable sequences the others must be grouped together rather arbitrarily, taking cues from the accent, rhythm, and melody of the breath- group. But since the organization of these two patterns - syllabic and melodic - are largely independent, one feels like dividing syllables /...abc.../ sometimes into /...a bc.../, sometimes into /...ab c.../, and so on.⁵⁸

One of the most common feature of syllables is their repetition.

This may be the repetition of complete syllables, as in /pititi/, /mimimi/, and /vana vana/, but more often

it is a repetition of a consonant, as in /kika/, or vowel, as in /piki/.⁵⁹

So, as in every day language,

glossolalia naturally consists of consonants and vowels. For the most part, these are simply taken from the native language of the speaker although sounds learned in other languages may be introduced: /x/ from German or Spanish (as in *Buch* "book" and *ojo* "eye") in an American's speech is an example. It is surprising, however, how little of this goes on.⁶⁰

And although the glossolalia may be utterly meaningful to the glossolalic Christians, it is meaningless from the linguistic point of view. 'Most of the "meaningful" utterances that the speaker of tongues associates with his speech activity is not encoded linguistically⁶¹, it is emotional meaning. 'One might say that a specific glossolalic discourse "means" joy; it might be translated into a simple predication: "I am happy." This is why we should say that a glossolalic discourse alludes to meaning rather than specifies it.'⁶²

As the other authors do, Samarin doubts the existence of xenoglossia. Its existence could only be proven,

if, on the one hand, it were demonstrated that the speaker could not possibly have learned the language in any normal way and, on the other hand, that the language spoken was incontestably a real one. Fulfilling these requirements is difficult, hence the number of cases of xenoglossia is negligible or nil, depending on how much credibility one attributes to the investigations.⁶³

Thus Samarin concludes that glossolalia, though it has some resemblance to natural language,⁶⁴ in construction as well as in function it is fundamentally different from languages.⁶⁵ In a comparison to non- religious glossolalia, children's language and certain forms of poetry, Samarin tries to demonstrate, that

the normality of glossolalia by showing that there are several kinds of speech phenomena that are more or less similar to it. In other words, glossolalia is located somewhere in a list - perhaps even continuum - of speech anomalies that start with the most rudimentary and approach the most language- like.⁶⁶

2.1.2.4. David Christie- Murry

Christie- Murry seems to agree in many points with Samarin, but is more interested in the paranormal character of glossolalia. After giving a somewhat lengthy history of glossolalia from non- Christian cultures, the New Testament origins of Christian glossolalia and the early church, via the pre- reformation times until 1800 A. D., he describes glossolalia as it happened in the 19th century Pentecostal revival and the contemporary spiritualist wave. A similar comparison is being done with the modern Charismatic movement and modern secular spiritism. He then presents a chapter on "Psychological and Medical Glossolalia",

which describes certain medical phenomena, which are similar to glossolalia like some schizophrenese talk and cryptoamnesia of languages. In his 'Discussion of Christian Tongues' he agrees with Samarin, stressing that:

There are social factors in the production of all anomalous or marginal speech. When man departs from normal language he follows certain paths, but it is not clear what triggers the departure in every instance. The physiological state is not the sole causation of the glossolalic process.⁶⁷

He takes on Samarin's view, that glossolalia is not gibberish.

It has a patterning of sound generally typical of real languages, the principal linguistic feature being the remarkable number of phonological units at the various levels of macrosegments (sentences), microsegments (words) and phonemes (syllables and sound units), which can be studied and analysed.⁶⁸

Accepting glossolalia as "repressive speech" in the sense that it allows glossolalists a lifting of their repression, and as a product of a "glossolalic process", he believes, 'that family codes and vocabulary are minor examples of this process, and slips of the tongue may give rise to a whole mythology.'⁶⁹ However, he seems to differ from Samarin when he eventually does allow dissociation to play a certain role in glossolalia. He himself does not give it the name, but he thinks that a conversion experience has the capacity to trigger off glossolalia:

The sudden conversion in the twinkling of an eye may be so cataclysmic that it seems to the convert like a miracle rather than a natural process. [...] In the illiterate and ignorant the lower brain centres and spinal ganglia are relatively strong and the rational and volitional powers residing in the higher mental centres comparatively weak and untrained. The stimuli caused by great emotional excitement never reach the higher centres - they are like a flood of water trying under pressure to escape through a bottleneck, the pressure causing it to be forced through another vent, as it were, directly to the muscles. This discharge is more frequent and less difficult, and the same process inhibits thought. The verbo- motive centres of the subject can be obedient to subconscious impulse in two ways, resulting either in glossolalia or in automatic writing, perhaps in a foreign language, if this is known to the subject.⁷⁰

But this location of these processes in the "illiterate and ignorant" is contradicted by his own very educated and intelligent cases.⁷¹ Eventually he himself summarises the problem of his book: 'In the end, acceptance or rejection of phenomena classified as supernatural or paranormal is a matter of personal belief.'⁷² Instead of arguing from a specific point of view, he wavers between a phenomenological descriptive and an investigative natural scientific point of view with some apologetic overtones, which makes the line of his argument and the whole purpose of his work somewhat unclear.

2.1.2.5. Morton T. Kelsey

Last but not least the oldest of the academic accounts of glossolalia is mentioned here, Kelsey's book *Tongue Speaking. An Experiment in Spiritual Experience*, which first appeared in 1964.

Kelsey's great advantage over Christie- Murray is that his point of departure is clearly stated. He is a Christian minister, who, although not having experienced tongues personally, has 'many acquaintances who have experienced tongue- speech',⁷³ but also who has been 'deeply interested in analytical psychology, the depth psychology of the late Dr. C. G. Jung of Zürich.'⁷⁴ He gives a thorough account of tongues as they occur in the Bible, in church history, amongst early Pentecostal churches, and, eventually, among the traditional churches. He then demonstrates how the attempt has been made to ignore, explain away, or to demonise the phenomenon in the history of the church by theologians and scientists, and how contemporary glossolaly is treated 'in the same way, usually by comparison with modern frenzied states, or with one form or another of emotional abnormality, or with demon possession, and so there is nothing of particular value in the Christian experience of tongues.'⁷⁵ Kelsey holds against that view, that

the New Testament speaking in tongues cannot be put down as simply another occurrence of something that was going on all over the ancient world. The Christian experience was one which was quite different from other contemporary experiences to which it has been compared and this is the best knowledge we have, based on sound, scholarly work.⁷⁶

Similarly to Christie- Murray he recognises:

Whether tongues is viewed as a psychological anomaly or a religious experience of real worth will depend not so much upon the facts as upon the way we look at the world in which we live, whether our world view has a place for such experiences or not.⁷⁷

However, he does not stop there, as Christie- Murray does, but attempts to 'sketch two Christian world views current in our world today to provide a backdrop against which we can evaluate the experience of tongues.'⁷⁸ These two world views are in his opinion Platonism and Aristotelism, the former believes 'that man has contact with more than material reality,'⁷⁹ the latter, 'that we have knowledge only through sense experience.'⁸⁰ Against these he puts the views on religion of Freud and Jung, stressing with Jung the realm of the psyche, saying:

But as everyone who enters this realm discovers, the distinguishable realities, the entities - almost personalities - do exist, even when we see them only abstracted as ideas or obsessions. Jung has described them as complexes and archetypes; the church as angels and demons. The rose by any other name...⁸¹

After describing some of the medical and psychological discussion on the topic he then comes to an evaluation, laying down the positive and negative aspects of glossolalia. The main positive result in his view is, that many glossolalists 'claim that in the experience of tongues they found the religious meaning of life.'⁸² The negative result can be an inflation of the religious ego: 'Maintaining that all religious experience must come in one way can be led into pride and judging with soon can turn to fanaticism.' (p.227) All in all Kelsey can accept glossolalia as a spiritual gift, even though he is not a tongue- speaker himself:

As a spiritual gift, it has value not only for the individual who speaks in tongues, but for the whole group. One of the greatest values of tongue speaking is that it forces us to consider the possibility of direct contact with non- physical or spiritual reality. [...] Any practice which encourages such re- evaluation is valuable. And like all spiritual endowments, when it is not seen in perspective, glossolalia becomes destructive and even demonic.⁸³

2.1.2.6. Discussion

John Kildahl's position that glossolalists are more submissive and leadership orientated, but in better mental health than non- glossolalists is supported from two other sources. On the one hand, Martyn Percy examines the role of power in fundamentalist and revivalist churches, especially the example of John Wimber, the contemporary American revivalist preacher and founder of the "Vineyard Christian Fellowship". In this movement, glossolalia is not as prominent as amongst the Charismatic congregations Kildahl was working with, but only one of many "gifts of the spirit"; healing and prophecy are more emphasised. It is still common practice, it has just lost a lot of the thrill of the "new". Percy says:

Phenomena such as speaking in tongues are not necessarily highly prized. Although Wimber has run seminars on speaking in tongues, he does not, in common with other operators within the "Third Wave" [of Pentecostalism], see it as a physical validation of spirit baptism, but rather as a language for intimate prayer, spiritual warfare or other ministries.⁸⁴

So we can still assume that Wimber's followers do practice glossolalia, especially as glossolalia is 'being used as a tool that demonstrates the power of God, and therefore of the church concerned in their *capacity* to receive and handle it.'⁸⁵ What Kildahl's hypothesis of the submissiveness of glossolalists concerns, Percy argues, is that

fundamentalist and revivalist belief provides a safe haven of certainty for individuals and groups, a place in which to be a child again, immunized from the complexities of adult social interaction. A world in which 'daddy' intervenes to make dreams come true, rewards the faithful, punishes the bad, sorts out problems and wipes away all tears.⁸⁶

Consequently, from Charismatic ideology very often 'a clear stress on submission to power emerges, in the wider pursuit of fulfilment for the individual Christian, the Church and ultimately, the human race.'⁸⁷

More indirect support comes from the side of Social Psychology. In their study on 'An Attachment- Theoretical Approach to Romantic Love and Religious Belief', Lee A. Kirkpatrick and Phillip R. Shaver found out, that 'Attachment to God, in contrast to other religion variables, was strongly and significantly related to several mental and physical health outcomes.'⁸⁸ They compared the religious behaviour of people, who reacted in love relationships avoidant, secure or anxious/ambivalent; another comparison was, if the relationship towards the mother as a child was avoidant, secure or anxious/ ambivalent. One result of their study shows that,

anxious/ ambivalent lovers were most likely to describe themselves as antireligious and also to report having had a glossolalia experience. If glossolalia can be viewed as an extreme behavioral attempt to "get close to God", then these results show anxious/ ambivalent lovers to represent both extremes of religiousness from an attachment perspective. Thus the religiousness of this group appears to match its "ambivalent" (sometimes clingy, at other times angry) label.⁸⁹

Anxious/ ambivalent lovers are defined as people who 'seek such a high level of closeness that it "sometimes scares people away" and worry that they will be abandoned or that their love will not be reciprocated.'⁹⁰ This search for closeness can very well be expressed in submissiveness, since what else is submission but the unconditional and absolute attachment to somebody else? And so Percy expresses Kildahl's thesis of the submissiveness of the Charismatic worshiper and the strength he draws from his submissive attitude quite independent from Kildahl, when he writes in his article on subliminal eroticism in Charismatic worship:

This is the emotive power of the ideology: suggesting in metaphor, theme and form that surrender of self (especially the emotions and passions), and focusing them on the Lord, will result in the self being accepted by God; a more powerful, intimate relationship will then follow, which can withstand the vagaries of the outside world.⁹¹

However, if this attachment to God has produced a secure relationship, another hypothesis of Kildahl is supported: that of the better psychological health of glossolalists. Kirkpatrick and Shaver's results show, that 'People reporting a secure attachment relationship with God reported greater life satisfaction and less anxiety, loneliness and depression, and physical illness than other participants.'⁹²

This hypothesis, however, cannot claim support from a study by Adams Lovekin and H. Newton Malony from 1977. They observed a charismatic seminar and compared those who

learned speaking in tongues there with those who did speak in tongues beforehand and those who could not attain tongue speaking at all. Their results indicate that the increased ego-strength of the glossolalist observed by Kildahl does emerge less from the glossolalia itself but more from the strength found in the new group. Lovekin and Malony conclude: 'This study found little support for the hypothesis that becoming glossolalic significantly integrates the personality.'⁹³ What did help the glossolalists and non- glossolalists of the Charismatic seminars observed by the authors was the experience of group support, the sharing of a form of spirituality:

There does seem to be evidence that the group experience was positive and this resulted in the greater importance of religion, greater Ego Strength, and fewer Reported Problems for the participants. Thus, it could be inferred that the *Life in the Spirit Seminar* itself, rather than the experience of becoming glossolalic, provoked changes towards personality integration.⁹⁴

At another point they seem to have misunderstood Kildahl. They contradict him by saying: 'In contrast to what Kildahl (1972) proposed, those who do not become glossolalic may be more disturbed than those who do.'⁹⁵ They go on only a little later, writing: 'Being more anxious, hostile, and depressed may predispose a person to being unable to become glossolalic. The experience of speaking in tongues is one in which a great deal of trust and surrender is involved.'⁹⁶ But this is exactly what Kildahl says when he describes the certain amount of submissiveness which is necessary to speak in tongues - or to be hypnotised.

All these indications of the importance of a group do also indicate towards the ritualistic tendency of glossolalia. There is an interaction going on between an individual subject and a group, both of them do expect glossolalia on the side of the subject within its spiritual development on the one hand, on the side of the group, the congregation, at certain parts of the service on the other hand. Surely Nils Holm is right when he says:

Analysis of the glossolalia spoken at Pentecostal meetings has shown that a relatively firm structure can be established for the use of glossolalia ritual. This justifies the conclusion that glossolalia is less a "spontaneous" undeliberated phenomenon than a learned pattern of behaviour, sanctioned and controlled by the group.⁹⁷

As we have shown in the paragraph on the baptism of the Holy Spirit, there is expectation on the side of a group and a subject interacting with that group, expectation of certain ways the Holy Spirit will express Him-/Herself, or as Holm puts it: 'The patterns therefore take on the function of ritual drama.'⁹⁸ For the individual subject, this drama begins with its conversion into the group, Holm talks of a preparation phase:

Before they are baptised in the spirit they undergo a socialisation process that familiarises them with the theology and ritual of the movement. [...] They learn to realise the necessity of baptism in the Spirit at the same

time as they observe other members of the movement practising glossolalia in ritual. The norm structure of the movement is such that a personally experienced baptism in the Spirit is expected to happen to every member of the movement.⁹⁹

On the part of the congregation, the ritual drama happens regularly in the interaction between God and the congregation in services. At some points of the service, prayer glossolalia will dominate, at others, and at fewer, prophetic glossolalia (glossolalia which is being interpreted and which holds a certain message) will occur.¹⁰⁰ This ritualisation can go as far as it is expressed by Richard A. Hutch, who claims 'that praying in tongues is a deliberate act, purposely undertaken for religious benefit just as one would enter into any other sort of religious ritual process.'¹⁰¹ Within the ritual process, certain modes of physical dysfunction are being created:

The overall point is that ritual behaviour is synonymous with controlled situations of dysfunction. This is why rituals take on so much importance in religious life. By means of the religious ritualization of all experiencing, one is able to focus on fundamental modes of meaning implicit in everyday experience. These are meanings associated with the biology and economy of survival.¹⁰²

And so for him,

glossolalic sounds activate a range of possible painful or pleasant conditions of dysfunction which point to the existential meanings conditioned by human biology and actively rehearsed in terms of ritualized sounds, which are their symbols. Tongue speaking is a personal ritual which can bring about a deepening of the spiritual dimension of human existence.¹⁰³

Felicitas Goodman's strength is her anthropological approach. It is difficult to refute what she herself has seen and, indeed, experienced. Her minute report of what she observed is valuable material for everybody working on the phenomenon. She agrees with Samarin in the observation that glossolalia is a learned behaviour, but she nevertheless holds the position that it is experienced in a dissociative state of consciousness. She can underline that, not only by what she observes in other people but even by the fact that she herself slipped for a short while into that state of consciousness she thinks her observants are in during prayer. Her weakness is her claim of intercultural research. Most of her work has been done in Mexico, partly in the big city amongst Spanish speaking people, partly amongst Maya speaking native Indios in the mountains. There are, of course, major cultural differences between both groups, but one can probably not deny that they have influenced each other. Her research from the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant United States is very scarce. It therefore cannot really be compared to her results from Mexico.

William Samarin's great contribution is his linguistic analysis of glossolalic speech. It

allows a sober, academic approach to a phenomenon which is burdened with emotions and religious feelings. It shows where glossolalia is similar to ordinary language and where it differs from it. It makes clear that we cannot talk seriously about xenolalia, but it makes understandable why so many people think they are speaking an ancient or foreign language. However, there is one important criticism to make about Samarin. It is his refusal to accept that glossolalia happens in an altered state of consciousness. This refusal apparently depends on a very narrow view of what an altered state of consciousness is. For well practiced glossolalist it need not be a deep trance, they can just slip into another "mode". Samarin himself admits that it 'should be observed that many people report that their first experience with tongues was in a semi- wakeful state or even in sleep.'¹⁰⁴ Is that not a description of an altered state of consciousness? The fact that experienced glossolalists do not need a lot of outside energy to slip into glossolalia does not mean that they do not go into dissociation any more, but that they have learned to slip very easily into that altered state which enables them to speak in tongues. Experienced as they are they can carry on doing their routine work - they are not "high", but they have learned just to dissociate that part of consciousness which is necessary to speak in tongues. This is being confirmed by Samarin's own observation, describing how two persons try to make conversation, but speak in tongues to each other:

they had switched on "Conversation" after having turned off "Prayer" but had failed to switch on "English" and turn "Glossolalia" off.[...] A speaker answered a question by saying that although glossolalia was much like language "quite often there's a bit more *mandarabudiandara basa marakiarasa* - Oops!"¹⁰⁵

This is not, as Samarin says, the same phenomenon as somebody who has got to switch quickly from English into German and slips some English words into his German phrase.¹⁰⁶ If I, being myself fairly bilingual, do that, I know in both languages what I am talking about, I am using real, not pseudo- language. The Charismatic, however, does normally not even claim he knew what he was saying in tongues. He or she therefore cannot use just by accident a glossa word instead of an English word. The glossa word slips because he is in an altered state, not because he mixes up two different languages.

David Christie- Murray's book is more an investigation into superrational phenomena, and it uses glossolalia as a testcase. In the final conclusion of his book he judges his own efforts by writing: 'In spite of the enormous mass of evidence, there is little that can be quoted confidently as proof of any position, positive or negative.'¹⁰⁷ To try to evaluate a subjective religious experience by means of natural science is a pointless exercise, since it has a religious content which is "metaphysical" and therefore beyond physics by definition. The book remains of interest in so far as it presents examples of glossolalia not only of Charismatic

Christians, but also of spiritualist mediums and thus it enables us to have a more cross religious view of the phenomenon. However, here also it is mainly interesting for the collection of material in itself, less for the way it evaluates it, for the same reasons as mentioned before.

Kelsey's book is informative and in a way the most sympathetic one. Contrary to the others, he is an insider and rather close to the Charismatic movement himself. However, his book never reads as an apologetic, rather he maintains a certain distance towards his subject. This is supported by his Jungian attitude, which, however, is the only problem in his dealing with the matter, since it seduces to reductionism. The following phrase may help to illustrate the problem: 'Psychology inherits the job of bringing the individual into creative relationship with the essential core of psychic totality, Holy Spirit or "self", when the church fails in this function.'¹⁰⁸ Thus God becomes "psychic totality", the Holy Spirit becomes the "Self", and psychology the new religion. This is another form of reductionism which we rejected in chapter one when we said that psychosis is not a misunderstood form of religion.

2.1.3. Resting in the Spirit

The next evening, I came forward for prayer - an invitation had been issued for anyone in pastoral ministry. I "went down", yielding to the feelings of weakness and heaviness. With no cognitive or emotive content, I lay there thinking, "I don't know... the guy that prayed for me had a pretty heavy hand... did I get pushed?" When I came forward for prayer the second time, I was in a bad mood. Again I went down, and as I lay there, I said, "God, I don't care if this is You or not... I am so tired, I'm just going to lie here a while." The third time was at the mid-week pastors' meeting. Randy Clark, the guest preacher, had done some teaching, had answered some questions, and then offered to pray for us. We lined up at the front of the church. He simply came up to Janis, and she was down on the floor, loony tunes, again. Randy prayed very gently, very quietly for me, and I went over, feeling too tired to stand any longer. As I lay there, I started weeping. Wailing, if the truth be told, for something like forty minutes. While there was no conscious, cognitive pictures, or images, memories or impressions, a long-standing bitterness and resentment was lifted in the process. That, and a sense that I had been released a little further into a new sense of God's sovereign authority and providential care over my life.

While many Pentecostals would say that I had been "slain in the Spirit", the expression they commonly use to describe the experience of falling down under the power of the Spirit, Francis McNutt's term "resting in the Spirit" seemed to fit my experience better. The depth of peace that was experienced brought life, not death; "resting in the Spirit", however, doesn't serve to describe the empowerment I experienced as my body shook uncontrollably while I was lying there.¹⁰⁹

This somewhat lengthy quote from Guy Chevreau has been chosen because it is an unusually detailed first-hand account of another typical Charismatic experience, "Resting in the Spirit", or "Being Slain in the Spirit". The only unusual aspect about Chevreau's account is his shaking while having the experience, in many cases people who are resting in the Spirit are literally resting - they are laying on the floor motionless for a shorter or longer while, until they are able to get up and return to their pews again. Resting in the Spirit is one act in Charismatic services where an altered state of consciousness is clearly being evoked.

Thomas Csordas, who analysed the "Resting", shows 'that the principal issues in falling are trust, resistance, and the play of divine power'.¹¹⁰ Falling down is not normally unexpected. Someone is praying on a subject, normally touching him or her on the head, the shoulders and/ or the breast. Behind the subject who is being prayed over a "catcher" is waiting to catch the subject and lie him or her down gently. Thus Csordas observes: 'The interactive dimension of resting in the Spirit includes the subject's relationship with both healer [praying person] and catcher. [...] The interaction between subject and catcher is predicated on trust.'¹¹¹ The subject is falling into the loving arms of his religious community, which of course is in its own understanding, the body of Christ.

The previous quote by Guy Chevreau very nicely illustrates the amount of resistance which must be overcome to let the experience happen. He has got to have the experience three times in order to really enter into it. The first time he still muses whether he had been pushed by the person praying over him, the second time he just does not care if this was spiritual or not and only the third time he was able to let himself go. As Csordas observes:

The letting go is also described as "surrender" and "submission", and is understood as giving oneself over to the divine will not just for the moment, but in a moment that symbolizes commitment. Resistance is thus thematized as resistance to the power of God.¹¹²

The eventual overcoming of the resistance then, is almost like a new conversion, a conversion to the power of the Holy Spirit. It is important, though, that the "letting go" is still a deliberate act of the subject which is being prayed over. A falling against one's own will can be regarded as a demonic attack. Thus, according to Csordas:

It becomes evident that it is alright to surrender control, but unacceptable for control to be taken. This specification clashes with a requirement of spontaneity in so far as God, the divine exemplar of the self, must have unlimited prerogative of spontaneous action at his primary locus of interest, the human self.¹¹³

Thus the resistance and the deliberate overcoming of it is an essential part of the experience. The trust we mentioned earlier must be great enough to enable the subject to undergo submission into something he cannot control anymore. Then the subject allows God to act on him. Divine power is being experienced by losing motor control of one's own body - the subject cannot move anymore. Normally he or she does not want to move either. Csordas observes:

It is rare that someone attributes inability to move to being held by a force, and this despite the substantivized notion of divine power. In sum, in falling a person is moved by a force, but once down is not held, and resistance gives way to passivity.¹¹⁴

By accepting Csorda's analysis of "Resting in the Spirit" with the terms "trust", "resistance" and "divine power" a specific aspect of being a Charismatic Christian becomes apparent again: their submissive character which gains strength by accepting the submissiveness. Resting in the Spirit needs the overcoming of that bit of resistance that the ego of the subjects holds against the surrender to the self, but also to the community of the believers and the person who is praying over the subject. By demanding that that surrender must be a deliberate act, that control is being surrendered but not being taken, the Charismatic Christians make sure that it is an act of trust, of faith, and not an act of resignation, as it were. Resting in the Spirit is not an act of helpless surrender towards a higher power but a deliberate act of submission into the knowledge that real life is greater than the personal ego. The specialist on "alternative religion" in the West, Georg Feuerstein criticises the Western Christian tradition, when he observes: 'Our intellect has outgrown our religious heritage; our emotions have not. [...] This leaves the typical Westerner in a schizoid condition; brain and heart are split asunder.'¹¹⁵ Charismatic Spirituality aims to mend that split in Western Religion. It practices a faith which reaches beyond oneself, and the connection with the "healer", the "catcher", and the "divine", as described above, allow faith to reach not only beyond the "ego", but also beyond "individuality". Fragmentation can be healed by the knowledge of being part of the "body of Christ". The individual experience of the divine, again, stops the idolatry of the group. 'In faith', Georg Feuerstein remarks, 'we reach beyond ourselves, beyond a presumed insularity whose ultimate end is the kind of tragic insanity which Nietzsche fell victim.'¹¹⁶ And maybe the Charismatic and Pentecostal movement in the proper way may succeed in what the post- Christian scholar Feuerstein saw as the failure of our religious culture by not only understanding but living the insight 'that the end of the tyranny of the old patriarchal God has set us free to find the real God, the transcendental Reality beyond religious dogmas and mere belief.'¹¹⁷

2.1.4. Spiritual Healing

I also experienced amazing physical healings, on other people and on myself. The pastor's child had been cured from cancer. I myself was healed from epilepsy. In this little church they made it up like a court case: it was a trial against the devil who struck me with that sickness although Jesus has taken all punishment for me. So I cannot really have this sickness, I am free. (Val, Appendix 1)

Spiritual healing from physical illness by evoking the supernatural is another important feature of traditional and neo- Pentecostalism. 'For if there is one quality which marks out the new Evangelical/ Charismatic Christianity, it is its re- discovery of the

supernatural: of miracles, healings, divine intervention, not to mention the (putative) raising of the dead,¹¹⁸ writes the journalist Ian Cotton in his book *'The Halleluja Revolution'* And, indeed, again and again when Charismatics give testimony of their faith, they will mention some raisings from the dead as the ultimate climax in their description of the Holy Spirit.

Margaret M. Poloma and Lynette F. Hoelter have recently discerned between three types of healing: Spiritual healing, which is 'the removal of perceived barriers to divine intimacy, including personal sin and demonic influences,'¹¹⁹ inner healing, which can mean 'increased self- acceptance and decreased self- denunciation,'¹²⁰ but also the 'healing of relationships with others (e.g., forgiveness and reconciliation). An important key to the process is said to involved a "healing of memories" from hurting and abusive treatment by others.'¹²¹ The third type is mental and physical healing, about which they offer the following statistics:

Born- again Christians, who may or may not be Pentecostal or charismatic, were significantly more likely to report having experienced a healing than non- born agains - 33% of born- agains (as compared with 14% of non- born- agains) claimed a "remarkable" physical healing and 32% (versus 15%) reported being healed from an emotional or psychological problem. In a follow- up of persons in the 1985 Akron Area Survey who agreed to a second interview and who had reported a physical healing from a life- threatening medical problem, 86% of the respondents self- identified as "charismatics or Pentecostals".¹²²

All in all they can say: 'In sum, previous research, both medical and social scientific, has demonstrated a relationship between religion/ spirituality and physical healing.'¹²³

Due to the radical dualism which underlies the belief of many Charismatics, all signs of weakness, suffering and illness belong to the realm of the devil. The devil is ultimately defeated by Christ, but still holds a lot of power in the world. The Christian who really believes cannot be ill ultimately, or only as far as he or she allows the devil to take over the power in one's life. E.g., although John Wimber, the contemporary Charismatic preacher, does not claim that all illness comes from Satan, it is overcome by Christ, because it is a result of the fall, since

the victory of Christ on the cross for Wimber necessarily indicates that what is apparently natural may not longer be pre- eminent over the supernatural. The power of Christ can heal everybody, provided the right methodology is employed. Those who are not healed have simply not been correctly or adequately exposed to the power of God.¹²⁴

Consequently the healing minister Benny Hinn, when praying for a boy suffering from anti- phospholid syndrome, a blood disease, evokes the power of God against that of the devil by saying: 'The devil is trying to take Timmy's life, but we are not going to allow it.'¹²⁵ And respectively, 'Every time someone is healed, satan is dealt a devastating blow.'¹²⁶ From this

extremely dualist point of view the healing can take the form of exorcism (see below); Benny Hinn reports the healing of a girl who was severely brain damaged after falling off a horse by using the following prayer:

I bind the power of satan and all evil spirits, and I command you to go in Jesus' name. I praise God for the victory. I loose the protection of the blood of Jesus and an angel. I loose an infilling of the Holy Spirit in Jesus' name.¹²⁷

As glossolalia and prophecy healing is regarded as a spiritual dimension of the primitive Church, so the Charismatic renewal is regarded as the renovation of the church in its original shape.

A new Church is emerging today amidst the erosion of the old patterns dominated for many centuries by European Christianity. She is being reshaped by the Holy Spirit and being brought into closer kinship with the primitive Christian Church than she has been at any time in the intervening centuries.¹²⁸

These are the words of Anglican Priest George Bennett speaking in the spirit of the Charismatic renewal. Whereas the position of the post- enlightenment established Church on miraculous healings is that God does not act against his own natural laws, there has always been a supernatural strain within the Church that did not accept that view. When my informant Mary could not get any help from doctors for her aching elbow, she remembered,

that the Church has the gift of healing, and I went to my local curate and asked him for the lay of hands. Nobody had ever approached him with such a request and he absolutely freaked out. In the end he said: "I will see if I can find an office in the church which can deal with that", and that was the last thing I heard from him about it.¹²⁹

For many Charismatic preachers, this is not a problem at all. 'Jesus commanded his disciples: "Heal the sick." Let us pray for them and expect God to heal them. He does answer prayers!'¹³⁰ Disease is then regarded as the work of Satan, who could gain, normally due to some sinful behaviour of the ill person, some power in his or her life. The power of Satan has got to be broken - and the illness is gone. The preacher John Ferguson tells us the following story:

I remember listening to the testimony of a lady at a crusade we held in Brazil. Her thirty-year-old daughter had been totally blind since the age of one. She herself had been involved in witchcraft all that time. During the meeting she repented and gave her life to the Lord. When we later prayed a general prayer for the sick, the woman's witchcraft necklace spontaneously broke and fell to the ground. In the same moment her daughter instantly received her sight, and was completely healed.¹³¹

The apparent unfairness of the fact that the daughter had been punished for the alleged "sin" of her mother for many years does not seem to concern the preacher. Illness exists either

because the devil could gain some power or simply in order to glorify the victorious Lord if the illness is being overcome.

In 1973 Morton T. Kelsey published a more subtle approach of defending Christian spiritual healing from a Charismatic point of view, aimed at academic critics. Criticising the traditional moralistic view of the Church on healing (sickness seen either as a divine punishment or as being sent by God to test the faith and patience of the sick person) and the modern existential theology which has no place for the super-rational to break through into the rational world, he tries to '...take a fresh and honest look at the cultures that lie behind our own - Hebrew and Greek as well as Christian - to discover what they have to say as to the value and reality of religious healing.'¹³² He then describes how he sees healing as it appears in the Old Testament and in the ministry of Jesus. In his description of Jesus' psychology he tells us what he regards as the healing force behind Jesus:

One reason Jesus was so responsive to sickness and sin was his sense that they result from men's domination by alien spirits, to which his whole being was antagonistic. The only way to drive them out - to bring health of body, mind and soul - was through the Spirit of God, the Holy Spirit. This is characterized by love, by agape.[...] Only a life characterized by love can give hospitality to the Spirit of God.¹³³

He describes how the gift of healing lived on in the early and ancient Church until the beginning of the Middle Ages, and makes a typically Charismatic statement by claiming:

It is also clear that these men who were sent out by Jesus to heal had an understanding of ministering his Spirit to others which is as relevant to our lives today as it was then. If the same Spirit is in the church today as in that time, the same things can happen once again.¹³⁴

This is a typically Charismatic theory of the decline of the Church. For Kelsey the decline was triggered off by '... the decline of the civilization in the West and the barbarian conquest,'¹³⁵ the philosophical shift from Platonism to Aristotelism and the separation of belief in the miraculous from theological thinking.¹³⁶ After indicating how religious healing went on in Church history despite its neglect from Theology in Protestantism as well as in Roman Catholicism, Kelsey tries to prove the impact of the psyche on physical health, in order to conclude:

There is no sharp line of demarcation between the religious, spiritual, emotional and physical; between the body and the psyche. If it can be shown that religious life has a vital effect upon that vehicle of man's subtler and more central experience which Christians are apt to call the soul, then it may be assumed that it will have a like effect upon the body of the believer.¹³⁷

He turns to C.G. Jung for evidence for that assumption, and finds in him a scientific authority for his dualism: 'The unconscious, as Jung saw it, contains both negative elements

and creative and healing ones. Its numerous archetypal contents are by nature ambivalent - destructive or creative depending on how the individual deals with them.¹³⁸ What is especially important for Kelsey is the fact that Jung claims an objective reality behind the reality of the physical world; in combination with some incarnation Theology that allows him to construct a sort of objective reality behind miracles. After a description of Pentecost, Kelsey writes:

The encounter with the Self, described by Jung, is just such a central and vital experience. Again and again he observed that an objective, nonphysical reality like this could bring wholeness - indeed, health and harmony - to an individual's life, once he could allow it to operate. If ordinary men, then, have experiences of a power like this, one would expect it even more for the followers of Jesus after all they had experienced and suffered. When the Spirit did break through, it came not only with the evidence of tongues, but with the power to heal, which continued and was passed on to other converts.¹³⁹

And so he arrives via Jung at a Charismatic theology of Christ's atonement which emphasises individualism and personal experience:

But this doctrine of atonement was not conceived just intellectually. In the early church it was the hypothesis developed to account for the experience of freedom and power men knew as they came into the Christian fellowship, often finding themselves no longer subjects to mental and physical illness, to demons, or simply to giving up in the face of persecution.¹⁴⁰

Kelsey certainly uses materials which never would be used by a Charismatic fundamentalist, who would argue with the literal text of the bible and would abhor the argumentation based on the theories of C.G. Jung. However, in many ways Kelsey is a typical Charismatic: he builds up a theory about the decline of the Church, he expects that the true modern Church should be a mirror image of what in his view was the unspoiled *early* Church, and he expects the supernatural to be a normal part of life. He is also as dualistic as many Charismatics when he brings in "evil":

There is one aspect or element, however, which seems to be ultimately destructive. This kind of content, which drives men to physical and mental illness, is not only represented in the New Testament; it is depicted, for instance, by the witches in *Macbeth* and Mephistopheles in *Faust*, and also by the Evil One so accurately portrayed in the film *Rosemary's Baby*.¹⁴¹

There are also some modern popular Charismatic writers with a more subtle approach than the very blunt 'It's basically your own fault when you are ill, because you obviously haven't got enough faith' brand of preaching.

Present Charismatic writing can contain both the radical dualist view of good against evil and the victory of the good which becomes visible in miraculous healing, and also a moralist view that 'Sickness may be a punishment sent by God,¹⁴² or 'Sickness may be a

chastisement sent by God to Christians,¹⁴³ or they may quote other traditional theological explanations for the existence of sickness. Those writers who have had to come to terms with their own eventually terminal illness and the fact that they were not miraculously healed are much more careful about raising expectations of miracles. They do not abandon the possibility of the miracle, since God is almighty, but the tone changes and they offer explanations other than a lack of faith for on- going illness:

We should remember that God never says *no*, but he says *not yet*. The answer may only come in heaven. The believer knows that one day, all his hurts, all his pain, all his weakness, all his illness will be healed.¹⁴⁴

Deliverance from suffering is being transferred into the time after death - a view which is much closer to traditional Christian thinking than the "here and now miracles".

Although many Charismatic Christians report healing experiences, there is rarely any independent verification of the reported incident. Critics claim that eventually no "miracle" at all can stand firm in the merciless light of scientific evidence. The Southampton based GP and member of the General Synod, Dr Peter May, has been following up "miracles" in the UK and believes in twenty years, 'he has not yet encountered one single medically- proven claim.'¹⁴⁵ There are other independent, more benign voices. A study by Daniel P. Wirth followed up a number of clients of an American non- Charismatic Christian, spiritual healer, and his findings show, that although there was no miraculous healing¹⁴⁶:

88% of the patients reported that the condition for which they sought treatment persisted, approximately 90% reported an improvement in their condition. Of the 43% patients who listed their condition as improved, all believed that the improvement was due to the spiritual healing treatment session.¹⁴⁷

This improvement was not purely emotional, although even that should not be regarded with contempt. The data demonstrated that 75% of patients obtained an independent medical diagnosis before and after the spiritual healing session, with 86% of these patients being told by their physicians that their condition had improved.¹⁴⁸ The improvement was especially high (95%) amongst those, who had high expectancies when they attended the healer, but even those who came with low expectancy improved significantly (73%).¹⁴⁹ This result is not unlike that experienced with allopathic medicine, where it is

a clinical truism that the expectancy of the physician and the patient play significant roles in the healing process - sometimes to the point of determining whether or not the patient will recover from the illness. On the basis of the results obtained in this study, it may now be suggested that the same clinical truism can be applied to the spiritual healing encounter as well.¹⁵⁰

2.1.5. Exorcism

If spiritual healing points to the sometimes radical dualism of the Charismatic *Weltanschauung*, the practice of exorcism does so even more; in some cases the spiritual healing can already take forms of exorcism, when illness is being regarded as something evil, which is overcome by Jesus. Although the Charismatic movement is a diverse movement, we find that dualism is a very common trait of it. Even sophisticated apologetics such as Kelsey betray this worldview in their defence of spiritual healing (see above). That is so although the Pentecostals themselves point to the fact that they overcome another dualism of Western, and therefore traditional Christian, thinking: the dualism of Body and Mind. The Pentecostal Theologian Cheryl Bridge Johns notes:

In the ministry of healing there is the expression of the belief that salvation and healing are for the whole person. The laying on of hands and anointing with oil are means whereby Pentecostals give expression to this belief. As recorded in the Gospels, Jesus comes as the Great Physician, healing both sin- sick souls and physical sickness. His touch is one which brings *shalom*, restoring wholeness. Thus Pentecostals testify to being touched by Jesus and made whole.¹⁵¹

Certainly Charismatic thinking does overcome the Western scientific dualism by holding the concept of the person as a tripartite composite of body, mind, and spirit. The spiritual is, as Thomas Csordas reports, paradoxically ineffable and empirical at the same time:

Its ineffability was captured by an informant who said that the reason the spiritual could not easily be discussed was only because we have no language for it, and hence we are forced by default to describe it in the language of emotions. On the other hand, the spiritual is empirical in the sense that phenomena such as evil spirits, or the sense of divine presence, are experienced as real in their own domain, just as viruses in the somatic and emotional traumas in the mental domain.¹⁵²

John shows that dualism between Good and Evil which is typical for Charismatic Christians. He writes:

Finally, it should be noted that a Pentecostal world- view is one in which evil is reality. [...] The devil, who is the 'prince of the world', is a personal spirit- being who controls the powers of darkness. Much like the ancient church, Pentecostals are engaged in a holy war against the kingdom of darkness.¹⁵³

We therefore think it is justified to use a more explicit and radical example of that dualism to see how it is being used in everyday life by Charismatic Christians.

The Canadian pastor Stephen Whyte re- published his father's *A Manual on Exorcism and Dominion Over Demons*¹⁵⁴ in 1989. It is one of many books from the Charismatic and fundamentalist Christian corner in the bookshop dealing with the matter. It is also typical in

its anti- theological and anti- philosophical stance. 'This is not a theoretical theology, but a practical, down- to- earth Bible approach to the needs of the people - and it works!'¹⁵⁵, the author makes clear, typically ignoring the fact that every "practical approach" has its philosophical basis - but to examine them beyond some supporting bible quotes seems to be at the least a pointless, at the most a dangerous enterprise. What is on offer here is experience versus Theology. 'Not so we can formulate more doctrine and theology, but so we can start setting people free!'¹⁵⁶

Of course a lot of such doctrine is being formulated in exactly that way. The fundamentalist view of the Bible as the inerrant word of God allows a surprising freedom in its use; quotes out of context can be used as a proof of almost any claim,¹⁵⁷ and so the Bible is being used to establish a world- view which is sharply divided into black and white, good and evil, God and Devil, angels and demons.

According to this thinking, 'The earth has always been Satan's domain (even before he fell), and he still claims it as his kingdom.'¹⁵⁸ Satan and his angels were previously in 'high estate as the trusted servants of Jehovah,¹⁵⁹ but they were defeated in a rebellion and cast out of heaven.¹⁶⁰ However, when Satan was defeated, he did not lose his power and authority. 'By divine mission he uses it today amongst the earthly creation. His power, therefore, is second only to Jesus Christ and is infinitely greater than many people imagine.'¹⁶¹ Consequently, he and his evil spirits, who help Satan to maintain his curse upon humanity,¹⁶² 'swarm around us like mosquitos.'¹⁶³ Some of those spirits are identified by bible quotes,¹⁶⁴ some Whyte knows by experience, like 'suicide demons, epileptic demons, arthritic demons, cancer demons, insane demons, asthma demons, foul demons, sex demons, religious demons, and even spirits of fear and jealousy.'¹⁶⁵ Considering the fact, that what really matters in reality are the spiritual forces of any kind,¹⁶⁶ it becomes understandable that all parts of life are viewed in that light, even germs, which could afflict our bodies, 'are part of the curse that will be destroyed at the coming of Jesus Christ,¹⁶⁷ and even 'death is a spirit,¹⁶⁸ which can under certain circumstances be rebuked. Thomas Csordas, in his work on Roman Catholic Charismatic Christians, describes the Charismatic demonology as 'a collective representation [...] of the Person as a repertoire of potential negative attributes - the person in, as it were, a photographic negative.'¹⁶⁹

Man himself is a triune being. 'First spirit, then soul, then body. Man is, therefore, primarily and essentially a spiritual being.'¹⁷⁰ In this understanding each "level" of man can communicate with one part of otherworldly reality, spiritual, mind or carnal. 'We cannot find God or understand anything about God with our minds or our bodies. That's why God made

man a spiritual being.¹⁷¹ This leads to an understanding of God's mind as well.¹⁷² Csordas points out, that the tripartite composition of man allows a form of healing for each component: 'physical healing of bodily illness, inner healing of emotional illness and distress, and deliverance from the adverse effects of evil spirits.'¹⁷³ Whyte is concerned mainly about the latter. Man opens his doors for the spiritual realm by the baptism of the Holy Spirit. 'The moment we open the door of our spiritual realm, we can receive whatever voice we tune into,¹⁷⁴ and so the devil tries to seduce us to follow his voice and not that of the Holy Spirit - thus paradoxically, those who live especially close to God are especially endangered by Satan.

The evil spirits can enter the human being especially when one commits sins. That is why confession is necessary before all deliverance. 'Jesus cannot forgive us or deliver us until we say we are sorry. Stubbornness and pride have kept many people from receiving total freedom in Christ.'¹⁷⁵ This points to another paradox in that world- view: On the one hand it is all about the rule of Satan in the world, on the other hand man is responsible himself whether or not he will be dominated by Satan. In a way, one has to make use of Christ (a peculiarity of Whyte is his insistence on the use of Christ's blood in an almost magic way¹⁷⁶), but one constantly has to fight off the devil and his spirits oneself. Even the believer must constantly watch himself to ensure that he does not come under evil spiritual influence without noticing it. Whyte warns: 'The baptism in the Holy Spirit is not given to us to perpetuate feelings but to enable us to fight the devil in faith whether we feel good or not.'¹⁷⁷ This also helps to explain cases of a return of certain "healed" illnesses or exorcised spirits. 'Epileptics have been gloriously delivered and released from their seizures. But because they did not walk more closely to the Lord than before, the demons returned.'¹⁷⁸

The black and white view of the world seems to have a tendency to locate everything unpopular in the black corner of life. As has been quoted above, illness and even death have been identified with evil spirits, as well as traits of personality which are regarded as being immoral, like jealousy, greed or sex (especially homosexuality¹⁷⁹). Even poverty can be caused by evil spirits.¹⁸⁰ Thus eventually everything which does not fit into the ideas and lifestyle of an American white conservative middle class family is infected by the devil. In this way, conservative ideas of society which otherwise would be regarded as sexist are being sanctified. So the ministry of deliverance can only be administered by those who have a spiritual leader:

No married woman should enter into this supernatural realm who does not acknowledge her husband as her head, or who does not attempt to have her children in subjection. Deliverance is a powerful ministry and needs people whose lives are in order and submitted to God.¹⁸¹

Submission is an important thing to learn in order to experience deliverance.

Concerning one of his delivered men Whyte says: 'Because of his Roman Catholic background, he had learned to accept what the priest said as true. I suppose this is a great lesson for rebellious Protestants to learn!'¹⁸² On the other hand this way of projecting everything unpleasant into the figure of a demon makes it possible to cast it out, to deal with it. Things which cannot be talked about in any other way because they are taboo (e.g. homosexuality in conservative American families) are expressed in a form which can be handled.

An interesting aspect of this form of Christianity is its almost magical or shamanic side. To illustrate this it is worth quoting a longer passage, the exorcism of a murder spirit from a lady:

I then began to bind and command these murder demons to leave. I was not surprised when she began to scream in a loud voice, for I knew that Jesus had encountered this kind of demonic reaction many times. (See Luke 4:33,34.) It was not a pleasant experience. The demons manifested themselves in a frenzy of rage and then started to vomit out.

These murder demons were somewhat stronger than most of the demons with which we deal. Strong demons usually vomit out, often bringing mucus with them and sometimes even the poison that surrounds them. This is quite an operation! The very hand of Jesus, the Divine Physician, reaches inside them and brings salvation and healing. I have seen many expensive operations done by Jesus for free, and the results are often left on the floor or in buckets. Gruesome and horrible, but true.

This deliverance took about half an hour. Then we began to pray for this woman to be baptized in the Holy Spirit. We taught her to plead the blood of Jesus out loud. Jesus gave her a new tongue, and she began to speak as the Spirit gave utterance. The vessel that had been filled with murder now overflowed with love. What a transformation!

The name of Jesus casts out every foul spirit, and the applied blood of Jesus cleanses the vessel. This paves the way for the Holy Spirit to come and do His work.¹⁸³

Although the dualism makes the whole operation quite different to a shamanic séance, there are still quite a few similarities. Foreign voices cry out of the possessed lady. She vomits - the spirit is in a way materialised in the poison and the substance on the floor makes his expulsion a visible event. After the successful operation, the lady is possessed by a benign spirit, the Holy Spirit takes over, she is in a state of dissociation again and speaks in tongues. First she has to cleanse herself in a magical way: by pleading aloud the blood of Jesus. She is called a vessel which carries the spirits, the evil spirits first, the Holy Spirit after the operation. Very similar elements appear in the shamanic healing - there might be a confession of a break of taboo by the patient which allowed the malign spirit to enter her or him, there might be some struggle with the spirit to cast him out of the patient, the patient and the shaman might fall into dissociative states of consciousness, some poisonous substance might come out of the patient as a proof of the spirit having left him or her. Maybe the patient must be cleansed with some magic after the expulsion of the evil spirit, and he or she might receive

protection from a benign spirit.

The shamanic resemblance of Pentecostal phenomena are confirmed by the shamanic character of some indigenous Korean Pentecostal churches who although officially anti-shamanic in their preaching have taken over several of the ancient shamanic customs of their cultures, to such an extent that the Korean Theologian David Kwang-Sun- Suh is prepared to claim:

Korean Protestantism has almost been reduced to a Christian *mudang* [the Korean Shaman] religion. That is, the form and language of the worship service are Christian, but the content and structure of what Korean Christians adhere to are basically *mudang* religion. Although missionaries rejected Shamanism and thought it had been destroyed, Korean Christianity has become almost completely shamanized.¹⁸⁴

Mark R. Mullins presents amongst others the example of the Sung Rak Baptist Church and its founding pastor Ki Dong Kim:

Kim teaches that this world is Hades and individuals who die without Christ become evil spirits that wander about this world and possess people. Suffering and various kinds of illness are caused by these unclean spirits, who enter a person and use their energy. Exorcism, then, necessarily becomes a central concern of this church. Healing involves calling the spirit of the dead person by name and casting it out in the name of Jesus Christ. Kim's etiology of illness is essentially that of traditional Korean shamanism.¹⁸⁵

In Whyte's case this cultural background is lacking, at least in such an obvious way. However, considering a Korean definition of shamanism, i.e. that 'Shamanism is the belief system of this- worldly- blessing - material wealth, good health, and other personal and familial well being,¹⁸⁶ one can see how much this definition not only fits with shamanised pentecostalism in Korea, but also with Whytes exorcism.

The only information we receive about the woman exorcised with the "murder spirits" exorcised by Whyte is, 'that she was afraid of destroying herself and her three children'(p. 60) - on that we can speculate that she was not happy with her family situation and obviously could not see any way out. Thus I.M. Lewis' analysis of "peripheral possession" can apply here. Peripheral spirits are spirits which originate outside the moral code and society of their victim, they are amoral.¹⁸⁷ In a way this all applies to "Charismatic demonology": although the devil is evil and he and his spirit can be given admittance to a person by immoral behaviour, he is amoral in a way, since he has got a certain legal right to rule the creation, and he can be inherited, so possession is not only caused by personal moral failure. It is then the fault of previous generations, since 'the sins of our parents are often visited upon the children up to the third and fourth generation'.¹⁸⁸ These spirits can show themselves as: '1. Physical abnormalities caused by an unfortunate combination of genes. 2. Emotional or spiritual weaknesses received by heredity.'¹⁸⁹ The devil is in a way from "outside", because "inside" is

the cleansed church, where he has lost his rights. Lewis tells us that possession by those peripheral spirits very often 'expresses insubordination, but not usually to the point where it is desired to immediately rupture the relationship concerned or subvert it completely. Rather it ventilates aggression and frustration largely within an uneasy acceptance of the established order of things.'¹⁹⁰ The thus possessed person 'ventilates his pent- up animosity without questioning the ultimate legitimacy of the status differences enshrined within the established hierarchical order. If peripheral possession is thus a gesture of defiance, it is also, usually, one of hopelessness.'¹⁹¹ Also the exorcised person, now being filled with the Holy Spirit, like the shamaness who has learned to deal with her possession in a peripheral cult, lives in a state of, albeit benign, peripheral possession in the sense of I.M. Lewis. This is expressed in a theological apology of the Pentecostal theologian Steven J. Land, when he writes about praying in tongues: 'Speaking in tongues is thus a sacrament of the eschatological Spirit who emboldens and empowers by giving voices of praise to the victims whom the world has told to shut up.'¹⁹² This is so, although the author denies that being filled with the Holy Spirit has anything to do with possession and prefers to describe it in terms of a "taste of the kingdom of God".¹⁹³ Although this theological differentiation has got to be accepted, we would like to argue that there is a phenomenological similarity. The Charismatic case differs from the examples given by Lewis in its clear dualism: evil possession or at least life in the darkness before conversion and the baptism in the Holy Spirit is contrasted with life in the bright shine of the spirit afterwards. This is emphasised by Land, when he writes:

There is sharp distinction between believers and unbelievers, church and world, God and Satan. There is a radical call to repentance, an invitation to come from darkness into light. There is also a radical call to holy living on the part of those who testify to being filled with the *Holy* Spirit in order to bear witness to the *Holy* Saviour.¹⁹⁴

The examples given by Lewis differ in so far as this distinction is not made. In the second phase after the primary possession, people are not being delivered, but 'possession bouts become chronic, and the afflicted wife is inducted into what may become permanent membership of the possession cult group.'¹⁹⁵ What can be said about both is Lewis' conclusive remark: 'Thus what is considered to begin with as an uncontrolled, unsolicited, involuntary possession illness readily develops into an increasingly controlled, and voluntary religious exercise.'¹⁹⁶

T.K. Oesterreich, the pioneering authority on "possession", directs us to two important implications of these experiences: on the one hand it is a protest against a rationalistic world view:

It is another of the fruits of the "Age of Enlightenment", the importance of which has been so profoundly underestimated and which contains the roots of nearly every fundamental conception of our scientific thought. It may be said without exaggeration that the whole of the preceding centuries theoretically regarded the air as filled with demons, peopled with spirits of all sorts. The extent to which possession contributed to produce that belief is abundantly demonstrated by the fact that at the present time belief in a spirit- world resuscitates wherever kindred states are manifested; observers without a thorough preliminary knowledge of psychology are absolutely convinced that they are in the presence of a "spirit". Once produced, this belief must in turn have reacted very strongly on possession and produced it with great frequency.¹⁹⁷

The possession state and successful exorcism as facts of experience could prove the existence of a spiritual realm. On the other hand, it is part of the experience of the Holy:

Together with consciousness of the presence of spirits it produces an impression of horror, or something sinister, and in general the sentiments of *tremendum* of which Rudolph Otto has given an excellent analysis, demonstrating also their importance in primitive religion.¹⁹⁸

Many Charismatic Christians project that tremendous moment of religion into the giant battle between Christ and the Devil, which the Devil is bound to lose. Thus they experience life on the right side of the battlefield. In a world of pluralism and a society which is morally permissive and demands flexibility in every conceivable way, dualism gives a sense of order and structure. Taboos can be handled, and disruption of the order can be explained by the wickedness of the demons. Psychologist Ferracuti and colleagues point out,

that possession fulfils various needs for various persons, giving them the opportunity to express behaviors or emotions that are denied or repressed, giving to whom has the experience a role or, facilitating translation of uncontrollable impulses into publicly acknowledged religious operations.¹⁹⁹

This is confirmed by a study of psychologists Ward and Beaubrun who tested members of a West Indian Charismatic congregation. Their results

corroborate neurotic aspects of the possession reaction. In these instances it is most likely that individuals socialized in communities pervaded by supernatural and animistic beliefs employ possession as a psychological defence to cope with frustration and conflict. Despite its maladaptive features, such as accompanying anxiety and psychosomatic complaints, the reaction does afford some advantages in terms of temporary escape from unpleasant reality, absolution of guilt and responsibility by attributing the reaction to supernatural causes, and evocation of sympathy and affection from family and friends.²⁰⁰

Thomas Csordas sees the matter in a more positive light:

If the cosmological effect of this predication is to objectify evil spirits, the psychological effect is to formulate a problem which had previously eluded the patient. The identification of multiple spirits sets the stage for describing how spirits are interacting within the person, and thus provides a parapsychodynamic idiom for dealing with psychological conflict.²⁰¹

The idea that "Charismatic demonology" is a reaction to the uncertainties of modern

life is supported by Bergelman's observation on strong beliefs in demons in European history:

It is small wonder that the escalation of fears about demons, sorcerers, and witches coincided in time not with periods of religion's hegemony, like the Dark Ages and the Middle Ages, but with the Renaissance. The latter witnessed a revival of pagan studies and the birth of experimental science and humanism.²⁰²

This is especially so, as the contemporary age has got to deal with the claim of ever progressing science on the one hand and a new birth of non-Christian religiosity on the other hand.

Browsing through the cross-cultural academic work on the phenomenon of possession, Bergelman also remarks, that 'women seem to be more vulnerable to possession than men.'²⁰³ This also seems to be the case in Charismatic demonology. Although it has never been stated as such, it cannot be overlooked that nineteen of Whyte's thirty examples are women, ten are men, and one's sex is not specified.

In order to examine more closely what actually happens in a "deliverance" or exorcism, another passage from Whyte's book is quoted:

A beautiful sixteen-year-old girl once approached me for prayer. She seemed the type you would meet at church, but Satan is an arch deceiver. This girl first told me that she had been on drugs. Then she confessed that she had also been acting as a witch at school. Apparently she had two demons. I laid my hand upon her head, rebuked the demons, and commanded them to come out in Jesus' name. Immediately they started to scream, for they realized their impotency before the name of Jesus and His shed blood. They screamed and choked her for nearly half an hour. Many surprised Christian students began to intercede for her until she was completely delivered. I asked her if she would like to be filled with the Holy Spirit. She readily agreed, and she was taught to plead and honor the blood of Jesus in prayer. Soon the Holy Spirit entered into her, and she began to speak in a beautiful unknown tongue! I marvelled at the wonderful change that Jesus brought to her countenance.²⁰⁴

An easy reductionist way to explain what he describes would be to use "folk-psychology" and to say that the girl had two problems: her involvement in drugs and her role as a "witch" at school, which she obviously wanted to be rid of. These problems are being projected and personified with the spirits, and obviously the girl agrees in this personification of her problems. This makes a way of solving them by exorcism, because now a process of reversion can start. For our purposes, however, it is better to stay with Oesterreich, who remarks:

Exorcism presents the exact counterpart of the genesis of possession. In the same way that the latter springs from a man's belief that he is possessed, conversely it disappears, when the exorcism is successful, through his belief that it will no longer continue.²⁰⁵

The exorcism as such often happens in the form of a struggle between the exorcist and the spirits. This struggle can be given utterance by screams and vomiting by the victim of the

possession, and it can even come to a dialogue between the exorcist and the spirits, which then normally talk in a voice strange to the possessed person. Whyte reports of a case when the exorcism went on under the "normal" manifestations of moaning, coughing, vomiting and writhing.

Then they [the spirits] started to speak. [...] We asked the spirits how many more remained in our brother, and they replied, "Twenty". We counted them as they came out, paused at each fifth one, and asked again. Amazingly, they told the truth, although they argued and sometimes refused to answer. But our pressing commands in Jesus' name caused them to tell the truth.²⁰⁶

Modern psychology sometimes identifies the possession phenomenon with the "Multiple Personality Disorder" (MPD) and the strange voices coming from the possessed person as "alters", the different personalities of the person. They can be very critical about the exorcism by Christian groups. Elizabeth Bowman presents a study of fourteen of her MPD patients who underwent an exorcism prior to their treatment by Bowman and reports some alarming results:

Nine subjects (60%) reported being abused during one or more type of religious rite (conventional or cultic). Thirteen subjects (87%) reported the use of religious ideas during abuse experiences, most commonly the use of the Bible to justify or enforce obedience to parental abuse or to label the child as evil. Nine (60%) reported abuse by religious leaders, some of whom were relatives in lay leaderships.²⁰⁷

Critics of Bowman rightly point to the fact, that her sample of exorcised persons can hardly be representative, as the exorcism on them obviously did not have the desired effect so that they sought the help of a psychiatrist.²⁰⁸ The other problem is that the actual existence of a pathological disorder called Multiple Personality disorder is as much a matter of belief as the actual existence of the devil and his demons. As the medical historian Elaine Showalter reports, 'many specialists in dissociation maintain that MPD is actually an iatrogenic disorder created in therapy. In their view, MPD offers a paradigmatic case study of the ways institutions and charismatic physicians can spread a disorder.'²⁰⁹ The renowned German weekly newspaper "Die Zeit" even called it a media hype which is mainly to be found within American 'psycho quack circles.'²¹⁰

The psychiatrist Philip M. Coons also sees that

Possession states, dissociative disorders, hypnosis, and other forms of trance have much in common. Changes in speech, posture, facial attitude, mood, behavior, identity, and memory may be observed in all of these states and are common manifestations of trance. The physiological manifestations of these various forms of trance have not been extensively studied, but many similarities are expected.²¹¹

He admits that they are not necessarily identical and states rightly:

Questions arise about who is qualified to discern possession, what professional works with what type of subject, what is an effective relationship, and which techniques are truly effective. These are all good research questions which can only be solved in an atmosphere of openness and collegiality between diverse groups of professionals who do not customarily work together.²¹²

The definition of possession is not the same everywhere. Oesterreich remarks that 'the great abundance of exorcisms does not correspond to an equal number of true cases of possession, but to pathological states of every kind. Exorcisms of possession properly so called are in the minority.'²¹³ This is said after designating under the name of possession two particular groups of states, 'demoniacal somnambulism as well as the state of inner division in which the individual imagines he feels the demon as a second self within him.'²¹⁴ This is evident reading Whyte's demonology, which classifies anything experienced as standing in opposition to the preferred way of life, be it illness, poverty, sexual aberrations from what is regarded as biblical, etc., as being caused (and causing) possession. This could make the dialogue difficult which Coons asserts. Therapists, who are trying to integrate several "alters" and a "host" into one personality will meet people who do not intend that at all, but want to cast the spirits out. This is not about therapy, but about the battle between good and evil, in which the exorcist identifies himself with the good and the spirit is fighting with evil. Whyte reports of a girl who first refused exorcism by not entering the church:

"Mary", I said in a stern voice, "I command you in the name of Jesus to go inside." And immediately she obeyed. Once we were inside, I commanded her to enter the office. Then I commanded her to sit down. She was very obedient to every command. I was learning in a practical way that we do indeed have the power over the enemy.²¹⁵

Describing his form of "deliverance", Whyte becomes even clearer: 'Our goal is to cast out demons quickly, giving no place to them, and refusing to make any agreement with them at all. We demand unconditional surrender.'²¹⁶

What conclusion can we reach about Charismatic exorcism? It is based on a clear dualism between God and Satan, Good and Evil, Black and White. On both sides there exists a peculiar relationship: on the one hand, Satan still has a number of legal rights of possession in this world, so in a way he exists in a regulated co-existence alongside with God, who allows him to pursue his work. On the other hand Satan is a disobedient servant of God, who by Christ's works of salvation has already lost his cause and will finally be extinguished, but in order to let that happen there have got to be the final battles described in the Revelations of John, the Book of Daniel and other apocalyptic texts of the Bible. Through exorcism the believer can handle phenomena which contradict his view of how the world, created and

ordered by an almighty God should be. It is an answer to the Theodicee: poverty, illness and the violation of (normally sexual) taboos by people who should know better, can be explained and possibly changed for the better by giving them a name, the name of Satan or one of his spirits. In any case that is a self-affirming way to deal with things, which sometimes prove to be therapeutic.

2.2. Discussion of Charismatic Phenomena

Charismatic Christianity is part of that predominantly Protestant tradition which allows the sacred as an experiential part of life to come back into religious life after Protestantism had largely succeeded in banning it. Protestant theology had abolished fundamental elements of religion as sacred space, time and ritual on a theological basis and substituted them by "faith", which for many had become a dogmatic entity rather than a force which one could experience in daily life. Charismatic Christianity on the other hand has created the sacred space within the individuals themselves, in whom God manifests himself by ecstatic means; the sacred time by creating a new order of time, namely life before and after the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and sacred ritual, which is living out certain ecstatic experiences as glossolalia, being "slain by the spirit" or spiritual healing. The "Sacred" has been transferred from the more "objective" communal sphere (e.g. temples/ churches, the liturgical calendar with times of fasting and of feasting, etc.) into the purely subjective and individual sphere. The only shared communal corrective to the individual experience remains the bible, but differences begin to arise in the hermeneutical approach to the Scriptures. Modern Charismatics are in the tradition of all revivalist movements which discover the sacred within themselves and who feel the mission to help others to find the same power in their own life. They tend to draw their own pedigree along the lines of rebellious Christian enthusiasts, beginning with Montanus, but emphasising especially the "enthusiasts" of the Radical Reformation and their successors, the Puritans, Quakers, Pietist, Wesleyans, Holiness groups in America and classical Pentecostals, as the avantgarde of the "extraordinary spiritual renewal."²¹⁷ (For a detailed history of modern Pentecostalism and the Charismatic movement see W.J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1997).)

The most distinctive element of Charismatic religious life in comparison to traditional churches is its sheer physicality. This physicality is so evident that Martyn Percy wants to

suggest, 'that the ideology expressed in and through contemporary Charismatic Renewal (or revivalism, as I prefer to call it) is in some ways configured around concepts that represent sublimated eroticism.'²¹⁸ After pointing to some erotic sounding metaphors frequently used by Charismatic preachers, which demand from the faithful, 'to become hot, wet, passionate and open, subject to temporary loss of physical and rational control, then intimate with God, in order to receive the blessing,'²¹⁹ he points out:

Secondly, the consequent expressive physicality that emerges from this rhetoric is remarkably akin to sexual behavior. There are sighings and groanings, ecstatic yelps of delight, piercing screams of ecstasy, an abundance of assorted rhythmic movements, passing out, shaking and quaking.²²⁰

This is enough to underline the physical aspects of Charismatic experience. However, to reduce it to a concept of sublimated eroticism is wrong in our opinion. Since the Charismatic experience is a religious experience expressed by physical experience it cannot but have some resemblance to sexual experiences, our body can only react in a number of ways to intense excitement and stimulation however they are caused. The question as to whether these are sublimated erotic experiences or experiences of another kind having some resemblance to erotic experiences, is the question of the chicken and the egg. If one has decided that these experience are not genuinely religious, then "sublimated eroticism" is a good explanation. If one wants to keep the possibility of genuine religious experience open, it seems more like a preconception. Even Percy notes, that the Charismatics 'do not produce any orgiastic displays.'²²¹ Nevertheless, people experience God physically in glossolalia, in experiences like resting in the Spirit, they "feel" God's presence, they are being healed from physical illness. Traditional Christianity, especially in its Protestant form, seems to have accepted the Cartesian division of body and mind, which tends to locate the personality, the essence of a person, in the mind rather in the body and consequently experiences religion in the mind. Meredith B. McGuire explains the consequences of this view when dealing with chronic pain: 'The body as subjectively experienced is transformed into an *object with pain*, resulting in a form of alienation from one's own body.'²²² Consequently, if we 'approach pain and suffering from the perspective of Cartesian dualism, we end up with an image of *religious responses* as epiphenomenal add- ons, something the mind was doing after the body was suffering.'²²³ Charismatic Christians do not share that view. There may be a tripartite view of man amongst some Pentecostal or Charismatic Christians, but the three "components" are very much interconnected. McGuire calls this "a mindful body":

If by contrast, we have an image of a mindful body, then spiritual responses may be simultaneously part of the mindful- body responses to pain and illness. Thus, we can better understand the impact of religion on the

body itself, not just on ideas about the body.²²⁴

"Healing" means physical healing as well as spiritual and mental healing. An evil spirit which affects one spiritually may show symptoms in a very physical way. By doing away with our traditional paradigms of mind and body, Charismatic Christians also free themselves of the paradigms of natural law. If the physical and the spiritual realms are interdependent and the spiritual realm is superior to the physical realm, then the physical realm and its expression in natural law cannot really be as dominant as the general culture thinks it is. As Stephen Hunt explains:

The spiritual laws are more powerful than the physical laws because the former have brought the latter into existence. These spiritual laws are useless without the "force of faith". It is this "force" which is the medium for magical acts and brings into stark relief what is meant by divine power when it is related to "faith". For the Faith ministries, "faith" is a spiritual force, a spiritual energy, a spiritual power which makes the laws of the spirit world function in that the positive power (God) is "activated", and the negative (Satan) is confronted and negated.²²⁵

"Faith" is thus less a sophisticated theological concept than an experience of almost magic qualities. Hunt defines magic as a 'supernaturalist control by man of the world through mechanical formulas, whereas religion involves the concept of control over man by supernatural entities.²²⁶ Charismatic Christians themselves certainly would protest against any claim that they were to take control of the world by magic means, and yet they certainly see supernatural powers in charge of the world. Although they sharply distinguish between good and evil, and a great deal of this world is part of the dark realm of existence, they distinguish less sharply between the supernatural and the physical world, since everything and everyone is part of the supernatural sphere in some way - be it the good or the evil sphere. There is no neutral physical world. The "acts of faith" which Hunts regards as magic are acts of that way of thinking. The refusal of Charismatic Christians, to accept the Aristotelian and Cartesian paradigms of our society connects them with religions of non- European societies (see also next chapter), and Walter Hollenweger traces Pentecostalism to African religion:

Excepting early Christianity, Pentecostalism is the only worldwide church that was initiated by a black, namely, William Joseph Seymour[...]. Through Seymour's mediation, black (African and pre- Christian) oral means of communication became part and parcel of Pentecostalism. The oral quality of Pentecostalism consists in the following: orality of liturgy; narrative theology and witness; maximum participation at the levels of reflection, prayer, and decision making, and therefore a reconciliatory form of community; inclusion of dreams and visions into personal and public forms of worship that function as a kind of "oral icon" for the individual and the community; and understanding of the body- mind relationship that is uninformed by experiences of correspondence between body and mind as, for example, in liturgical dance and prayer for the sick.²²⁷

While the indigenous character of Charismatic churches and communities in non-

Western cultures as in Asia and Africa will be discussed at another place, here the possibility of an interreligious and intercultural view of Charismatic ecstatic phenomena shall be emphasised. Walter Hollenweger says about the first black Pentecostals in Los Angeles connecting Charismatic Christians with members of other ecstatic religions:

What unites the Pentecostal churches is not a doctrine but a religious experience, and this can be interpreted and substantiated in very different ways. Part of the reason for its variety is that the Pentecostals took over many rites and views from their pre-Christian cultures and recognized them as gifts of the Holy Spirit.²²⁸

In times when our own traditional paradigms become less and less stable and more and more open to question, a type of religion which encompasses the whole existence creates stable paradigms to live by. Or as Stephen Hunt puts it:

In times of uncertainty, especially where material success is a central cultural value, there may be a cognitive need not only to explain material deficiencies but also to attempt to create wealth and health by metaphysical means, to take control of what is seemingly out of control, and to predict with some measure of assurance outcomes that are in fact uncertain of realization.²²⁹

This is not contradicting Stanley Johannsen, an ex-Pentecostal himself, who maintains: 'Pentecost is best understood as an adaption to modern society, even a feature of it.'²³⁰ Or more exactly: 'Pentecostalism is one of many possible adaptations to modern life, which is a substitution for an absent form of life rather than a successor to an earlier form of life.'²³¹ Then in his opinion Pentecostalism as well as its modern Charismatic form has abolished religion. He cannot see any sacred space, time or community which is independent of personal experience and therefore, so he seems to argue, a mark of religion.

The iconoclasm of Pentecost does away not only with all the dispensable, dead, and dysfunctional bits of religion; it does away with religion, that is to say, with the historical process of orderly transformation in the felt presence of the social bond, the social correlative of the collective perception. Without religion God cannot exist outside of personal experience. The Pentecostal recognizes that God he prays to because he has made him in his prayer. And since he has made God he owes nothing to the dead or the living. That is, he has not generated in his prayer an opposition to the devastation of the quotidian and a return to religion. Rather, he has joined the attack on religion through the same nonhistorical, nonsocial consciousness that is exhibited in modern everyday life.²³²

This for him is the way of life of modern suburbia, where 'there are neither the dead nor the stranger, neither rites or filio piety nor urban sociability. There is instead only the modern family,'²³³ consequently the only political topic which is of any interest to Pentecostals, is the conservative view of family, which is fiercely defended.²³⁴ With the family as the only form of social bonding left in the suburban society, other forms of authority than individual desire are losing value. God and the experience of God are consequently

formed out of the desire of those meeting for Pentecostal prayer. Theological systems seem to be irrelevant, 'the existence of God is not read from the world or from society but rather from the expected experience of him in praise. Pentecostal praise constitutes the Pentecostal God. The Pentecostal fashions his God directly from his feelings.'²³⁵ Thus Pentecostalism represents reality, not religion, and therein lies its power,²³⁶ says Johanssen.

This is very much in line with Martyn Percy's view of modern fundamentalism, which he regards Pentecostalism to be a part of.²³⁷ He sees in modern fundamentalism a combination of an inductive world view and spiritual power, which moves from tradition to experience. 'When the tradition comes to be questioned, this strategy seeks to trace back to the religious experience which began it.'²³⁸ This can happen in an analytical and intellectual way, as it is known in the Romantic movement, or theologically as with Schleiermacher. Percy goes on:

But there is a second variant which is more active, and emphasizes the necessity of confirming and supplementing historical analysis by seeking direct religious experience at first hand. Such an approach is typical of many mystical sects. But crucially, it is also characteristic of fundamentalist and charismatic writers, who attempt to authenticate traditional truth-claims about the power of God by demonstrating that power in the present.²³⁹

Thus the religious experience becomes self-authenticating,²⁴⁰ just as Johanssen demonstrated in his study of the culture of the deep suburbs.

Percy and Johanssen see this form of religion in a very critical way, Johanssen calls it even "anti-religion". We cannot agree with Joanssen on this point of criticism. Pentecostals and Charismatics have not abolished, but re-located religion in the subjective and individual sphere. One can find important elements of religion in Charismatic religious life: there is sacred time: the time from the baptism of the Holy Spirit onwards in the individual's life. In this time Charismatic Christians live in a new area: they can already experience the arriving Kingdom of God. And there is sacred space as well. Our body is the sacred space, created by God as his temple.

Or do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, which you have from God, and that you are not your own? For you were bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body.²⁴¹

This is a classic reference. Within this body the individual experiences the manifestations of the Holy Spirit, and this body can experience miraculous healings. The pastor Ronald Dunn offers a Charismatic exegesis for it:

The body is God's magnifying glass through which Jesus, invisible in the world, is made conspicuous. It is the telescope through which, distant and inaccessible to the world, Jesus is brought near. A Christian's body is the instrument God uses to demonstrate Christ's greatness and nearness.²⁴²

His space and time, however, cannot be perceived by somebody who has not experienced the same baptism of the Holy Spirit, who himself does not live inside it. Sacred space and time, and even more so sacred ritual as glossolalia, are highly individualised, accessible only to those who live in the sacred realm of Charismatic religion. There are no temple buildings accessible to everyone, that is true, but many of the Charismatic ecstatic experiences described earlier are in their ways highly formalised. In Val's first church one does not sing in tongues, one only speaks in tongues. In many Charismatic services "catchers" wait behind people who are prayed upon, because it is being expected that they might fall to rest in the Spirit. These experiences set those who experience them apart from ordinary life in a way that is experienced as sacred. In a more polemical way one could even say Pentecostalism has re-created religion in an anti-religious culture of Protestantism, which had banned "the Sacred" as opposed to the risen Christ as pagan and pre-Christian and substituted it either by dogma on "faith" or by morality. Of course, Charismatic religion bears that mark of self-authentication Percy is talking about. This, however, can be said about all experiential forms of religion. The miracles of Lourdes are an example for other forms of self-authenticated religion which are not related to Pentecostalism. Eventually all religion must authenticate itself by experience of some kind, otherwise it will perish. This experience can be very different to Charismatic manifestations of the Holy Spirit, be it as miracles by the Madonna of Lourdes, as strength of faith in difficult situations of life, or as spiritual strength gained by meditation. It is right that the experiential and individualistic character of Charismatic religion is very well adapted to the modern way of life. But is this a weakness or strength?

Charismatic Christians do not experience their religion in an abstract metaphorical way as is the case with traditional Christianity. The traditional academic theologian will translate the gifts of the Spirit of Pentecost into academic language, he will try to grasp the non-understandable with his mind. Michael Welker, the Professor of Systematic Theology at the University of Heidelberg who has made his name by presenting a non-Pentecostal Pneumatology, confirms exactly that in his short response to Pentecostalism:

The miracle of the Pentecostal outpouring of the Spirit does not lie in a glossolalia which would be dependent on the further gift of communication. The miracle of the Pentecostal outpouring of the Spirit lies in an *improbable common understanding in the midst of linguistic, cultural and social difference*. The Pentecost event and the outpouring of the Spirit is not about a speaking in tongues which cannot be understood and needs interpretation, but rather about a quite improbably universal comprehension and comprehensibility.²⁴³

What Welker does is to change the descriptions of physical experiences in the Bible

into metaphors of something else, something intellectual, non- physical. The understanding of Pentecostalism, however, is not metaphorical but metonymic. Karla Poewe explains the meaning of this:

Following Edmund Leach [...], metonymy consists of sign, index, and signal. In a sign relationship, A stands for B as part of a whole. Index means that A indicates B. And signal refers to the fact that A triggers B so that the relationship between A and B is causal. So far I have but paraphrased Leach. It is my observation, however, based on fieldwork and numerous interviews with charismatic Christians, that people do not carefully distinguish among sign, index, and signal, so that stands for and indicates B while B is seen to cause A. This is the metonymic process.²⁴⁴

For example if an individual is speaking in tongues, this is seen as the presence of the Holy Spirit in that individual. Thus the glossolalia (A) indicates the presence of the Holy Spirit (B), while the Holy Spirit (B) is believed to have caused the glossolalia (A). Therefore metonymy is a far more direct mode of translating a belief into reality than the metaphor. The meaning of metonymy is nicely illustrated in a little story about David Du Plessis, one of the first classic Pentecostals who made ecumenical contacts with other churches. Martin Robinson tells us that in conversation with a German disciple of Bultmann he answered the question as to what his programme was:

"To demythologise the scriptures". Curious at such reply his questioner asked, "How do you do this?", to which Du Plessis responded, "It's very simple, we Pentecostals take the things in the Bible that you say are myths and we make them happen today so that they are demythologised!"²⁴⁵

According to Karla Poewe, the use of metonymic patterns of thought makes Charismatic Christianity 'experimental, deconstructive and restorative.'²⁴⁶ In its metonymic way Charismatic thought is a mixture of taking things literally and experiencing revelation when the expected event actually happens. The revelation thus 'illuminates already existing paradigms or frameworks', but also 'nudges them to change.'²⁴⁷ Using the example of a South African congregation of Afrikaners who started as an ethnical group and opened themselves more and more up for all races and languages, Poewe describes the process in the following way:

When one checked into the process of giving up racism, one noticed that it moved from experience to experience along a dialectical exchange whereby an experience illuminated scripture and scripture illuminated an experience. It is this dialectic, or "reciprocal illumination", [...] that accounts for the "revelatory" aspect of experience.²⁴⁸

This process relativises Percy's charge of fundamentalism in Pentecostalism in terms of attitude, because the absolute authority Percy regards to be one of its symptoms cannot be discovered that easily. Experience counterbalances scripture and scripture counterbalances

experience. Although scripture will officially still be regarded as supreme, it will be weighed, and more or less unconsciously judged by experience.

Thus there can be fundamentalist Charismatic Christianity as much as there can be fundamentalist Lutheranism, Catholicism, or Atheism. As Martyn Percy says, fundamentalism in that sense is a tendency of mind more than an ideology,²⁴⁹ and certainly we meet a lot of fundamentalist Charismatics. It need not be so, and then it can be a very credible form of contemporary Christianity, or as Karla Poewe puts it: 'In societies suffering from Christian illiteracy on the one hand, and Christian fundamentalism, on the other, charismatic Christians emphasize finding their way to "God" through all five senses.'²⁵⁰ Harvey Cox also thinks:

it is a serious mistake to equate pentecostals with fundamentalists. [...] The difference is that while the beliefs of the fundamentalists, and of many other religious groups, are enshrined in formal theological systems, those of pentecostalism are imbedded in testimonies, ecstatic speech, and bodily movement. But it is a theology, a full-blown religious cosmos, an intricate system of symbols that respond to the perennial questions of human meaning and value.²⁵¹

He in a way grants the Pentecostals their claim of restoring the original Christianity by restoring primal speech (glossolalia), primal piety which includes elementary forms of religious life such as trance, vision, healing, dreams, dance and other archetypal religious expressions, and primal hope, i.e. its millennial outlook.²⁵² Thus Pentecostalism has been able to find a third way between the institutional expression of conventional religion and the pseudo-religions of technical advancement and rational enlightenment:

They rebelled against the creeds but retained the mystery. They abolished hierarchies but kept ecstasy. They rejected both scientism *and* traditionalism. They returned to the raw inner core of human spirituality and thus provided just the new kind of "religious space" many people needed.²⁵³

Having established that ecstatic religious experience is ontologically different to any pathological state, we have described how Charismatic Christians experience trance and ecstasy in their religious life. Since Charismatic Christians experience their faith through these phenomena much more than intellectually or ritually, we have learned some important points about their world view more or less incidentally. This is the correct way, because the Charismatics themselves would do it in that order. We encountered some severe criticism of that Charismatic experimentalism which reproaches the Charismatics with claims of being anti-religious and fundamentalist, but by weighing argument and counter-argument we have realised that Pentecostalism most certainly cannot be called anti-religion; quite to the contrary, it is one of the most lively forms of religion in our time. It is an indigenous and original form of Christianity which restores primal speech, primal piety and primal hope by

expressing itself in metonymic form instead of metaphors, and by allowing a direct experience of the relationship of the self to the divine, where the community can heal the experience of fragmentation and emptiness. Although exponents of the Charismatic and Pentecostal movement can develop fundamentalist tendencies, the experiential and narrative character of Pentecostalism is far from rigid, backward fundamentalism. The movement in full flow, as it were, is ecumenical, interracial and easily integrated by other cultures.

- ¹ P. Gammons, 'Leading others into the baptism of the Holy Spirit', in *The Impact of Toronto*, ed. by W. Boulton (Crowborough: Monarch, 1995), pp. 116- 121 (p. 118).
- ² *Ibd.*, p. 117f.
- ³ *Ibd.*, p. 118.
- ⁴ F.G. Goodman, *Speaking in Tongues: A Cross- Cultural Study of Glossolalia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 55f.
- ⁵ *Ibd.*, p. 36f.
- ⁶ Comp. Nikki's Account (Appendix III).
- ⁷ *Ibd.*, double and triple exclamation marks as in her original letter to the author.
- ⁸ Goodman., p. 38f.
- ⁹ T.J. Csordas, 'Catholic Pentecostalism: A New Word in the New World' in *Perspectives On Pentecostalism: Case Studies from the Carribean and Latin America*, ed. by S.D. Glazier (Lanham: University Press of America, 1980), pp. 143- 175 (p. 164f)., words underlined as in the cited text.
- ¹⁰ Val's Account (Appendix I).
- ¹¹ *Ibd.*
- ¹² J.P. Kildahl, *The Psychology of Speaking in Tongues* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).
- ¹³ L. Christenson, *Speaking in Tongues*, (Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, 1968), as quoted in Kildahl, p. 23.
- ¹⁴ G. B. Cutten, *Speaking in Tongues: Historically and Psychologically Considered* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), as quoted in Kildahl, p. 24.
- ¹⁵ J.P. Kildahl, p. 36.
- ¹⁶ *Ibd.*, p. 42.
- ¹⁷ *Ibd.*, p. 44.
- ¹⁸ *Ibd.*, p. 45.
- ¹⁹ Comp. *ibd.*
- ²⁰ *Ibd.*, p. 55.
- ²¹ *Ibd.*, p. 46.
- ²² Comp. *ibd.*, p. 74.
- ²³ *Ibd.*, p. 61.
- ²⁴ *Ibd.*, p. 86.
- ²⁵ F. Goodman, *Speaking in Tongues*, p. 8.
- ²⁶ *Ibd.*
- ²⁷ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 59f.
- ²⁸ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 60.
- ²⁹ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 61ff.
- ³⁰ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 70.
- ³¹ *Ibd.*, p. 71.
- ³² Comp. *ibd.*, p. 72.
- ³³ *Ibd.*, p. 87.
- ³⁴ *Ibd.*, p. 73.
- ³⁵ *Ibd.*, p. 89.
- ³⁶ *Ibd.*, p. 75.
- ³⁷ *Ibd.*, p. 77.
- ³⁸ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 77f.
- ³⁹ *Ibd.* p. 95f.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibd.*, p. 98.
- ⁴¹ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 121f.
- ⁴² Comp. *ibd.*, p. 123.
- ⁴³ *Ibd.*, p. 124.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibd.*
- ⁴⁵ *Ibd.*, p. 153.
- ⁴⁶ W.J. Samarin, *Tongues of Men and Angels: The Religious Language of Pentecostalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), p. 228.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibd.*, p. 232.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibd.*, p. 25.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibd.*, p. 204.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibd.*, p. 34.
- ⁵¹ *Ibd.*, p. 2.
- ⁵² *Ibd.*, p. 52.
- ⁵³ *Ibd.*, p. 55.

- ⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 68.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 70.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 78.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 79.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 81.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 82.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 86.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., p. 92.
- ⁶² Ibid., p. 93.
- ⁶³ Ibid., p. 112.
- ⁶⁴ Comp. ibd., p. 120.
- ⁶⁵ Comp. ibd., p. 124.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 149.
- ⁶⁷ D. Christie-Murray, *Voices from the Gods: Speaking with Tongues* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), p.177.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 178.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 180.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 200.
- ⁷¹ Comp. his mentioning of the charismatic scholar M.T. Kelsey on p. 149.
- ⁷² Ibid., p. 241.
- ⁷³ M.T. Kelsey, *Tongue Speaking: An Experiment in Spiritual Experience*, Wakefield edn. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968), p. 8.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 138.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 143.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 168.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 183.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 184.
- ⁸¹ Ibid., p. 192.
- ⁸² Ibid., p. 219.
- ⁸³ Ibid., p. 232.
- ⁸⁴ M. Percy, *Words, Wonders and Power: Understanding Contemporary Christian Fundamentalism and Revivalism* (London: SPCK, 1996), p.84.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 24.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 154.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 66.
- ⁸⁸ L.A. Kirkpatrick & P.R. Shaver, 'An Attachment- Theoretical Approach to Romantic Love and Religious Belief', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 18 (1992), pp. 266- 275 (p. 266).
- ⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 272.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 267.
- ⁹¹ M. Percy, 'Sweet Rapture: Subliminal Eroticism in Contemporary Charismatic Worship', *Theology and Sexuality* 6 (1997), pp. 71- 106 (p. 94).
- ⁹² L.A. Kirkpatrick, p. 273f.
- ⁹³ A. Lovekin & H.N. Malony, 'Religious Glossolalia: A Longitudinal Study of Personality Changes', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 16 (1977), pp. 383- 393 (p. 390f).
- ⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 391.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 392.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid.
- ⁹⁷ N.G. Holm, 'Functions of Glossolalia in the Pentecostal Movement' in *Psychological Studies on Religious Man*, ed. by T. Källstadt (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 1978), pp. 141- 158 (p. 146).
- ⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 150.
- ⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 152.
- ¹⁰⁰ Comp. ibd., p. 145.
- ¹⁰¹ R.A. Hutch, 'The Personal Ritual of Glossolalia', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 19 (1980), pp. 244- 266 (p. 261).
- ¹⁰² Ibid., p. 263.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 265.
- ¹⁰⁴ Samarín, p. 61.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 191.

- ¹⁰⁶ Comp. ibd.
- ¹⁰⁷ D. Christie- Murray, p. 242.
- ¹⁰⁸ Kelsey, p. 195.
- ¹⁰⁹ G. Chevreau, p. 14f.
- ¹¹⁰ T.J. Csordas, *The Sacred Self: A Cultural Phenomenology of Charismatic Healing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 230.
- ¹¹¹ Ibd., p. 234.
- ¹¹² Ibd., p. 236.
- ¹¹³ Ibd., p. 238.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibd., p. 243.
- ¹¹⁵ G. Feuerstein, *Holy Madness: The Shock Tactics and Radical Teachings of Crazy-Wise Adepts, Holy Fools, and Rascal Gurus* (Hammondsworth: Arkana Penguin, 1992), p. 169.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibd., p. 168.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibd., p. 167.
- ¹¹⁸ I. Cotton, *The Halleluja Revolution: The Rise of the New Christians* (London: Warner Books, 1996), p. 1.
- ¹¹⁹ M.M. Poloma, L.F. Hoelter, 'The "Toronto Blessing": A Holistic Model of Healing', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37 (1998), pp. 257- 272 (p. 262).
- ¹²⁰ Ibd.
- ¹²¹ Ibd.
- ¹²² Ibd., p. 263.
- ¹²³ Ibd.
- ¹²⁴ M. Percy, *Words, Wonders and Powers*, p. 38.
- ¹²⁵ B. Hinn, *This Is Your Day for a Miracle: Experience God's Supernatural Healing Power* (Milton Keynes: Nelson Word Publishing, 1996), p. 52.
- ¹²⁶ Ibd., p. 183f.
- ¹²⁷ Ibd., p. 168.
- ¹²⁸ G. Bennet, *The Heart of Healing: A Handbook on Healing* (Evesham: Arthur James, 1971), p. 7f.
- ¹²⁹ Comp. Mary's Account (Appendix II).
- ¹³⁰ J. Fergusson, *Holy Fire: When God Manifests His Power* (Eastbourne: Kingsway, 1996), p. 109.
- ¹³¹ Ibd.
- ¹³² M.T. Kelsey, *Healing and Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1973), p. 31f.
- ¹³³ Ibd., p. 64.
- ¹³⁴ Ibd., pp. 126f.
- ¹³⁵ Ibd., p. 201.
- ¹³⁶ Comp. ibd.
- ¹³⁷ Ibd., pp. 276f.
- ¹³⁸ Ibd., p. 292.
- ¹³⁹ Ibd., p. 334.
- ¹⁴⁰ Ibd., pp. 338f.
- ¹⁴¹ Ibd., p. 292f.
- ¹⁴² D. Price, *Is Anyone of You Sick? The biblical basis for healing the sick* (Fearn: Mentor, 1997), p.26.
- ¹⁴³ Ibd., p. 27.
- ¹⁴⁴ Ibd., p. 53.
- ¹⁴⁵ Comp. I. Cotton, p.157.
- ¹⁴⁶ Comp. D. Wirth, 'The Significance of Belief and Expectancy Within the Spiritual Healing Encounter', *Social Science and Medicine* 41 (1995), pp. 249- 260 (p. 256f).
- ¹⁴⁷ Ibd., p. 255.
- ¹⁴⁸ Ibd., p. 256.
- ¹⁴⁹ Comp. ibd., p. 254, table 5.
- ¹⁵⁰ Ibd., p. 258.
- ¹⁵¹ C.B. Johns, 'Healing and Deliverance: A Pentecostal Perspective' in J. Moltmann & K.J. Kuschel, *Pentecostal Movements as an Ecumenical Challenge*, ed. by J. Moltmann and K.-J. Kuschel (SCM: London, 1996), pp. 45- 51 (p. 49).
- ¹⁵² T.J. Csordas, *The Sacred Self*, p. 39 f.
- ¹⁵³ Ibd., p. 48.
- ¹⁵⁴ H.A.M. Whyte, *Demons & Deliverance: Answers to Questions You've Been Asking In This Age of Increased Satanic Activity*, Formerly: A Manual on Exorcism and Dominion Over Demons (Springdale, PA: Whitaker House, 1989).
- ¹⁵⁵ Ibd., Preface, pages unnumbered.

- ¹⁵⁶ *Ibd.*, p. 26.
- ¹⁵⁷ So Jesus' word 'Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick' (Math. 9, 12), which is being said in the context of a sinner being cared for in contrast by those who think they lead sinless lives, is being used by Maxwell as a scriptural reference to show that for certain illnesses one should actually ask for a doctor and not only for the exorcist, comp. *ibd.*, p. 118.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Ibd.*, p. 139.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Ibd.*, p. 20.
- ¹⁶⁰ Comp. *ibd.*.
- ¹⁶¹ *Ibd.*, p. 21.
- ¹⁶² Comp. *ibd.*, p. 88.
- ¹⁶³ *Ibd.*, p. 56.
- ¹⁶⁴ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 55.
- ¹⁶⁵ *Ibd.*, p. 81.
- ¹⁶⁶ 'The real forces behind our physical world are spiritual in nature.' *Ibd.*, p. 113.
- ¹⁶⁷ *Ibd.*, p. 47.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Ibd.*, p. 54.
- ¹⁶⁹ T.J. Csordas, *The Sacred Self*, p. 185.
- ¹⁷⁰ Whyte, p. 28.
- ¹⁷¹ *Ibd.*, p. 29.
- ¹⁷² Comp. *ibd.*
- ¹⁷³ T. Csordas, *The Sacred Self*, p. 40.
- ¹⁷⁴ Whyte, p. 30.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Ibd.*, p. 58.
- ¹⁷⁶ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 46.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Ibd.*, p. 35.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Ibd.*, p. 67.
- ¹⁷⁹ 'What power drove a good Christian man to become a homosexual, leave his wife and family, and live in one room with another man? Psychology cannot explain this. It was the devil working through indwelling demons.' *Ibd.*, p. 69.
- ¹⁸⁰ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 59.
- ¹⁸¹ *Ibd.*, p. 135.
- ¹⁸² *Ibd.*, p. 64.
- ¹⁸³ *Ibd.*, p. 60f.
- ¹⁸⁴ Suh, D. K.-S., *The Korean Minjung in Christ* (Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia, 1991), p. 116.
- ¹⁸⁵ M.R. Mullins, 'The Empire Strikes Back: Korean Pentecostal Mission to Japan' in *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, ed. by K. Poewe (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), pp.87- 102 (p. 93).
- ¹⁸⁶ Byong- Suh Kim, quoted *ibd.*, p. 92.
- ¹⁸⁷ Comp. I.M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession*, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 27.
- ¹⁸⁸ Whyte, p. 122.
- ¹⁸⁹ *Ibd.*
- ¹⁹⁰ Lewis., p. 108.
- ¹⁹¹ *Ibd.*, p. 28.
- ¹⁹² S.J. Land, 'Praying in the Spirit' in *Pentecostal Movements as an Ecumenical Challenge*, ed. by J. Moltmann and K.-J. Kuschel (London: SCM, 1996), pp. 85- 93 (p. 91).
- ¹⁹³ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 92.
- ¹⁹⁴ *Ibd.*, p. 86.
- ¹⁹⁵ I.M. Lewis, p. 83.
- ¹⁹⁶ *Ibd.*
- ¹⁹⁷ T.K. Oesterreich, *Possession Demoniactal & Other: Among Primitive Races, in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and Modern Times* (Secaucus, NJ: The Citadel Press, 1974), p. 376.
- ¹⁹⁸ *Ibd.*, p. 377.
- ¹⁹⁹ S. Ferracuti, R. Sacco, R. Lazzari, 'Dissociative Trance Disorder: Clinical and Rorschach Findings in Ten Persons Reporting Demon Possession and Treated by Exorcism', *Journal of Personality Assessment* 66 (1996), pp. 525- 539 (p. 536).
- ²⁰⁰ C. Ward & M.H. Beaubrun, 'Spirit Possession and Neuroticism in a West Indian Pentecostal community', *British Journal of Clinical Psychology* 20 (1981), pp. 295- 296 (p. 296).
- ²⁰¹ Csordas, *The Sacred Self*, p. 178.
- ²⁰² D.A. Begelman, 'Possession: Interdisciplinary Roots', *Dissociation* 4 (1993), pp. 201- 212 (p. 205).
- ²⁰³ *Ibd.*, p. 203.

- ²⁰⁴ Whyte, p. 17f.
- ²⁰⁵ Oesterreich, p. 100.
- ²⁰⁶ Whyte, p. 66.
- ²⁰⁷ E.S. Bowman, 'Clinical and Spiritual Effects of Exorcism in Fifteen Patients With Multiple Personality Disorder', *Dissociation* 4 (1993), pp. 222- 238 (p. 223f).
- ²⁰⁸ Comp. R. Noll, 'Exorcism and Possession: The Clash of Worldviews and the Hybris of Psychiatry', *Dissociation* 4 (1993), pp. 250- 253 (p. 252).
- ²⁰⁹ E. Showalter, *Hystories. Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture* (London: Picador, 1997), p. 161.
- ²¹⁰ Comp. J. Lau, 'Die neueste Stimmung im Westen: Die vollends aufgeklärte Welt strahlt im Zeichen einer neuen Hysterie', *Die Zeit* 25 (1997), pp. 45- 46 (p. 46): 'Der multiplen Persönlichkeitsstörung wird es nach den Ermittlungen von Borch-Jacobsen wohl schwerfallen, sich über die amerikanische Psychoszene hinaus zu verbreiten. Allerdings ist die MPD-Quacksalberei nur ein besonders drastisches Beispiel für medienwirksame "Hystorie".'
- ²¹¹ P.M. Coons, 'The Differential Diagnosis of Possession States', *Dissociation* 4 (1993), pp. 213- 221 (p. 218).
- ²¹² *Ibd.*, p. 219.
- ²¹³ Oesterreich, p. 100.
- ²¹⁴ *Ibd.*, p. 77.
- ²¹⁵ M. Whyte, p. 76.
- ²¹⁶ *Ibd.*, p. 127.
- ²¹⁷ C. Nienkirchen, 'Conflicting Visions of the Past: The Prophetic Use of History in the Early American Pentecostal- Charismatic Movements in *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, ed. by Karla Poewe (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 119- 133 (p. 126).
- ²¹⁸ M. Percy, 'Sweet Rapture', p. 71.
- ²¹⁹ *Ibd.*, p. 83.
- ²²⁰ *Ibd.*
- ²²¹ *Ibd.*, p. 84.
- ²²² M.B. McGuire, 'Religion and the Body: Rematerializing the Human Body in the Social Science of Religion', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 29 (1990), pp. 283- 296 (p. 287).
- ²²³ *Ibd.*
- ²²⁴ *Ibd.*
- ²²⁵ S. Hunt, 'Magical Moments: An Intellectualist Approach to the Neo- Pentecostal Faith Ministries', *Religion* 28 (1998), pp. 271- 280 (p. 275).
- ²²⁶ *Ibd.*
- ²²⁷ W.J. Hollenweger, 'The Pentecostal Elites and the Pentecostal Poor: A Missed Dialogue?' in *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, ed. by K. Poewe (Columbia: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 200- 214 (p. 201).
- ²²⁸ W.J. Hollenweger, 'From Azuza Street to the Toronto Phenomenon: Historical Roots of the Pentecostal Movement' in *Pentecostal Movements as and Ecumenical Challenge*, ed. by J. Moltmann and K.-J. Kuschel (London: SCM, 1996), pp. 3- 14 (p. 7f.).
- ²²⁹ Hunt, p. 279.
- ²³⁰ S. Johannsen, 'Third- Generation Pentecostal Language: Continuity and Change in Perceptions' in *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, ed. by K. Poewe (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 175- 199 (p. 177).
- ²³¹ *Ibd.*, p. 178.
- ²³² *Ibd.*, p. 187.
- ²³³ *Ibd.*, p. 189.
- ²³⁴ Comp. *ibid.*, p.183.
- ²³⁵ *Ibd.*, p. 192.
- ²³⁶ Comp. *ibid.*, p. 193.
- ²³⁷ Comp. Percy, Words, p. 6f. This is a very questionable assumption. Harvey Cox discerns between "fundamentalism" and "experientialism" and remarks: 'The truth is that the larger struggle between fundamentalists and experientialists is being played out even within the parameters of pentecostalism. The movement is not on the side of the experientialists. Nor is it on the side of the fundamentalists. Rather, is it itself a battlefield, and exceedingly a crucial one.' H. Cox, *Fire from Heaven. The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty- First Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), p.310.
- ²³⁸ M. Percy, Words, p. 44.
- ²³⁹ *Ibd.*
- ²⁴⁰ Comp. *ibid.*, p. 45.
- ²⁴¹ I Cor 6, 19f.
- ²⁴² R. Dunn, *Will God Heal Me? Faith in the midst of sickness, suffering and death* (Eastbourne: Kingsway

Publications, 1997), p. 194.

²⁴³ M. Welker, 'Word and Spirit - Spirit and Word: A Protestant Response' in *Pentecostal Movements as an Ecumenical Challenge*, ed. by J. Moltmann and K.-J. Kuschel (London: SCM 1996), pp. 76- 84 (p. 81), italics in the original text.

²⁴⁴ K. Poewe, 'Rethinking the Relationship of Anthropology to Science and Religion' in *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, ed. by K. Poewe (Columbia:University of South Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 234- 258 (p. 244f.).

²⁴⁵ M Robison, 'David du Plessis - A Promise Fulfilled' in *Pentecost, Mission and Ecumenism. Essays on Intercultural Theology*, ed. by J.A.B. Jongeneel a.o. (Frankfurt/ Main: Peter Lang, 1992), pp. 143- 155 (p. 152).

²⁴⁶ Poewe, Rethinking, p. 244.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

²⁴⁹ Comp. Percy, Words, p. 8.

²⁵⁰ Poewe, Rethinking., p. 249.

²⁵¹ H. Cox, p. 15.

²⁵² Comp. *ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

3. Charismatic Christianity - Inculturation by Experience

We have shown that ecstatic religious experience is not a symptom of a psychopathic state but the ability to deal with a certain aspect of reality in an experiential way which one can observe in all societies and cultures. We then demonstrated this ability in Charismatic Christians, who, in an altered state of consciousness experience baptism of the Holy Spirit, glossolalia, resting in the Spirit, healing and exorcism. The success of other strands within our Western church history, such as Jesuit vigour, Pietist missionary zeal in South- East Asia, and Afro- American influence on American Christianity, along side a history of enthusiasm which will be explored further in chapter five, indicate how deeply embodied Charismatic piety is in our own culture and history. Such piety has forged links between our own religious-cultural heritage and foreign cultures, traditions, and even religions. In fact, Charismatic religiosity betrays an amazing ability to adjust itself to the new cultures and societies where it has been introduced, and to flourish in astonishingly different forms and colours. There is Charismatic shamanism in Korea, there are Christian Charismatic Gurus in India; South America seems to be turning Protestant under Pentecostal guise, and in Africa the indigenous Charismatic churches are legion. In this chapter we will examine a few examples of indigenous non- Western Charismatic Christianity, their relationship to Western Pentecostalism and, especially, the reasons for their success. This may give us an idea of some basic character of Charismatic Christianity without having its Western, mainly conservative or even fundamentalist form in mind.

3.1. Christian Charismatic Gurus in India

3.1.1. The Christian Guru

As a first example of inculturated Charismatic Christianity we will introduce the Christian Indian Guru and faith healer and compare this phenomenon to the Hindu equivalent. Pentecostalism is a form of Christianity which seems to find its way more easily into the Indian population than other expressions of Christian faith. G.C. Oosterhuizen, who has observed the amazing growth of Charismatic congregations

within the Indian community of South Africa, thinks that Pentecostalism is an especially suitable religion for westernised South- African Indians. He writes:

In Hindu society [of South Africa], through the process of westernisation, different levels of integration into the western context are to be discerned and this leads to much confusion - old norms are continuously questioned and new ones are not yet fully understood especially where the new value systems are not always socially sanctioned but depend on individual insight and decision. In Pentecostalism there is much consistency because here definite norms are adhered to based on regeneration and sanctification which gives to the Pentecostal specific attitudes in his daily life. The true man Jesus Christ, is the EXAMPLE [sic]; man lives not only through what he hears as is the Old Testament emphasis; but by hearing and seeing as in the New Testament . It is not the "word culture" of Protestantism in which they live, not a culture in which the non- intellectual organs are stultified. Man lives by sight, not in the physical sense merely but by dreams, visions, and spiritual vision.¹

The healing practices of Charismatic churches can be especially appealing to Hindus. 'In the context of Karma, ill- health for the Hindu is due to a sinful deed and thus self inflicted. The wrath of the deities is called down upon such a sinful person through illness.'² This is very close to the Pentecostal teaching where illness very often is either seen as punishment for sin or an affliction by evil spirits. The healing is what draws many Hindus in India to Christian Gurus. Werner Hoerschelmann has reported on the situation in the South of India, in and around the city of Madras. There Christian missionaries from England, America and Germany have done relatively successful work over the last century, especially amongst the lower castes of the Vellalas and Nadars, the latter being at the hard edge of the outcast system. Of the 24 Christian Gurus he describe one will be chosen here as a representative.

Sara Navaraji³ was born in 1938 and raised in Madras. Her father, of the low Vellala caste, converted to Christianity from Hinduism and was a music teacher at a Lutheran college. Thus Sara was raised a Lutheran Christian, but that does not mean very much to her today. When she was 18 she had her experience of vocation by the Lord:

When I was 18, I realised that something important was lacking in my life. I desired the supernatural power to live a holy life. I prayed one hour daily over a period of thirty days, until Jesus said to me: "You have cleansed your heart, now cleanse your wardrobe." I had some gold, jewellery, beautiful saris and make up articles.⁴

After a long cleaning process, Sara demanded: 'Give me extraordinary power!'⁵ And the Lord promised: 'At three a.m. I will baptise you with fire and the Holy Spirit.'⁶

And while I was waiting for the Holy Spirit, I was taken up even to the fourth heaven. I saw my body lying on the Bible, but I was flying. Eventually, after about three hours, I reached the new Jerusalem. It was situated very high on a mountain, hilly in itself. Little lambs were strolling around, and a creek went right through the town. Everything was bright, but not by electricity. It was a wonderful place!⁷

After that she felt that she ought to give up her job and live entirely for her new vocation, but the circumstances prevented her from doing that. After many other astonishing religious experiences, and several years of membership in a Ceylonese Pentecostal church, she became very ill.

I was dying. Two angels were standing next to my bed. They held roses in their hands. I did not know whether they were angels of death or angels of life. But they gave me the strength to compose a song on Canaan. Eventually Jesus said to me: "I will save your life, if you build it on faith only. You shall be better than the other Christians. Do not marry! Do not allow worldly people to influence you, and always tell the truth without any regard to personal consequences." A hand touched me and the fever ceased.⁸

On the next day her miraculous work begun. She preached - and healed. She started by renting a garage as an assembly hall, and by the time Hoerschelmann interviewed her, she resided in a middle class area of Madras in a two storey house.

Sara has a very intimate mystical relationship to Jesus; it is almost a relationship between two lovers. He is in direct contact with her. From him she receives direct messages; in some way it is almost a shamanic existence, as suggested by her vocational experiences as well (out- of- body- experience, flight in several worlds or levels of heavens, illness, recovery with special powers). God the Father is removed to a very impersonal distance, whereas the Holy Spirit is Jesus' arm of power. Man is covered with sin on the surface, but it can be removed by the right power. In questions of dogma Sara has borrowed from the Pentecostals - there is a baptism, there is conversion, baptism of the Holy Spirit, Holy Supper, etc., but she does not see any real significance in dogmatic questions.

Proper fasting and praying leads to an enormous experience of happiness, which includes the whole physical existence of the subject.

The world for Sara is a static structure of several layers. She herself has reached the upper levels, even Zion, where God (i.e. Jesus) resides. Angels and demons are as real as plants and animals to her. A scientific world view is of no relevance whatsoever. She also regards Theological training as worldly and pointless.

In her meetings she preaches, she gives testimony, she prays and she sings - the latter up to the point of ecstasy, including the ecstasy of her congregation. What is most attractive to many of her followers is her gift of healing. A patient kneels in front of her, she holds her right hand against his forehead after anointing it with oil and prays. While praying her hands start to vibrate more and more, and suddenly she presses harder against the patient and finishes by saying, 'In the name of Jesus, cease!'. She cures two types of malaise, evil spirits and physical illness, but physical illness that is caused by evil spirits. Thus it is a form of exorcism in either case. Her blessed oil is used as a medicine in many families.

In her group, fasting plays an important role. She herself fasts for longer periods each year; she lives by lemon juice alone for up to forty days at a time. This helps her gain spiritual power, to fight evil forces and it is the time when she receives heavenly inspired music. She herself lives in celibacy, but she does not necessarily require that from all her followers.

Her group is not structured in any formal way. She is the centre, her disciples around her. Behind the scenes, however, an uncle of Sara plays an important role as her male protector. He also administers the sacraments.

Sara had about 500 disciples when Hoerschelmann's book was published, 200 of them living in Madras. She has no connection to any other churches, nor does she receive money from abroad, as many other gurus do. Her relationship to Hinduism is twofold. On the one hand, she abhors it as "idolworship", on the other hand she concedes: 'The Hindus in India are trained to follow a sacrificial life. Only people with a sacrificial mind have real faith.'⁹

According to Hoerschelmann, Sara and the other Christian gurus he describes correspond in many ways to their Hindu equivalents. Many of them follow the "sadhu" pattern, since the sadhu dedicates his life to worship and prayer, and often preaches and does miracles.¹⁰ But in Sara's and in other cases the sadhu image cannot be applied totally, since the sadhu is not normally surrounded by a constant number of disciples. The Christian gurus realise other features of other Hindu religious types: They realise "tapas" (heat) in their life, as the Sanyasi do. They know about the meaning of magic in daily life as many yogi do. They are trying to reach a certain degree of spiritual development. And they consider themselves as spiritually successful.¹¹

3.1.2. The Hindu Guru and Faithhealer

Let us now compare Sara to a contemporary Hindu counterpart, so we can work out parallels and differences even more thoroughly. Sudhir Kakar describes the work of Mataji, a Hindu faithhealer, who promises kundalini in an instant.¹² Although the perspectives of Hoerschelmann and Kakar are different - Hoerschelmann is a German Lutheran theologian and Kakar an Indian but Western trained Freudian psychologist - the two descriptions are good comparisons, since they both approach their object of research from a Western point of view.

We do not learn a lot about Mataji's personal background and history, only that at the time of Kakar's encounter with her she was 'a goodlooking middle- aged woman with an imperious expression,'¹³ and that she started her career as a faith healer. We also read that she was a former medical student, and, what makes her especially interesting, that she had been born into a Christian family.¹⁴ Consequently the traditional Hindu terminologies of tantric and hatha yoga of the 'subtle body with its "nerves" and "centers", and fuelled by a pervasive "subtle energy" that courses through both the human and the divine, through the body and the cosmos,'¹⁵ are mixed in her discourse with medical jargon, which makes it sound more scientific. Another additive is some traditional Christian morality. Faithhealing is still an important aspect of her work. On one of her rallies she shouts at a lady who dares to leave her assembly in the middle of her talk:

Get out if you don't want to stay here, [...] I shall say whatever I want to, for I speak the truth. I *shall* be listened to. Do you know Christ took a whip to drive out people like you from the temple? What do you know? Do you know you can get cancer of the throat by doing what that girl did? Who'll cure them? Only me. I have cured leukaemia and other cancers.¹⁶

Although she uses some jargon from medical school, Mataji's attitude towards Western science or values is hostile:

Both Mataji and her followers point to Western divorce statistics, alcoholism, crime rates and sexual promiscuity, to self- congratulatorily convince themselves of the superiority of an Indian "dharmic" way of life that emphasizes balance, chastity, renunciation and obedience to tradition.¹⁷

The followers of Mataji seem to be of a slightly higher social strata than those of Sara, but Kadar does not say anything about caste, neither of Mataji herself or her followers, except one woman who is from a Brahmin family.¹⁸

The people who come to hear Mataji and some of whom stay on to become her followers, generally belong to the newly urbanized, emerging middle classes. They are first-generation college students, clerks from government offices, low-level administrative personnel from industrial and commercial concerns, school and college teachers and others who have been exposed to the winds of change of what is loosely called "Modernism".¹⁹

Mataji's healing programs consist of a discourse and a group session of kundalini raising. A description of this is given by Kakar himself:

At the end of each public meeting, lights are dimmed, and everyone is asked to close the eyes and stretch out both the palms towards Mataji, who demands a full and continuous attention from the audience. Mataji's deep voice, amplified by the loudspeaker, begins what can be easily compared to the process of hypnotic induction.

"I am your mother", Mataji's soothing voice comes drifting in through the darkness. "Leave all your problems and worries in my lap. Become thoughtless. Concentrate all your attention on me." Then, in the fashion of a typical hypnotic operator who diverts the subject's attention to his ideosensory or ideomotor responses with such suggestions as "I'd like you to shift your attention to your hands. Notice how heavy your hands are getting. Your hands are getting heavier and heavier." [...] Needless to add, because of the emotional pressure created in a group setting, the tendency to identify with the experience of other group members and the intense desire to please the leader, only a handful of people hold out against the power of this mass suggestion. Aware that a critical attitude works against suggestibility, Mataji rightly dismisses the holdouts as followers of other gurus, destined not to attain self-realization till they denounce the 'false' guru and get rid of the 'internal noise' the guru is creating.²⁰

On another more private occasion Kakar was able to get individual treatment to reach Kundalini. Since Kakar is a Freudian psychologist, Freud had to be exorcised first, for Freud, in Mataji's eye, is the Western form of Tantra, the embodiment of all evil. After this was done by her assistants, Mataji herself started to "realise" Kakar:

"Forgiveness, forgiveness", Mataji's voice intoned above me as her hand pressed down on my head. "You must forgive everyone. You don't have that in your psychology, do you?" Suddenly, she began saying "Han! Han! [Yes!, Yes!]," slapping her thigh each time for emphasis, the full-throated "Hans!" coming from deep within her chest. Every "Han!" accompanied by a gasping withdrawal of the breath by the onlookers, was intended to spur along my kundalini to a final effort to make it to the *sashara*. After a final "Han!" Mataji grandly announced, "He is realized."²¹

In Hindu mythology with birth and the cutting of the umbilical cord,

the connection between the resting kundalini and the universal consciousness outside the human body is severed by the appearance of a gap within the *sushuma* [one of the bodily channels of

primordial energy] in the region of the navel; [...] which separates the individual consciousness from its universal roots.²²

Thus the original wholeness of man is damaged. This is not the place to go more deeply into Hindu teaching or to explain Mataji's complex system which is mainly traditionally Hindu, but also contains elements from Western psychology and Christian morality, and can be read in Kakar's book. Finally the channels have to be cleansed, so that kundalini again can raise through the central channel and the original state is re-created.

Concentration, intellectual striving or any other forms of willed effort to raise the kundalini are of little use since they operate with the energy of the sympathetic nervous system. Only the traditional notions of God's grace, of "letting go" and "letting happen" and a complete surrender to Mataji and her "cosmic vibrations" can make the kundalini cross the gap around the navel and rise to the *sashara*. As the kundalini gently rises, she caters to the needs of each *chakra* on her way, curing the diseases caused by the constrictions and the subsequent withdrawal of the gods. Mental disorders as well as organic malfunctions, hysterical paralysis as well as cancer, all get cured as kundalini wends her way upward.²³

3.1.3. The Christian and the Hindu Guru Compared

The choice of two female Gurus, neither in the top range of India's most famous religious adepts, has been quite deliberate, although there are several important differences between the two. First of all, Mataji is still rather high profile compared to Sara. Sara's discipleship does not exceed a few hundred, and is a rather regional group centred around Madras. Needless to say, it does not cross the borders of India. This is not to say that there are not Christian Gurus who have followers all over the world. Hoerschelmann reports a Guru called Paulaseer Lawrie with followers from America, Canada, Austria, Switzerland and Germany.²⁴ He won these disciples on his journeys to America and Europe, effectively taking over the millennialist movement of the late American "prophet" William Branham²⁵ who lived with the guru in his Ashram expecting the end of this world.²⁶

Mataji, contrary to Sara, is working internationally. The author of this thesis himself has seen posters announcing her "Kundalini- in- an- instant- sessions" in several greater German cities as well as in London. On the other hand Mataji has not to prove her "Indianness". While Christians and churches are always under a certain suspicion of

being cultural invaders, Mataji by going abroad brings her Indian culture to the West. So Sara works on a much smaller scale, but she had her great time and was known at least by most Tamul Christians for a while.²⁷

Both Sara and Mataji in a way are anti- intellectualists. Not dogma, but the experience of healing, be it in the form of Kundalini or the Holy Spirit, is important. Both are anti- Western. 'To them, and to many other Indians (including a large number living in the West itself), the West is a gigantic whorehouse, whose cities have "truly become Babylon the great, a nest of harlots and prostitution",²⁸ writes Kakar on Mataji and her followers. The same could have been said about Sara, who deplores even the Indian Christian colleges because of their Western style.²⁹ Kakar observes: 'They try to dismiss the challenge of Western ideas in arts, sciences, social and political thought by defensively bolstering an uncertain conviction that the eternal Hindu verities will ultimately prevail over an antimetaphysical godless civilization.'³⁰ Sara would probably reject the word "Hindu" in the last phrase and prefer "Indian" instead. Hoerschelmann explains this anti- intellectualism in the following way:

Education in India is, in the contrary to Western countries, a privilege. For the unprivileged followers of Sara it is a psychological relief, if their leader, who has higher insight herself, ridicules 'philosophers and scholars' and compares them to the blinded biblical Pharisees and Scribes.³¹

Mataji's followers may be from a slightly higher social class and may have better access to education, but they still experience many things they have to learn as foreign to them and to their culture. The more modern lives they live is stripped of the social security of village and caste. So their attitude towards Western education may not be so different to that of Sara's disciples.

Both became famous as faith healers. Kakar reports on Mataji:

The stories about Mataji's healing prowess are legion. Tales of curing incurable cases of cancer, making the blind see and the lame walk are avidly told and retold among her followers. Indeed, as with many other gurus and cults, the hope of obtaining relief from a physical ailment or a distressful emotional condition is one of the two primary motives for becoming a member of the cult; the other being a hidden wish for *siddhis*, or magical powers, which are interminably talked about by her followers even while they are being openly decried.³²

Similarly many people, Christian or not, turn to Sara just for healing, and they all receive treatment. An Indian medical doctor, trained and practising in the very Western scientific way, reports:

My wife had a vision that arrows passed through my liver. - I only laughed. - Three months later I was laid up with jaundice. The liver was badly affected. I was hopelessly ill. It is God's grace that I still exist.³³

A healing occurred when Sara entered his life story.³⁴

Sara Navaroji is an Indian type of Guru. As a Christian, she is not, as some of the Western churches are, foreign to her own culture. She rejects Hinduism, but not the Indian way of experiencing religion. As do her Hindu colleagues, she gathers *tapas* by fasting, which enables her to heal and to perform miracles. She gathers followers around her and expects their unquestioning trust and discipleship on their own way to Christian perfection. Her world view is coined by traditional Indian images, picturing the world as a static structure of several layers, from hell via the earth to several heavens till the heavenly Jerusalem where Jesus is at home.³⁵ God is much less the theoretically complicated trinitarian God of traditional Christianity than his incarnation in Jesus, who speaks directly to her and with whom she has an almost physical, mystical relationship. He actually touches her.³⁶ The comparison with another female Indian Guru, Mataji, has shown that there are similar patterns of Guruship, that Sara is as much an Indian religious leader as Mataji. She may be even more faithful towards her own culture since she does not accept any Western influence or money, whereas Mataji spends a lot of her time in the West, where her work is financially much more rewarding. So in Sara Navaroji, Pentecostal spirituality has become truly Indian Christianity. The characteristic features of Pentecostalism have been maintained: the emphasis on healing, on singing, on tongues and a certain milleniarism; there are also some formal signs of Pentecostalism as baptism by immersion, the stress on a subsequent baptism of the Holy Spirit, and, significantly, a stress on personal conversion.³⁷ Certain features typical for Western Charismatic thought have been abandoned, such things as the Western emphasis of the nucleus family. The new family is the group around herself. Or the Western emphasis on salvation before healing - Sara heals everybody who asks for it, regardless of his religion.³⁸ Charismatic

spirituality stripped of its Western cultural formalities and embedded in Indian folk religion is being realised by Sara Navaraji.

3.2. The Healing Faith - Restoring Families in South America

A new Reformation movement is threatening the Roman Catholic church on a scale comparable to the European Reformation of the 16th century. *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?*³⁹ asked David Stoll in 1990, and Protestantism in Latin America means primarily Charismatic or Pentecostal Protestantism.⁴⁰ The figures presented by Stoll are impressive indeed. If the growth factor which prevailed in the years between 1960 and 1985 has remained and will remain constant, in 2010 Guatemala will be completely Protestant, Puerto Rico 75%, and so in Brazil, El Salvador and Honduras it will be in the majority. Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica and Haiti will be more than 30%. All Latin American countries will have at least a significant percentage of Protestants.⁴¹ What are the reasons for this astounding development? Members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, as well as theologians of the "Liberation Theology" movement, used to blame the American Religious Right. In co-operation with the CIA it was thought they tried to keep political awareness down and to americanise the Latin American culture by encouraging evangelising movements with otherworldly and individualistic tendencies. In fact, US missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, were being used by the CIA as sources of information. Although the mission societies tried to stop this practice as early as in the seventies, it sometimes proved hard to stop a missionary who considered the cooperation with the CIA as his national duty.⁴² The closeness of the American religious right and the CIA was expressed in a different way when American religious leaders sanctioned violent measures of the CIA in their battle against Communism. One of the most striking examples of that cooperation is Pat Robertson, who ran for the Presidency twice:

Amplified by his Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), Robertson served as Christian cheerleader wherever CIA- supported movements fought Marxists. Causes lionized on his talk show included Jonas Savimbi's guerilla war against the Marxist government of Angola, the Son Sann faction in Cambodia, the Afghan rebels, the Christian militia of Major Saad Hadad in Lebanon, and Ríos Montt in Guatemala.⁴³

However, the equation of Latin American Pentecostalism and American imperialism is too simple. It is certainly right that generally speaking the Pentecostal leadership does tend politically to the right but differentiations are necessary. One important observation can be made on the Latin American Pentecostals as on many other non- Western Charismatic churches: explosive growth happens as soon as foreign missionaries have to leave due to external pressure. Elizabeth Brusco reports on the Evangelicals in Columbia, the majority of whom are Pentecostals and Charismatics:

La Violencia was the worst times for Columbian evangelicals, but it was also the best of times. Churches were shut, and foreign missionaries, for the most part, abandoned their fledging congregations and fled back to the United States [...]. Yet during this time, when to publicize one's faith meant risking one's life, the evangelical movement exploded. The scenario repeated time after time was that when a church with one hundred members closed down, the home of each those members became a church in itself. When the doors of the main church were reopened, one hundred new congregations united in a church that now had one thousand members.⁴⁴

This indicates that in many cases the new churches in Latin America are rather independent from the USA and their former mother churches and so cannot be accused of being CIA infiltrators. Other signs indicate in the same direction. Brazil's first ever black woman to serve in Congress was Benedita de Silvo. She is a Pentecostal who won her seat on a 'Workers Party' ticket, the left wing party which made amazing progress in Brazil under their leader Luis Inacio de Silva for a certain period of time; hardly the choice of the CIA. Talking to Harvey Cox, de Silvo revealed why she regards Pentecostalism to be a motor for political change in South America: 'The pentecostals tell the people they *need* to change and they *can* change.'⁴⁵ This is what Elizabeth Brusco emphasises so strongly in her work on the 'Reformation of Machismo'. She demonstrates how conversion allows men to give up a convention, machismo, which is 'over the long run, very demanding and difficult for all under its sway, including the males who must perform this role.'⁴⁶ In fact, she illustrates one example of possible improvement of society through individual lifechanges which have been made possible through conversion to Pentecostalism. David Martin characterises the Pentecostal phenomenon in Latin America as:

a re- formation, social and personal. It is a walkout, so far as that can be achieved, from all that belongs to the status quo, especially the corruptions of the political arena, natural and local, in order to create a space where small people run their own show.⁴⁷

In order to demonstrate this ability we will examine a case study as presented by Elizabeth Brusco. She describes the story of Pedro and his wife Consuelo, a pastoral couple of the Trinitarian Pentecostal Church in the little town of El Cocoy, Columbia. At the time of the interview he was forty- two years old, and made a living for his family by running an uncle's farm and acting as a middleman in buying and selling livestock. On his conversion, Brusco reports:

According to Consuelo, the Gospel has worked a miraculous change in Pedro's life. Before he converted, he was a cruel man who drank heavily, beat her, and was having difficulty supporting his family: "When we were recently married we weren't Christians - we were unconverted. And then the home was a disaster area, because we didn't understand each other [*no nos comprendiamos*], there wasn't affection, there wasn't friendship, there wasn't love or anything. Everything was a disaster." By the time he left for Bogotá, right before he converted, she had decided to leave him, although she was very worried about how to support their children. Pedro's sister, who lived in Bogotá, was a convert. He reported that when she spoke to him about the Gospel he did not like it because he thought it was evil. But while he was in Bogotá he attended a service at her home.

"I said to myself, well, out of decency I have to go and hear what those people have to say. And that night the Lord spoke to my heart and I saw the condition that I was walking around this world in. I acknowledged it, and I said to myself, is that a religion? What happens is that in the evangelical church they teach one the Bible and they apply that to their lives, and in the Catholic church they don't teach you the Bible nor do they apply it." Apparently, Pedro was already predisposed to the Gospel when he was cured of an illness:

"According to the Bible it was impure spirits that I had. I went to have X- rays taken in Bogotá and Málaga, and eight doctors met there and nothing came of it - there were no results. Then my sister said to me, Let's go to services and there you will be prayed for and you'll get better. And that how it was, that night, thanks be to God. The pastor anointed me with oil and put his hand on my head and cried out to God. I felt something that went out of me from the mouth of my stomach, and I never felt that pain again, nor will it come back. So then that was the basis for me to like the *evangelio* even better."

The unconverted members of both Pedro's and Consuelo's families criticized them sharply for converting. Only one brother refused to interfere. When the family spoke about "ridding Pedro of these evil customs", that is, his evangelical practice, the brother replied, "But what evil customs? Now he doesn't drink any more, nor does he smoke, nor does he fight, and he is responsible for his home...what do I have to say to him?" Pedro is gratified that people recognize an extraordinary change in him and believes he is providing a proper testimony to his family.

Pedro has been very interested in politics, and when he converted one of his main concerns was to see how the evangelicals conducted themselves around a presidential election. The pastor of the church announced that the day of the elections the church would be open from six in the morning, that people could come in to pray, and that "God, who knows the hearts of men", would elect the next president to govern the country. Pedro was very impressed that that was all he said, because he remembered the priests dictating from the pulpit for whom people should vote. He claimed that the politicians would bribe the priests for their endorsement.⁴⁸

So Pedro walked out of a circle of violence, alcohol, neglect for his family and resulting poverty. As a result of the changes in his lifestyle, more money will be left which can be spent in feeding the family and finally can be invested in the education of his children who thus have the chance to climb up the social ladder; an almost textbook career according to Max Weber. But it is not quite as simple as that, since unlike the

Weberian Puritan, the Latin American Pentecostal, as Rowan Ireland puts it in his article on Brazilian Pentecostals,

is not driven by anxiety about the ultimate goal of salvation, nor is he propelled [...] in lifelong pursuit of material achievement and success for his soul's sake. Rather, he has the Holiness believer's certainty of salvation [...]. His only anxiety, in fear of eternal punishment, is that he might not remain impeccably faithful [...]. But there is nothing of the Holiness enthusiast's lack of interest in ethical issues.⁴⁹

His conversion to Pentecostalism draws Pedro's interest inwardly in a sense; 'he walked out' as Martin puts it (see note 47), out of mainstream society, not only in matters of social life, but also concerning his spiritual life. He now has got a spiritually meaningful life outside the general framework of spirituality in Latin America, which is being offered by the Roman Catholic church. He shares his spiritual life with other men and women in his church whom he can trust and have fellowship with in a totally different mode than the atmosphere of machismo normally dictated to men in Latin America, where social life amongst men is normally about drinking and fighting. Homicide is the most common cause of death amongst fifteen to forty- four years old males in Columbia.⁵⁰ Family and congregation are now the focus of his life, and if a couple is converted, the congregation is very much a family event. Public and private life are now one and the same, in stark contrast to the machismo society which sharply differentiates between both for males.⁵¹ So instead of a revolution of society, conversion is a revolution of a person. His emphasis in politics will be personal integrity and clear moral standards, and he will strongly oppose any violent upheaval against any authorities, may they be ever so unjust. He will, however, measure politicians and other people according to their own personal integrity. In a survey on El Salvador, Kenneth M. Coleman and colleagues found that 76% of Protestants were against any church mediation in social conflict (49% amongst practising Catholics),⁵² and 77% were of the opinion that a Christian cannot support the leftwing guerrilla (57% of practising Catholics).⁵³ The critical attitude towards "the world" however prevents the Pentecostals from believing naively in government. In the same survey less Protestants (46%) than Catholics (59%) believed that the elections arranged by the USA were honest.⁵⁴ Political conservatism is undeniably prevalent amongst Latin American Pentecostals, 'a kind of conservatism associated with personal discipline, with minding one's own business, with trying one's own personal problems rather than

the world's.⁵⁵ But is this really part of the "americanization" of the Latin American continent which David Martin sees in 'the US- style supermarket at one end of the boulevard and the US- style church at the other end'⁵⁶? Or is it rather a return from individualist macho values to the original indigenous values which were community and family centred? Elizabeth Brusco hints in that direction. She argues, machismo and individualism were introduced by the conquerors into Indio society, where originally the power was part of an office and lay with the group. Whereas for the mestizo the power is with the individual who has got to gain power for its sake over the group.⁵⁷

Not only the sociological changes indicate that Charismatic Christianity allows the indigenous people of Latin America to return to older, genuine community patterns of life. Karl- Wilhelm Westmeier reveals: 'Another reason for the effective inroads made by enthusiastic protestantism among the habitants of Bogotá seems to be related to the common people's knowledge about the religious significance of trance experiences.'⁵⁸ Westmeier observes that the old Indio practice of obtaining religious ecstasy through drugs has never died out in Latin America. It was only driven underground by the Roman Catholic Church: 'The old non- Christian festivals were by decree replaced by the festivities of the church. It seems that drunken orgies during the celebration of the church indicate that, in Indian consciousness, religion and intoxication have never been separated.'⁵⁹ In Charismatic services a similar state of ecstasy can be reached without the use of any drugs. Ecstasy once again is combined with religion, not in a clandestine way but openly and with pride, in the knowledge that it is the Holy Spirit which causes the ecstatic experience.

Another indigenous cultural element which Charismatic worship brings out of the illicit and into the officially sanctioned religious realm is the element of healing, condemned by the Catholic Church as "superstition":

Healers have always played an important role in the life of the *Bogotanos*. This is due to the fact that, traditionally, many illnesses have been looked upon as having some kind of supernatural origin or having been caused by other uncontrollable forces. From their onset, illnesses of this kind are conceived of being beyond the skills of academically- trained physicians.⁶⁰

David Stoll reports about Mexico: 'A country with a strong indigenous heritage, many rural pastors are former shamans who, in effect, continue to divine and cure under the new religion, as a more effective source of power and legitimisation.'⁶¹ Thus once again Pentecostalism goes back to pre- Spanish roots of Indio societies,

since 'it expresses popular traditions of holy intoxication, multiple unity with the divine, and miraculous healing, all of which, until recently, have been thought of as Catholic.'⁶² In fact, while many women in Latin America are drawn towards Pentecostalism in the prospect of an improvement in their own personal situation, many men are being converted by personal healing, as with our case study above. Elizabeth Brusco also observes:

Men frequently state that they were led to convert as a result of having been healed of an illness. They describe a series of visits to doctors, expensive X-rays and treatments without results, and continuing affliction. When nothing else has seemed to work, they agree to attend an evangelical service, usually at the invitation of their wife or another relative. Two things usually happen: they are healed of their illness, and they convert out of gratitude.⁶³

According to Brusco, the illness is the exact opposite of machismo culture, because it makes the man dependent on the wife. If the illness not only affects him physically, but also changes his heart and he submits willingly to the help of his wife, he will become open to the evangelical teaching.⁶⁴ So conversion helps him to be healed from the illness of his society, machismo, as well. The healing, however, is a religious healing. The "change of heart" of the healed person, the conversion, is part of the experience of healing as a religious experience.

That is not to say that Pentecostal congregations are not authoritarian or patriarchal in Latin America. They can be very much so. The supremacy of the man over the wife as head of the household is clearly expressed. The structure of the congregations is not normally very democratic: the pastor is at the top, he may be supported by a few elders, but it is certainly he who is in charge. On the other hand Pentecostals live and preach love. Although the husband is the head of the family, he also is supposed to love his wife and he must show responsibility. That is different to the macho man, who demonstratively is only responsible for himself. Women are theoretically subordinate in the congregations, but many meetings are for women only and offer them a space of freedom which they do not have otherwise. The women's group, often led by the pastor's wife, forms an almost parallel structure to the official congregation. So again, Pentecostalism does not revolutionise society, but it changes the relationships of its members. Nobody is "dethroned", but a behaviour of love and responsibility instead of the gratification of individual desires is expected by everyone. From a feminist perspective Brusco argues,

that Columbian Pentecostalism can be seen as a form of female collective action. Unlike Western feminism, it is not attempting to gain access for women to the male world; rather it elevates domesticity, for both, men and women, from the devalued position it occupies as the result of the process of proletarianization. It does serve to transform gender roles, primarily by reattaching males to the family.⁶⁵

Another reason for Pentecostal success in Latin America is its dualism of good and evil. This pattern matches the experiences of the lower class people. There is nothing "good" left in the world around them. The poverty but security of the hacienda has been replaced by the constant threat of landowners to expel the people on their "property". The enormous cities to which people migrate are places where even the last remainders of community in the countryside, as the larger family, are non-existent any more. Life has become a daily battle of everyone against everyone else. The religious life of the Catholic church, based on the conception of society as a large community, does not work any more. However, as John Burdick remarks: 'While the Catholic is taught to think in reconciliatory terms, the Pentecostal sees the world as a battleground in which the Devil plays a constant role.'⁶⁶ This gives a structure to an otherwise chaotic world. "Good" is God as experienced within the congregation by the religious experiences one can have within it, the fellowship, help and friendship within its boundaries, the ethical guidelines of the bible, the family, if converted. Evil is the world in its moral decadence, its greed for money, its destruction of the community, the violence on the streets and often by the political regimes as well as their opponents, sometimes the prosecution of evangelicals (often supported by the Catholic church). According to the Pentecostal Theologian Cheryl Bridges-Johns this daily experience of the lower class people in South America is matched by Pentecostal world-view 'in which evil is reality. Pentecostals know that indeed there are those epiphanies of darkness which surround all knowing.'⁶⁷ Cheryl Bridge Johns, who writes on Pentecostal experience in general, expresses it in theological language: 'As recorded in the Gospels, Jesus comes as the great Physician, healing both sin-sick souls and physical sickness. His touch is one which brings *shalom*, restoring wholeness. Thus Pentecostals testify to being touched by Jesus and made whole.'⁶⁸ This can be verified in Pedro's example: He is physically healed from an illness no physician was able to help him with, and he was made whole as a person again and thus his family and marriage were made "whole". Within the congregation he found community and

friendship. All this was accomplished by turning away from his former "sinful" life, which was unhealthy physically and socially. Thus, in Latin American Pentecostalism, 'Church is the open community of all those who have experienced renewal of their lives through the power of the spirit.'⁶⁹ These people, as Juan Sepúlveda sees it, are the people really in need.

This means that for most people, their personal history and the condition of life in which they live are very far from representing the best of all possible worlds. For them, life is not something taken for granted but rather something hard- won every day.⁷⁰

This open community church is the opposite of the established churches, where 'the "needy" can be seen as objects of charity, but rarely as privileged subjects of church life.'⁷¹ Thus Walter J. Hollenweger's remark that Pentecostalism 'is a church of the poor (not just "a church for the poor", which is what Pentecostals accuse the Catholic church of being)⁷² is very true for Latin America. Even the ever so well intended Liberation Theology has never ceased to be the "option for the poor" by a wing of the Roman Catholic Church dominated by middle class academics; it has failed to become a movement OF the poor. David Martin regards Liberation Theology as the strongest rival of Pentecostalism, he concedes, however, that 'it is not so successful as competitor as might be expected.'⁷³ He writes:

However idealistic and decently concerned and shocked the leaders of "liberationism" may be, they are not usually "of the people". Liberation theology has a decided middle class and radical intellectual accent alien to the localized needs of "the poor". It claims to be Latin America but it is, in fact, at least as "foreign" as Pentecostalism, if not more so, with spokesmen - yes, spokesmen - who are part of the international circuit of theological lecturers.⁷⁴

As a conclusion one can say that Pentecostalism in Latin America is a phenomenon which combines what seem to be opposites. David Martin says: 'The potent combination of external influence and radical local adaptation found in Pentecostalism is related to another characteristic source of power: the union of the very old and very modern.'⁷⁵ Old structures of community and family life are rediscovered in a world dominated by damagingly individualist machismo. Old practices of ecstatic religious experiences and religious healing can be taken out of the closet of the suspicion of being superstitious into the open light of the church as acts of the Holy Spirit. The narrative and religious experience are so much older vehicles of

religious belief than abstract metaphysical concepts. On the other hand, Pentecostalism creates little unbureaucratic informal communities, free of complicated hierarchy.

3.3. The Great Ancestor - Pentecostalism in Africa

Isaac Dlamini did not know of Christ as a child as his parents were not Christians. His father spent eleven months of each year working on the railway in Johannesburg. In fact, as a young boy he did not even know his father.

[...]

Finally at the age of twelve, Isaac saw his father for the first time that he could remember. He decided he wanted to live with his father, so he ran away and set out to find him. Shortly after joining his father, he became very ill. He was taken to a hospital and the doctor found that his lung was badly diseased.[...]The hospital doctors told his father that Isaac did not have more than five years to live. His father took him to traditional doctors, as well as western doctors. He remained sickly for the next four years.

Because of Isaac's persistent illness and the fact that his grandmother was a *sangoma*, it appeared to many that Isaac was being called by the *emadloti* (ancestral spirits) to become a *sangoma* and to carry on this role in his family. Therefore Isaac's father sent him away to be trained. He had not been in training long when he received these words in a dream, "Go, preach and you will be healed!" Since Isaac had no direct contact with Christianity, he had no idea what these words meant. The longer he stayed in his training, the more penetrating these words became to his soul. He finally felt compelled to leave his training in order to follow the words of the dream, even though he knew that this could mean his death. (It is thought that leaving the *sangoma* training is dangerous and could result in a curse or death by ancestors).

Shortly after arriving home, he again had a dream, and this time he understood that he was to see a blind man, who would help him. There happened to be a blind evangelist visiting a neighbouring homestead so he went to see him. This evangelist told Isaac that he had many demons and should stay with him for some time, while he fasted and prayed for his complete deliverance. After about a month, Isaac was completely delivered and healed. The evangelist told him to give his life to Jesus, or else the demons would return.

Isaac did not fully understand what it meant to give his life to Jesus. When another evangelist preached in his area, Isaac immediately responded to an altar-call as his heart had been prepared.

Now Isaac finally understood his dreams and the words. "Go, preach and you will be healed." Isaac felt that God wanted him to work with the Zionists, so he joined the Zionist Church near his home. He felt a tremendous need for training in the Bible, but when he tried to attend a mission Bible school they told him they would only receive him if he left his Zionist Church. It was not possible for him to leave the people that he felt called to minister to, so he took three years of training by correspondence.

Today, Isaac is well known among Christians in Swaziland as a real man of God. He is president of his church, the Pentecost East Star Jerusalem Church in Sabbath. He continues to teach the Bible with the Zionists and enjoys good health.⁷⁶

This little story, told by the Rev D. Hofstetter from the Mennonite Mission Mbabane, Swaziland, points to several important aspects of African Pentecostalism:

1. Pentecostalism and African Indigenous Churches are closely related, in phenomenology, theology, and history.
2. In the form of African Indigenous Churches (AICs) Pentecostalism has retained a lot of original African spirituality.

3. AICs see themselves in contrast to the white mainstream churches, whose preaching was not in accordance with their action (they collaborated with the imperialistic oppressors and/or practised apartheid); the mainstream churches on the other hand are beginning only reluctantly to appreciate the AICs as something other than merely "sects".

3.3.1. Pentecostalism and African Indigenous Churches

Harvey Cox counts over 5000 independent Christian denominations in Africa,

all born in the twentieth century, and all bearing the familiar marks of pentecostal spirituality, plus many distinctive qualities of their own. In South Africa they embrace about 40 percent of the black population.[...]At present rates of growth, by the year 2000 these churches will include more members in Africa than either the Roman Catholic Church or all the Protestant denominations put together.⁷⁷

These independent churches, or indigenous churches, are Pentecostal in style, history and theology. Harvey Cox emphasises:

'What is important is that they display the same characteristics we have observed elsewhere and that would be recognized immediately as pentecostal by anyone familiar with those qualities. People dance and clap and testify. The preachers rely more on stories than on sermons to carry the message. The worship incorporates dreams, healing, trances, and a high degree of indigenous religious practices.⁷⁸

The first phenomenological similarity between AICs and classic Pentecostalism or Charismatic Christianity is their emphasis on healing. S.I. Maboera remarks: 'It is generally accepted by Africans that Western medicine is inadequate for meeting certain needs and illnesses among Africans - those whose cause is normally ascribed to either ancestors or witchcraft.'⁷⁹ Consequently,

Healing treatment is a daily practice within the AIC, integrated into the ritual activity of the church. At Zion City, the sick come every morning for a prayer meeting and to have hands laid on them by their bishop. Later in the day, patients are visited by prophetic healers who spend much time with them.⁸⁰

The reliance on religious healing and the neglect of Western healing can go so far that a regional hospital may hardly play any role for the poorer people of an area.

A.S. van Niekerk reports from South Africa quoting a medical doctor:

...the people in the village have given the hospital the name *Re buile feela*, meaning "we come bare-handed, the person whom we were going to check had passed away". One reason for this is that the staff at the hospitals are rude. The church, and specifically the AICs, on the other hand, feature strongly in the stories about healing.⁸¹

Western Medicine and religious precautions do not preclude each other. Van Niekerk also reports:

When Mrs O. had to go to hospital for the birth of her child, she called her minister (ZCC[AIC]). He came with a number of church members to her house, they sang and danced, put a girdle round her waist to protect her, and sprinkled her with holy water. She also drank some of the water. Immediately after they had left, Mrs O. went to the traditional healer, who gave her his full treatment. At home the family offered (*go phasa*) to the *badimo*, at the traditional place (*thitkwana*). The next morning Mrs O.'s mother called the Lutheran minister, who laid his hands on her and prayed for her. When one of our researchers and student appeared on the same day, they were also asked to pray for Mrs O.'s coming visit to the hospital. The family now felt relaxed and confident that all possible precautions had been taken, and they felt relaxed and confident for the visit to the hospital.⁸²

Where western medicine cannot help, when ancestor spirits, witchcraft and demons are involved, AICs offer healing at the roots of the problem. Maboea also describes how healing takes place:

The leader listens to all the problems carefully, assuring the patient that he understands completely his or her fear or pain, which are caused by the power of the devil. He points out that the power of God is demonstrated through His love and assures the patient, through the scriptures, of Christ's personal concern. A prerequisite for cure is total surrender of all the problems to Jesus. Through the testimony of those who have already been cured through prayer, the patient feels hopeful of a real cure.⁸³

This leads us to another similarity to classic Pentecostalism: the relationship of healing and exorcism. Both, AICs and Pentecostals regard illness as a form of possession by evil forces. This implies a contrast between light and darkness, God and the Devil, Angels and demons. S.W.D. Dube writes: 'Good things of life, good health and good fortune are all associated with light [...]. The opposite of light is darkness and mystical illness (*umnyama*).'⁸⁴ So the typical Pentecostal dualism emerges once again. But to emphasise this dualism is not enough. Another point in exorcism and healing is the importance of a healthy community and relationships. Hofstetter says about his life with Zionist Christians: 'These people have shown me the importance of relationships. It is important to visit one another, thank one another and pray for one

another.⁸⁵ The African minister Maboea sees here the precise failure of Western medicine:

Western medical practitioners, in spite of their concern for both the physical and psychological needs of a patient, fail to probe deeply enough into the existential realities of a patient. Thus, medical doctors cannot really address the cure of a patient's illness because they cannot adequately explain the patient's real illness involving ill relationships with ancestors, evil powers or witchcraft.⁸⁶

It is not only the relationship to the transcendent side of life which needs to be in order. It is also the relationships within the community which need to be taken care of. The editors of *Afro- Christianity at the Grassroots* remark in their introduction:

This ministry [of AIC] moves in harmony with the cosmology, values and ethos of the society and community it serves, it takes seriously the physical, material, social and religious needs of the constituents. The popularity of these churches can often be related to the brief testimony: "I found healing there": meaning in life was found there, and vital relationships were experienced as being restored.⁸⁷

The individualistic western life style has threatened and damaged traditional community life. Maboea says: 'To most Africans the metropolitan type of life, where everyone is concerned for himself, is very strange. It is against tradition and it is abnormal. In isolation people are robbed of the all- important unity and fellowship.'⁸⁸ This abnormality is not of great enough concern to the Western style churches who themselves are part of the culture which brought forward western individualism. Again Maboea:

Against this background people join the AIC and through their concern for one another, establish a place where members can overcome the isolation, experience that natural African fellowship, enjoy recognition as a fellow human being in need; and generally through consideration, care and love, be made to feel at home.⁸⁹

However, we have encountered this element of community as a typical element of western Charismatic churches as well. In the paragraph on 'Resting in the Spirit' (2.1.3.), we saw, how the person who is being affected by "the Spirit" falls into the arms of the religious community. So this factor is another one which links AICs to the world wide Charismatic movement.

It is not only healing in its several dimensions which provides that link. Of the "Prophet Harris", the founder of one of the largest AICs of West Africa, it is reported: 'Trance- visitations, prescience, special leading, exorcism, healing, tongues, signs and

miracles are all spiritual phenomena which are an integral part of Harris' pattern of thinking. They are not absolutely compartmentalized categories, for they often interpenetrate each other...⁹⁰ This was in 1914, but can still be said about most AICs. We talked about healing, but the other ecstatic phenomena of Pentecostalism should not be forgotten, and they all prevail in AICs. J.E Kunne reports on the Zionist Churches: 'The emphasis on the Pentecostal quality, the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, is also axiological in Zionist theology and worship. Speaking in tongues, purification rites and taboos are also practised.'⁹¹ A consequence of the emphasis on the Holy Spirit is the major involvement of lay people as preachers and ministers in Zionist and many Charismatic churches. Thus the prerequisite for the ministry is not education in classic languages and the history of dogmas. The realisation of a vocation is not decided by college marks, but '...by the power of the Holy Spirit to inspire such a person to preach and to teach.'⁹²

Thus we can state: AICs are phenomenologically and theologically part of the world wide Pentecostal/ Charismatic community. Their worship contains all the well known elements: a more narrative than dogmatic style of preaching, hand clapping, trance states of worshippers, speaking in tongues, prophecy, a strong emphasis on the Holy Spirit, and, most of all, miraculous healing. Can this close relationship of Pentecostalism and the AICs also be confirmed historically?

In the history of AICs we can discern two different roots from the soil of European missionary efforts (apart from the traditional and very old Christian cultures of the Ethiopian Orthodox and the Egyptian Coptic Church). In 1892 the first root came into existence: the Methodist minister Mangane Mokone and some followers left the Methodist church because of segregated worship: They founded the "Ethiopian Church" at Johannesburg. Already in 1872 and 1884 some congregations had separated from their European mother church.⁹³ Others joined in, since 'Ethiopia's victory over Italy at the battle of Adowa in 1896 had, at least for the educated, a profound symbolic meaning that strengthened the Ethiopian cause.'⁹⁴ One of the founders of an "Ethiopian Church", Job Chiliza, who broke away from the (Pentecostal) Full Gospel Church as late as 1942, explained:

The sad thing is that a European missionary does not really like to see us being blessed in our work. Instead they grow envy inside. ... I spoke to Rev. Cooper. My pastor and I are grown up people. We need a constitution. They want a say in the Church. Then he said, you can go away.⁹⁵

Thus the goal of the founders of "Ethiopian Churches" was to gain that respectability which was denied to them in many missionary churches, many of whom treated their African members as second class people. As a consequence, Isichei writes:

The Ethiopian churches were modelled on those their leaders had left, and were often little different from them, though they sometimes accepted plural marriage. [...] In a sense, they limited their cultural creativity, and it was an impossible goal, for they could never match the financial resources, and international standing of the older churches.⁹⁶

This limitation has been overcome by the second branch of AICs, the Zionist Churches. Their name ultimately goes back to 'the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church, with its headquarters in Zion City, near Chicago, founded by John Alexander Dowie (*d.* 1907), a church which catered especially to the urban poor.'⁹⁷ The formerly Dutch Reformed Church missionary Petrus Le Roux joined it in 1903 with several African followers, and from this 'the Zionist churches proliferated, developing rich, distinctive lives of their own, quite independent of European influences. They have their own way of categorizing churches - churches of the (black) people, spiritual churches, and institutional churches of the whites.'⁹⁸ They are often based on a Charismatic leader figure, a prophet, and practice a typically African symbolism as with their emphasis on water for purifications, holy mountains for prayer and certain garments.⁹⁹

These two groups have their historic origins in and belong strictly speaking to South Africa, but they provide a pattern which can be applied to most of the continent where the dominant culture is not Islamic or Orthodox (Coptic and Ethiopian). So Shank can call the West- African Prophet Harris 'indeed an adherent of "Ethiopianism"'¹⁰⁰, and Isichei draws a line from the South- African Zulu Zionist to the Congolese Kimbangists or compares them, to the Nigerian Aladura churches.¹⁰¹ Very often the lines are difficult to draw; the followers of the Prophet Harris resemble in many ways the Zionist pattern as well: they put a lot of emphasis on healing, including many traditional African remedies, and they certainly have the charismatic leader figure in their history, namely Harris, the prophet. However, the pattern they all offer is that from the turn of the century onwards, Christian Africans sever their links to their

mission churches and develop independently, embracing their own culture which has been looked down upon by the European churches. That means they are not directly historically dependent on Euro- American Pentecostalism, as most of the Latin American Pentecostals are. Should they consequently not be subsumed under the headings "Charismatic/ Pentecostal" and be treated as a separate category? Here it is being argued that they can be regarded as part of the world- wide Charismatic movement, and there are two reasons for that besides the phenomenological similarities, the first of which is the fact that Pentecostalism was started by the son of African slaves, William Seymour, in Azuza Street, Los Angeles in 1905.

There is just such a striking parallel between the development of the African- American Churches, who are after all the "ancestors" of Pentecostalism proper in America and AICs. J.E. Kunnie points at nine historical parallels between them, emphasising especially that both groups developed independently from a struggle against white oppression and racism by including their own cultural values and heritage into their faith and way of worship.¹⁰² Kunnie writes:

Both black churches incorporated the ingredients of dynamic black African cultures, modified and re- shaped in various forms. The utilisation of song, spirit evocation, spirit possession, musical improvisation, polyrhythmic harmonisation, hand- clapping, foot- stamping, water baptism and even drumming signified the manner in which these cultural elements were integrated into the worship and theology of these black religious communities. [...] Axiological within this praxis of faith, of course, has been the primordial emphasis placed on the inspiration by the Holy Spirit, that force which provides healing to the sick, sustenance to the downtrodden, and power to the preacher to proclaim the Word.¹⁰³

These similarities are even more striking if one considers the different cultural and geographical environment of both groups, the black community in America and the Africans. Cheryl Sanders cites James Tinney, who remarked in 1979: 'When news of the [Pentecostal] revival reached Africa, it was not regarded as an entirely "new" phenomenon. For the very practices of Azuza street had long been known in the Motherland even before any Azuza- inspired messenger arrived.'¹⁰⁴

Another parallel development amongst Africans and African Americans is what Sanders calls, in accordance with Wim bush, 'bibliomancy'.¹⁰⁵ Drawing on Leonard Barrett, she compares the influence of Bible literacy in Africa and amongst the slaves:

Once the Bible was translated and published in the vernacular languages, Africans began reading its vision of social renewal, power, prosperity, peace, love, justice, and equality. This new ethical awareness enabled them to discern a serious discrepancy between the Bible and the teaching

and liturgical practices of the white missionaries. The next step was the emergence of the independent African Christian churches. In view of this scenario, it seems feasible to suggest that the push for literacy and Bible reading among the freed slaves during the late nineteenth century may very well have been a major factor in the rise of the Sanctified church tradition as a biblically based alternative to the moral hypocrisy and liturgical boredom of white Christianity.¹⁰⁶

So one can see Pentecostalism arising in a parallel manner in Africa and America at the same time. On both continents it arises as a genuine form of black Christianity, as a response to white oppression and racism. One could therefore say that the roots of Pentecostalism as a whole are African culture, which is now spreading over the globe.

3.3.2. African Spirituality and AICs

For many theologians of the white churches as well for some other observers of the African religious scene, AICs cannot be accepted under the Christian umbrella. At best they are regarded as "sects", at worst they are being called "post-christian" or "neo-pagan" groups. The attitude of the bearers of such judgement becomes clearer if one listens to the underlying tone of their argument. Thus the scholar of the history of religions, Ernst Dammann, wrote on divine healing in Zionist churches in the nineteensixties:

Since according to the old African idea illness and cure belong into the sphere of religion, this church soon found its way to many Africans. In the same time a gate was opened by including medicine, and so old magic ideas, which were present as a substratum with many Christians as well, could re-emerge. And normally if a gate is being opened, there can be no stopping.¹⁰⁷

African healing practices are being presented as the heritage of a dark past which looms behind the fence of Western civilisation. Elizabeth Isichei concedes that there must be a borderline when the Christian identity is lost after a group has taken on board too many non-Christian practices, but she rightly remarks: 'However, if Christianity centres on belief in a resurrected Lord, Kimbangu [who is being revered as the incarnation of the Holy Spirit by the Kimbanguist Church of Western Africa, the author] was much more orthodox than Albert Schweitzer.'¹⁰⁸ This hits exactly the point. Christianity has always been a syncretistic religion, combining Jewish elements with elements of Hellenistic Greek and European culture. However, if other cultures

combine their own heritage with the Christian gospel it becomes difficult for European Christians to bear. Isichei goes on:

Many of the prophetic churches have a profoundly biblical religion, differing from the older churches in that they reclaim many aspects of Christianity that have become eroded or forgotten in much western praxis, such as guidance through dreams and visions, miraculous healings, prayer that expects immediate and concrete answers, and often, Old Testament taboos.¹⁰⁹

The Mennonite missionary D. Hofstetter reports how he experienced this blend of old traditions and modern Christianity in the Zionist churches when he states: 'We agreed that Jesus is the Great Ancestor who supersedes and rules over all the other ancestors. We also discussed that our ancestors are not demons, but are part of us in many ways.'¹¹⁰ This quote by a Western man who is actively involved in the religious live and religious changes in Africa indicates how free the AICs feel to include the traditional elements into Christianity. One of those is certainly the healer or prophet figure which so much resembles the traditional shamanic healer of many African societies. The story of Isaac Dlamini which was told at the beginning of this section shows the similarity neatly: Isaac feels being called for the training of a *sangoma*, the shamanic diviner, and only later he understands that his calling is really to the Christian ministry. This matches the analysis of the Jungian M.P. Johnson, who compares the role of the traditional Zulu healer, the *isangoma*, as he calls him or her, and the Zionist prophet. He writes:

From analysing the data, it is clear that *insangomas* and prophets are nothing like the two discrete groups or categories that we had hypothesised them to be. In actuality, it appears that *insangomas* and prophets could be viewed as two ends of a wide- ranging continuum. Of the first six healers interviewed in 1988, all of whom were women, one healer was just an *isangoma* and one was just a prophet. All of the other four healers were some kind of combination of prophet and *insangoma*, and they lived with that mixture with differing degrees of comfort. The words of one healer, a woman who is both a prophet and an *insangoma*, expressed her dilemma: "I have been praying to my ancestors asking them to become Christians."¹¹¹

Jacques de Wet has examined Zionism within the social and religio- cultural history of the Bambomvu community in the Transkei. He explains how that society developed in two different ways after colonisation by the whites, the *Abantu Basesikolweni*, the School People, who were open to change according to the new parameters of the white rulers, and the *Abantu Babmvu*, the Red People, who tried to cling to their own tradition and to escape all foreign influences.¹¹² For a long time, the

Red People were able 'to engineer religio- cultural manipulation and sustain [...]

"militant conservatism", so that "they saved themselves from self- alienation."¹¹³

However, due to work migration and agricultural schemes by the government this world- view could not survive, and de Wet asks: 'Did the community disintegrate as well? Has there been a rejection of what the Babomvu worldview represented and an assimilation of Western culture and religion?'¹¹⁴ De Wet does not think so. He observes the decline of the Babomvu world- view and the increase of Zionism amongst the same people and sees a connection:

The rise, adjustment, and decline of the Babomvu worldview (BMV) and the attraction of a Zionist- Apostolic type worldview can be interpreted as the renegotiation of identity, triggered by changes in the socio- cultural experience of its adherents. The changes were brought about primarily by the increasing presence of Western values and symbols in indigenous socio- cultural experience.¹¹⁵

The new world- view adjusts to the new frame of reference which is given by the increasing cultural power of Western values, but it retains important features of the old Babomvu culture: 'The Babomvu world- view did not make sharp distinctions between body and mind, subject and object, knowledge and experience, fact and value, as in Western epistemology.'¹¹⁶ The Red People could find a similar approach to reality in the Zionist faith - as it prevails in Pentecostalism generally.

Thus Pentecostalism in the form of AICs is not only able to include traditional practices of worship like certain possession states, prophecy, even certain forms of divination, but it encapsulates a whole different view of the world which, despite its sharp distinction between good and evil, and bright and dark, is more holistic and less dichotomic than the predominating Western view. To this holistic view belongs the inclusion of those who had gone before, the ancestors, and Zionism is able to integrate them without demonising them as has been done by so many Western missionaries. In this view, evil is real as in all Pentecostal churches, but, as Harvey Cox observes, in contrary to many Western Pentecostals, who 'have often become so obsessed with the demons that they have forgotten the message of liberation,'¹¹⁷ 'the African Christians seem to have gotten it right.'¹¹⁸

3.3.3. The Messenger Who Cannot Stand Up To His Message - AICs and the White Churches

In Africa, Christian mission and White colonial politics went hand in hand for many decades, and the movement of the new religious right in America still connects Christianity with the economical and political interests of Western Culture. So the missionaries preached the gospel of love, but represented systems of oppression and racism. In South Africa many white churches condoned or even actively supported the apartheid system, and it is no wonder that the African minister Maboea remarks: 'In South Africa, the fact that Biblical standards could not be attained even by missionaries, for the sake of the colour separation maintained by the state, caused a lot of South Africans to doubt the sincerity of the missionaries.'¹¹⁹ The theologian Makhubu says it more directly: 'White Christianity suppresses. Western manners that control people in daily life and even before God are presented as Christianity.'¹²⁰ This experience once again is one the African Christians share with their brothers and sisters whose ancestors had been sold as slaves to America. Kunnie remarks: 'Both church organisations/ communities emerged in response to the virulent racism of white Christianity; to slavery and Jim Crow segregation in the USA and to the white missionary colonialism and political, economic, and social domination in South Africa.'¹²¹

In South- Africa mainstream churches were one of the columns the racist apartheid system was based on. Elizabeth Isichei writes on the Dutch Reformed Church:

It has been said the Dutch Reformed Church was the National Party at prayer. The two were never coterminous, though many Dutch Reformed Church theologians wrote in apartheid's defence. Apartheid has been called a heresy by its opponents, but it is perhaps more meaningful to call what developed in South Africa a form of civil religion.¹²²

As late as 1982 the World Alliance of Reformed Churches had to exclude the white Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa due to her support of the apartheid system.¹²³

Amongst other, mainly English speaking, liberal churches, there was a certain amount of resistance against the official racism, e.g. the then Anglican Bishop of

Johannesburg, Geoffrey Clayton, set up a commission which recommended a gradual removal of the colour- bar as early as 1941.¹²⁴ But Elizabeth Isichei remarks on these efforts:

The central weakness of Christian concern in these years was that Africans were its objects, not participants. Its heroes are Europeans, with a concern for "Race Relations". There was, both then and later, a gulf between the attitudes of, for instance, Anglo- Catholic priests whose life's work lay in African, or English slums, and a laity who enjoyed the material benefits of integral colonialism, and who shared many white supremacist attitudes. The English community as a whole was far from liberal.¹²⁵

The traditional Pentecostal churches in South Africa were no frontrunners for racial justice at all. Harvey Cox reports the example of the Apostolic Faith Mission, the first Pentecostal church of the country decreed within months after its founding 'that the nonracial policy with which it began should be changed. Henceforth "the baptism of native shall in future take place after the baptism of white people."¹²⁶ When apartheid was officially introduced in South Africa, the church made its standpoint crystal clear. Cox reports: 'It stood squarely and publicly on the side of segregation. "The fact that the Native, Indian or colored is saved", the church declared, "does not render him a European."¹²⁷ The African anti- apartheid fighter Frank Chikane was a minister of this church. Isichei reports: 'Because of his political activism, Chikane was repeatedly imprisoned, and tortured. His church repudiated him, and drove his family from their church- owned home when he was in gaol. He refused to leave South Africa, or to change his denomination.'¹²⁸ This racism of white South African Pentecostals is in line with a Pentecostal tradition beginning in America shortly after the racially integrated beginnings at Azusa Street, Los Angeles, in 1906. In 1914 the Assemblies of God were formed, and they developed into almost purely white denominations; other Pentecostal denominations were either black or white; the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America, an organisation set up by American Pentecostal churches in 1948, was exclusively white until 1965.¹²⁹ In all cases white Pentecostal churches tried to sever their historical roots in black spirituality and turned to racism.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the first reaction of African Christians in Africa was the separation from white missionary churches and to form the so called "Ethiopian Churches". The name was chosen because it boosted African self-

confidence in a double way: it was a reminder of the fact that there was an African church which was pre- colonial and as old as any European church, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and it also commemorated the victory of the Ethiopian Imperial Forces over the Italian Army in 1896, which was the first victory of an African over a European army in modern time. The Ethiopian churches were an integral part of the African anti- colonial movement, and several African leaders were affiliated to them, as e.g. the Zambian leader and President Kenneth Kaunda.¹³⁰ In forms of worship and theology, however, many of the Ethiopian churches remained mirrors of their European or American mother churches.

The Pentecostal Zionist type of churches, and this includes here many of the prophetic churches like the Prophet Harris movement, or the Aladura churches of West- Africa, developed in a slightly different way. They have very often been much less politically orientated. Many of their members are members of a mainline church, too. They are nevertheless a reaction to racism as well. The Belgium authorities of the Congo realised this subversive factor of indigenous Christianity, when they imprisoned the prophet Kimbangu for the rest of his life. Instead of the uprising against imperialism and racism, they chose the inner exodus. Cox reports: 'So thoroughly did these indigenous prophets identify with the Israelites that when the colonial government outlawed them, some tried to gain entrance to the new state of Israel.'¹³¹ The exodus motif is another point these churches share with their Afro- American siblings. Cheryl Sanders calls her book on Afro- American Pentecostalism "Saints in Exile", and writes in her conclusion:

The worship and music of the Sanctified Churches embody a host of ethical responses to the exilic existence imposed on African Americans as a consequence of white racism, both in the church and outside it. The genius of this embodied ethics is that it promotes racial reconciliation without obliterating racial identity.¹³²

On a political level a similar effect can be observed by looking at the South African peace and reconciliation process. A liberated South Africa has integrated western values of justice with African values of the healing process of a fragmented society and transcended both by trying to achieve justice where necessary and reconciliation where possible. Christians in the independent churches have succeeded in finding their own religious as well as national identity by integrating the Christian faith which was imported from Europe and America and so often used as a means of

political suppression, with their own religious heritage without falling into another form of racism or even antagonism towards their suppressers.

For the European white churches, however, the AICs are very often not any more but sects in the derogative theological sense. The Anglican bishop Desmond Tutu describes in a self- critical way the attitude of many mainstream churches:

I remember so very well how we in the so- called "mainline" churches looked down disdainfully at the odd phenomenon called independent or indigenous churches. After all were their ministers not nearly all of them illiterate persons heading up churches (often no more than fragmentary minute congregations) with usually rather prosperous names and what was this odd mix of clearly pagan beliefs and practices which so obviously condemned them all as syncretistic - the ultimate heresy we had been led to believe? And they were not even churches, but mere sects at best with hardly any decent theology between them all.¹³³

This defiant attitude of the mainline churches can be regarded as part of the defence of the white monopoly and supremacy in Africa. The indigenous churches, especially when they integrated local healing practices, broke down the order, which from a white missionary point of view, who regarded local culture as illiterate, pagan, superstitious, "inferior" and on the long view unsustainable, and therefore seemed to be in need of "superior" white knowledge, medical care, technology and a "rational" faith. This simplistic view of "barbaric primitivism" breaks down with the existence of AICs, which combine Christian faith, which is conceived as a "Western property" by the representatives of Western culture, with indigenous culture. Their very existence expose the racism of the prevalent western view of what Christianity ought to be like. As a consequence they have got to be treated with contempt, as new representatives of the old, pagan world and culture which eventually will have to make place for western technological progress and conceptual thinking. This attitude has been prevalent not only amongst the theologians, but also amongst academic scholars of other disciplines. The earlier mentioned scholar of religious studies, Ernst Dammann, had clear words in store for the political idea of Christ of some African liberation movements when he wrote his essay in the sixties; for him it was a perverted idea of Christ.¹³⁴ The threat of AICs to Western dominance is also visible in the barbaric treatment which some absolutely peaceful prophets suffered. Simon Kimbangu was imprisoned by the Belgium colonial government of the Congo for thirty years until he died in prison in 1951.¹³⁵ Today the Kimbangist Church, which reveres Simon Kimbangu as the

incarnation of the Holy Spirit, is one of the largest African churches and the first AIC which became a member of the World Council of Churches at Geneva.

An eminent representative of the "mainline churches", Bishop Desmond Tutu, describes what this attitude of the Western churches did to their African members:

But even more profoundly, most African members of the mainline churches discovered that they were all suffering from a strange schizophrenia. They were expected to be "circumcised" into occidental persons in the manner of their worship, their beliefs, their theology before they could be integrated into their church community. They had to deny their African-ness to become genuine Christians. Their African *Weltanschauung* was denigrated and virtually all things African were condemned as pagan and to be destroyed root and branch. They even had to adopt so-called Christian names at baptism because their beautiful African names (such as Thamsanga = blessing; Mpho = gift; Thandeka = loveable; Palesa = flower) were considered heathen. Most of us accepted this cerebrally but our psyches were being damaged with African Christians finding they were shuttling back and forth between two worlds; during the day being respectable western-type Christians and at night consulting traditional doctors and slaughtering to the ancestors under the euphemisms of a "party".¹³⁶

So the AICs emerged as an expression of genuine African culture, integrating Christian faith into local structures, practices, and beliefs. This process could not be stopped by the resistance of the European mainline churches, to the contrary, their resistance confirmed African determination to express its own culture within the new faith. The newly found balance transcends both, European Christianity, and traditional African culture to a new form of truly indigenous African Christianity, certainly more religiously vibrant, more powerful, faster growing and spiritually stronger than most of the traditional churches. Being taught a gospel of morals many were prepared to accept the biblical narrative; realising that their missionaries themselves were not up to the moral standards they set, they transformed the moral gospel of the whites into a living religion which is healing for the community and the individual.

3.3.4. Conclusion

African Indigenous Churches originally developed independently from the rest of world-wide Pentecostalism. Its phenomenological similarities to western Pentecostalism is evidence by the black roots of the latter. Both in America and Africa its origins are liberating for oppressed black peoples. With the world-wide Pentecostal and Charismatic movements African culture has shaped to the most powerful form of Christian spirituality of our age.

In Africa, the AICs have developed as a reaction to white colonialism. They have inculturated Christianity into African culture by accepting the message of the Bible and applying it to their own world. Thus Christianity has been transformed from a dogmatic, moralistic, impersonal, and ritualistic expression of European culture into a religion which heals individual as well as community ills, which expresses itself in joy, honours ancestors and tradition, and exposes the non-Christian attitude of white supremacy thinking. AICs are another example of churches not being churches for the poor, as the liberal, less racist European churches tend to be, but the churches of the poor.

It could be argued that we have not paid enough attention to I.M. Lewis hypothesis that the ecstatic vigour of AICs was a result of ongoing neglect by the mainline churches.¹³⁷ On the one hand this has been indirectly dealt with by explaining the opposition of AICs towards the mainline churches and white oppression. On the other hand Lewis' hypothesis on its own is too neat an explanation. The observation that ecstatic movements which become respectable tend to institutionalise is common place at least since Ernst Troeltsch. I.M. Lewis' book is very interesting as a description of the phenomenon as such, as it appears in all religions and world wide. It is certainly not refuted by our thesis, but it falls short when we are specifically interested in Christian ecstatic phenomena. Why have the Zionists or the Aladura not gone back to non-Christian beliefs as other Africans described by Lewis?¹³⁸ Why have they transformed and transcended both their own heritage and Christianity to a new indigenous Christianity? This, we think, is the really important achievement of AICs, to do with a newly important religion what the early Fathers, like Origen, Irenaeus or Justin did with the new teaching of a Jewish sect from Galilee: to take the religious value of the new faith, its truth and spirituality, and to transform it into a meaningful narrative which is worth living with and even dying for. This is what the old martyrs did, facing a society which could not stand being questioned in that way. This is what the African witnesses have done, Simon Kimbangu and the Prophet Harris, and Pastor Chikane in our day, facing a white Christianity which cannot afford to be faced with its bias for white rule, money and power and whose spiritual strength and value is more than questionable.

3.4. The Holy Mountain - Charismatic Protestantism in South Korea

From a purely numerical point of view, the growth of Protestantism in Korea is most impressive. The first Protestant missionary arrived at the "Hermit Kingdom" in 1884. A hundred years later there are over ten million Protestants in Korea, 25% of the population, and thus Protestantism is in numbers the largest religion in Korea,¹³⁹ the majority of whom are Pentecostals. The largest single church congregation in the world is that of the the Yoido Full Gospel Church in Seoul, led by its founder, the Reverend David Yonggi Cho; it started with five members in 1958 and has reached 800, 000 members in 1994;¹⁴⁰ the million might well be reached by now. However, it is not only numbers which impress. Protestantism, not only, but largely in its Pentecostal form, has become part of Korean culture alongside Shamanism, Buddhism and Confucianism, so much that Korea can be called the only Protestant Asian nation. How has this development been possible? There are a few keys to answer this question which are all to a certain degree relevant to this thesis:

1. The "Nevius" principle enabled the Korean church almost from its beginnings to be a Korean church and not a foreign mission church with Korean converts.
2. The sad and difficult history of Korea gave Christian fundamentalists the role of the saviours of the dignity of a nation by being martyred for their faith.
3. Korean Pentecostalism has integrated local shamanic traditions in an unparalleled way.
4. "Minjung" theology has prepared the theoretical way for a real Christian folk religion.

3.4.1. The Three "Selves" of the Nevius Principle

When Protestant missionaries came over from America to Korea, they not only arrived in a politically and culturally unstable country, but they also brought with them a surprisingly simple and efficient plan: the Nevius principle, which a missionary called Nevius had designed for his mission in China, which had had failed. Korea was the first time these principles were applied successfully. One of the Protestant pioneers in Korea, Underwood, writes on that method:

After careful and prayerful consideration we were led in the main to adopt the "Nevius Method". First, to let each man "abide in the calling wherein he was found", teaching that each man was to be an individual worker for Christ, and to live Christ in his own neighbourhood, supporting himself by his trade; Second, to develop church methods and machinery only so far as the native Church was able to take care of and manage the same; Third, as far as the church itself was able to provide the men and the means, to set aside those who seemed the better qualified, to do evangelistic work among their neighbours; Fourth, to let the natives provide their own church buildings, which were to be native in architecture, and of such style as the local church could afford to put up.¹⁴¹

The Nevius principles advocate three main points regarding the new mission church: "self- support", "self- government", and "self- propagation".¹⁴² The problem in many mission churches has always been that rich churches from Europe or America found a new church by paying for an impressive church building, probably well staffed with white personal, who can provide a huge economic advantage compared to any "native" and thus quickly make converts who are seeking to profit from their conversion to the new rich institution. They are normally governed by staff from the mother church and very often their propaganda material is produced at the head quarter of the foreign missionary society. This strategy can produce good "instant success", but in the long run it has problems. As soon as the funds from the missionary society cease to produce wealth or any advantage to the rest of the population, its popularity is in danger of dramatically decreasing. The missionaries of Korea successfully tried to avoid these mistakes right from the start. The Korean theologian Yoo remarks:

The adoption of this policy resulted in a more than usually single minded effort to build up an indigenous church from the beginning. The development of the church was to a large extent spontaneous and was not due to insistence of any foreign mission programme.¹⁴³

On the contrary, the growth of the newly founded church is harmonious and natural if it happens according to the Nevius principle. Yoo describes its dynamics:

In accordance with these new ideas the local group of Christians was encouraged to meet in the first place in the home of one of its members, and when the accomodation became too small, the group erected, at its own expense, an unpretentious church building which could be enlarged as required. The best equipped member of the group was constituted its spiritual leader. He was not paid and in scholarship was often hardly more advanced than the other members. This led to emphasis being placed on Bible Study Classes for the members of the group, and the missionary gave special attention to the teaching of leaders. [...] The method was completely elastic. The growth of the church was not limited by the amount of foreign money available. Activities were confined to natural indigenous lines of growth. Success was achieved wherever the method was rigidly adhered to.¹⁴⁴

The missionaries who worked with the Nevius principle were most certainly no liberal multiculturalists. On the contrary, they arrived in Korea with the quite clear idea of converting heathens who would, in their view, otherwise be lost, to the gospel of Christ as they understood it according to their American Protestant tradition. One of the first missionaries in Korea, the American Methodist Harry G. Appenzeller, described his own mission in the following way:

We go to heathen countries not so much to get 100 or 200 converted - glad as we are for that - as to point them unto Jesus, great captain of our salvation. To tell them that the prince of this world is judged and cast out. Heathenism looks back and down for help. We look up and out. Lo, our leader from the skies waves and before us the glorious prize. The prize of victory.¹⁴⁵

As the missionaries arrived, however, they arrived in a country which was politically and culturally in a crisis. The "Hermit Kingdom" had just been forced by the Western powers to open up its borders to foreign influence. For centuries Korea had been culturally and politically oriented at China who herself came under severe pressure from the West at the end of the nineteenth century. But the trouble came not only from the inside; the Yi dynasty which had ruled the country since 1392 A.D., had developed into a corrupt oligarchy of the Confucian nobility. Yoo writes: 'The government was little more than an exploiting machine honeycombed with intrigue.'¹⁴⁶ In this situation America put pressure on the government and reached a trade treaty in 1876 and entered diplomatic relationships with Korea in 1882.¹⁴⁷ The old ways in Korea were crumbling. The court and ruling classes were corrupt, with them Confucianism fell into disregard, and China was not strong enough to protect her foster child Korea any longer. New religious movements gained strength: *Chundokyo* (the teaching of the heavenly way), also known as *Tonghak* (Eastern Learning) was a deliberate attempt to reform the country spiritually by combining elements of all religions practised in Korea and gained considerable influence in the lower classes, enough to lead a rebellion against corruption in 1894 and an important part in the Independent Movement against Japan in 1919.¹⁴⁸ In this situation Western culture, represented by a strong self confident American nation, seemed to be superior. Even Appenzeller realised self critically to a certain point the cultural responsibility of the missionaries:

We Americans must give the Gospel to Korea. Our diplomacy opened her doors, and tempted her into the world's market- place, introducing likewise modern debts, diseases, and disorders, social and political; and we should be first to heal and bless, with the blessing wherewith we ourselves have been blessed of God.¹⁴⁹

In this situation an American import like Protestantism was easy enough to implant by a method as ingenious as the Nevius principles.

3.4.2. Korean Protestantism and Korean Nationalism

When the American missionaries appeared in Korea, they worked with the Nevius method which enabled the new religion to take on a Korean face very early on. Nevertheless, the missionaries and consequently the first Korean Christians and church leaders, were not able to see Korean culture and Christianity as a unity - for them there was an either- or option: one either opted for Christianity or for Korean culture which to the missionaries was a more (Confucianism) or less (Shamanism) sublime expression of "heathenism". And in spite of the Nevius principles the relationship between the missionaries and their new flock was not always easy. Yoo writes:

Because of the difference of background, point of views, and mental outlook, it had been difficult for the two parties to understand and to appreciate each other lives. The missionaries generally took a superior attitude toward the Korean and felt they were different from them. On the other hand, the Koreans believed the missionaries were not only their teachers but also superior in wisdom and spiritual capacity.¹⁵⁰

Only the sharing of deep spiritual experiences of missionaries and Korean Christians could replace these mutual feelings of separateness with the experience of common fellowship. Only the brave and martyrious involvement of Korean Christians in the various political movements could gain them not only a place of honour in national history but also inclusion into the national identity.

In 1895 Japan defeated China in Korea and made an end to the traditional Chinese cultural and political leadership to Korea. In 1905 Russia lost the Russo-Japanese war and this meant an end of the Russian protection of the corrupt monarchy in Korea. A thus weakened Korea had to cope with cultural and economic influence from the West, but the tribulations of the country had not reached their climax. In 1930 Japan began to "Japanize" Korea by incredibly cruel means. Yoo remarks on this age in Korean history:

After the 1930s, Koreans entered a "Dark Age". With their freedom restricted and under an imposed totalitarian military imperialism, they were robbed of everything they possessed. Materials, buildings, and facilities were confiscated. All available male or female workers were sent to war camps, and young Korean men were placed in Japan's front lines. Under the Japanization program, Shinto shrine worship was imposed, Korean family names were changed, the Korean language was suppressed, and the Korean identity was obliterated. The Korean spirit had been raped. The Japanization of Korea and the war effort directly affected every sphere of life in the Korean church. Of those days of despair a Korean poet wrote, "Even the sun lost its light; every thing sows the seed of sorrow".¹⁵¹

Under those difficult circumstances Christianity started to grow in Korea. The majority of Christian converts were working class people, due not only to the fact that the Korean Bible translation was free of Sinoisms and published in the easy to read Korean letters, which were regarded as low standard letters by the educated classes, who preferred the Chinese alphabet.¹⁵² Whereas the Korean elite was mainly Confucian, the working class people had a more shamanistic religious background, so when they converted to Christianity, 'their new faith developed the dimension either of popular enthusiasm or of quietistic withdrawnness. Often these coalesced.'¹⁵³ Among these people, newly united under the umbrella of a new faith, economically in need, culturally in despair, and politically oppressed, an enthusiastic religious awakening was bound to come.

Already in 1907 Korean Christianity had been positively shaken by what Yoo calls the "First Pentecostal Movement" - we would rather use the term "First Revival".¹⁵⁴ This revival, which affected missionaries and Koreans alike, narrowed the gap significantly between the missionaries and the Korean Christians. The American missionaries now learned to appreciate that Koreans were not spiritually inferior to Americans. One missionary wrote about what the revival had taught him:

Until this year (1907) I was more or less bound by that contemptible notion that the East is East, and West, West, and that there can be no real affinity or common meeting ground between them. With others I had said the Korean would never have a religious experience such as the West has. These revivals have taught me two things: First, that though there may be a thousand things, on the surface, that are direct opposite to the West, the Korean is at heart, and in all fundamental things, at one with his brother of the West ... In the second place these revivals have taught me, that in the matter of making all life religious, in prayer, and in a simple, childlike trust, the East not only has many things, but profound things, to teach the West, and until we learn these things, we will not know the full- absorbed Gospel of Christ.¹⁵⁵

On the other hand the fact that not only Korean Christians were captured by the emotional raptures of the revival but the missionaries shared these raptures of guilt confession with the Koreans also "humanised" the missionaries in the eyes of the Koreans.¹⁵⁶ Thus a new fellowship between the Christians developed and great evangelistic efforts became possible.

When the Japanese pressure on Korea increased in the 1930s, the growing church characterised by an anti- intellectual and emotional faith, gave birth to a mystical, but nationalistic type of Pentecostalism. It equals the sufferings of the Korean nation with the sufferings of Christ and thus becomes an intellectual way of resistance to Japanese oppression. Yi Yong- do (born in 1901), one of the early Korean Pentecostal leaders, wrote:

We, a powerless nation, became the slaves of a world power and are carrying our cross. Speechlessly, we look up to Thee, beaten for our sake. Pagan rulers put a crown of thorns on our head and force us to lie down on the bed of nails that is social discrimination.¹⁵⁷

In this period the first genuine Pentecostal phenomena appeared. In 1932 the movement of Han Chung- myung 'claimed to have the power of prophecy through the Spirit.'¹⁵⁸ Yi Yong- do sympathised with that movement and was consequently excommunicated from the mainstream churches.¹⁵⁹ Thus his movement became the first Christian movement which was independent from the missionary churches on the one hand and which identified the suffering of the Korean nation with that of Jesus on the other hand.

In the same period Chai Tae- yong founded the Korean Gospel Church, another body independent of the missionary churches. His original background was the nationalistic religious *Tonghak* movement, and he was also influenced by Japanese mysticism.¹⁶⁰ Being strongly dualistic, his "Spiritualistic Christianity" 'had as its ultimate objective the deification of man within a pattern of recapitulation. This deification was achieved through the help of the Holy Spirit.'¹⁶¹ From his dualistic perspective he can write:

Natural man, as he is born, has no life, for he is born from below, from flesh, and in captivity to the darkness of the world. He exists wholly in separation from the world above, the world of life, light, and truth. Jesus Christ is the redeemer who brings life, light, and truth to man from the world above.¹⁶²

After accepting Christ, the deification process of man can go on:

As Christ and I become one in death, I become completely one life in Christ by faith... In faith, surrendering myself to Christ, I become part of Christ, and Christ becomes part of me. Now the power of Christ becomes my power and the glory of Christ becomes my own glory.¹⁶³

In his spiritual Christianity Chai can go so far and reject the doctrine that God revealed himself in Christ once and for all, and he argues that the Christian must be freed from the bible to live in a living relationship with the Spirit.¹⁶⁴

These and other men interpreted Christianity from a truly Korean perspective. This and the fact that Christians truly suffered the fate of the Koreans with the rest of the people, helped Pentecostal Christianity to become a truly Korean religion. Yoo remarks:

For many Koreans, their faith was born out of misery, despair and tragedy. We cannot underestimate the influence of the "new hope" being born out of these conditions and the very real human expectation that hopes could be achieved through the power of the Pentecostal movement.¹⁶⁵

3.4.3. Korean Pentecostalism - Shamanism in a Christian Dress?

The Japanese scholar of Religious Studies, Kyoto Fuchigami, who to my knowledge is not of Christian faith, points out two reasons for the remarkable growth of some Pentecostal churches in Seoul, one of them being the concentration of population. However, the main reason for him is another fact: "The more immediate cause [...] is the healing activity of Korea's Christian ministers, healing activity that incorporates indigenous shamanistic practices and is based on the exorcism of malevolent spirits."¹⁶⁶ He describes the divine- healing methods, often combined with exorcism methods, of the Yoido Full Gospel Church, and he observes: "These are methods of healing sickness through the blessings of Jesus, and are conducted in the form of *bu- heung- hoe* (...), or "revival meetings",¹⁶⁷ which he calls 'shamanistic religious services peculiar to the Korean Christian churches, held for the purpose of physically experiencing the direct workings of the Holy Spirit and the grace (*une*) of God."¹⁶⁸ A lot of these healings are performed on a holy mountain which has always

been sacred to all the Korean religions, and where they all have their retreat houses, temples and holy sites.¹⁶⁹

While Fuchigami does not seem to be aware of the similar practice of exorcism in Charismatic Churches of the Western world, it is nevertheless interesting how obvious the spirituality of the Charismatic churches in Korea seem to him to be connected to the shamanistic tradition of this country. In this he is not alone; Yoo, a Christian theologian, agrees with him by stating:

Two factors should be noted, however. First, the believes of Shamanism have enabled Koreans to comprehend more easily the references in Christianity to the idea of God, to evil in the world, to heaven and hell, and to benevolent and evil spirits. Second, the above characteristics, developed through belief in Shamanism, greatly affected Korean appropriation and expression of Christianity, through revival and Pentecostal enthusiasm and other- worldly orientation. [...] In my understanding, the Pentecostal church has a structure and worldview very similar to Shamanism.¹⁷⁰

However, in order to apprehend more fully what we are talking about when we compare Korean Pentecostalism to shamanism, let us have a closer look at Fuchigami's description of a service of exorcism by the Reverend K. of Church S., the largest Baptist church at Korea. Fuchigami first describes the ideology of the church and the atmosphere of the service:

In the ceremony conducted by Reverend K. and his assistants, a religious atmosphere is present, but there is an added mood of slight but ostentatious terror. According to one of Reverend K.'s writings, "The Theory of the Existence of Malevolent Spirits", this world is subject to the mischief of evil and malevolent spirits, and Jesus appeared in order to do battle with them. In the end Jesus will win, but until that time comes this world is a fierce battleground requiring combat on the part of the faithful.¹⁷¹

Later he goes on:

During the worship service a lecture is given to prepare people for Reverend K.'s healing of sickness. They are told that illness is caused by the entry of a malevolent spirit into a person's body. Therefore curing a sickness involves driving out the malevolent spirit. Malevolent spirits are the souls of people who died without faith in Jesus Christ.¹⁷²

He continues:

Reverend K. then commands those assembled to recite the prayer in which they abuse the malevolent spirits that have entered them and order them to get out. The faithful lower their heads and for several minutes pray fervently. From all sections of the hall are heard the sounds of malevolent spirits being rubbed out with cries of "You damned spirit!"

Suddenly Reverend K. screams towards the assembled congregation: "Halleluja!" At signals from him, the whole congregation chants three times in unison: "O Jesus!" "O Jesus!" "O Jesus!" and plunges into the "shouted prayer" described earlier. The hall becomes a scene of tumult; Reverend K., like a man gone berserk, shouts over and over: "Your prayer has to be perfect! Say the prayer perfectly!" Background music fills the hall with the hymn "Jesus shed his blood on the cross". When those of the faithful possessed of evil spirits are beginning to be filled by the spirit God as a result of the "shouted prayer", S Church's ministers and several of their assistants make an appearance in the hall and go round, pressing with the palms of their hands on the heads of the possessed - by now brought to a state of trance by the "shouted prayer" - and reciting the laying-on-of-hands prayer for driving out malevolent spirits.

When laying on of hands is finished and the prayer ended, Reverend K. shouts "Everyone stand!" and makes all the possessed rise to their feet. Pointing at one of those standing, he shouts: "Malevolent spirit! Go! Go back, wretch, to where you came from! Vanish from our presence!" And the person falls backward. He goes on repeating this to one individual at a time, all of whom fall backwards when his shouted commands to the malevolent spirit are finished. One old woman who falls over backward is led forward, and she is exorcised in front of the whole assembly.¹⁷³

The course of this individual exorcism we will quote in detail:

Rev. K.: Malevolent spirit, are you a woman, or man?

Spirit: Woman.

Rev. K.: Who are you?

Spirit: I won't tell you.

Rev. K.: How many years have you possessed this woman?

Spirit: Five years have passed.

Rev. K.: How old were you when you died?

Spirit: Thirty.

Rev. K.: Your name?

Spirit: (gives a specific woman's name)

Rev. K.: What is your connection with this woman here?

Spirit: We are relatives.

Rev. K.: Do you know of anyone who died even though he believed in Jesus?

Spirit: I don't know of anyone who believed in Jesus yet died. I know of many who did not believe in Jesus and died.

Rev. K.: What sickness have you brought?

Spirit: I brought neuralgia. I wanted to fix her, but good, I tried to do her in. And then I was driven out.

Rev. K.: From what sickness did you die?

Spirit: I died of epilepsy. I guess it can't be helped. I'll have to leave. I just thought I might get a free meal; how do I go about getting a free meal at the church? Damn it all. I can't win against you. I can't win against the force of clear truth.

Rev. K.: Filthy spirit! Are you going, or not?

Spirit: I'm going, I'm going.

Rev. K.: Are you going to come back, or not?

Spirit: I'm going for good.

Rev. K.: (placing his hand on the head of the possessed person) I pray in the name of Jesus. Amen!¹⁷⁴

What is typical for shamanism in this described session of exorcism? Although the shamanic rites in Korea differ, we will describe one particular shamanic séance to have a point of comparison to the above scene.

Seong-Nae Kim describes a shamanic exorcism on Cheju island, which is situated in the South of the Korean peninsula and inhabited by a fairly traditional society.¹⁷⁵ Sunho, a young woman of twenty one years who works at a factory at Seoul, has witnessed how a colleague was killed by an accident in the factory, since then she has been possessed by *toch'aebi*, a deity of ambiguous character who needs to be exorcised.¹⁷⁶

The exorcism rite takes four days to be done.¹⁷⁷ It is a dance, *seouje sori*, chanted by the shaman (*simbang*) and danced by the patient.

If the singer *simbang* starts to chant *seouje sori* while beating the hourglass drum, the assistant *simbangs* sitting behind him sing the refrain (*uh ya uh young uh ya*) in imitation of the sound of a boat being rowed. The refrain always follows every rhythmic sequence of 4:4 syllables. [...] The first *seouje sori* starts as follows:

Uhgi yocha, let us play together and let our hearts melt to the sound of rowing.
Uh ya uh young uh ya!
Let us play to the rhythm of *seouje*.
Uh ya uh young uh ya!
Pitiful maiden, 21- year old! Let us play here together, O pitiful maiden.
(Sunho appears on the dancing floor.)¹⁷⁸

The *toch'aebi* is awakened once the patient starts dancing. As soon as this is the case, the *seouje sori* develops into a dialogue between the patient and *toch'aebi*:

Sorrowful maiden, O miserable maiden.
Due to a kind heart, [you] are possessed.
Due to a good appearance, [you] are possessed.
You are a bachelor, I am a maiden.

Do you intend to live together for over hundred years?
[You] are deeply penetrated to the bones and flesh.
[You] split [my[*sic!*] fine black braids into each individual hair.
Genuinely steadfast by[*sic!*] heart is completely divided into pieces.

Where is it gone, my mind? Where is it gone, my mind? Did it go to the deep mountain?
O grievous maiden, was there no sun or moon when you were born?
Come here and play, O sorrowful child! Let us play until the night is over.¹⁷⁹

As the dialogue shows, the relationship of the young woman and the god is that of a romance. The goal of the rites is to terminate that romance. The rupture point is the interrogation of the possessing agent by the shaman:

Simbang: Come up here! Tell me the reason why you are dancing. Quickly! Why are you dancing if you have your own mind? (The patient begins to cry.) The boat is waiting for you now. (Striking her back with the branch of a willow tree) What is the reason?

Patient:

Simbang: Look at this! You are again going to play wicked, aren't you?

Patient: I danced simply to get cured (barely audible).

Simbang: Why did you try to get cured? How can your dancing help the cure? Where and why?

Patient: At Majangdong in Seoul.

Simbang: Majangdong, Seoul. And where?

Patient: My soul was lost in the bathroom. I also saw the dead person.

Simbang: Um, you mean the dead person. Then is that seen in dream or not? Isn't there anything else?

Patient: I keep thinking of the dead father.

Simbang: Anyway, is that *kwisin* going to leave or not?

Patient: It will go away.

Simbang: When? Tomorrow or the day after tomorrow?

Patient: Today.¹⁸⁰

Eventually the *toch'aebi* is being persuaded to leave for paradise.¹⁸¹ A farewell song is offered:

Let us stop living together and depart now forever.

Let us play in order to let out the mounted-up resentments of the twenty-one year old.¹⁸²

How can the two cases be compared?

Both cases are cases of exorcism, first of an old lady, then of a young girl. In both cases the state of possession implies that the victim's well-being is being affected. In both cases the possessing agent has got to be persuaded to leave his victim. In both cases some form of dialogue takes place, either between the possessing agent and the possessed person or between the possessing agent and the exorciser or between the exorciser and the possessed person. In both cases deceased people are mentioned in connection with the possession: the accidentally killed and the grandfather in the latter case, the deceased relative in the former case. In both cases the exorcism takes place in public.

However, there are important differences becoming apparent in our two examples. Whereas in the Christian exorcism, the possessing spirit is a "filthy spirit", an entirely evil entity, the god who possesses the young lady in the second example is amoral. He is a lover who must be persuaded to abandon his victim. However, not only must he be persuaded, but she herself is responsible for the severing of romantic ties to the god who causes her troubles. At the rupture point of the romance she is being interrogated by the shaman, and it is she who must pronounce that the spirit will go

away. In the Christian exorcism the exorciser is talking only to the evil spirit. This spirit talks through the mouth of her victim, but the victim as such is not being addressed, only in the preparation phase of the actual exorcism the victims are asked to pray. Fuchigami remarks on the Christian exorcism:

One never saw the minister action as a mediator to bring about a reconciliation between the malevolent spirit and the possessed victim; the impression was that the malevolent spirits left the persons just because they were afraid of the minister. One received the impression that the exorcism by the minister was unexpectedly over all too soon, and something that would be required only on that one occasion.¹⁸³

This is certainly different to the shamanic exorcism, where the possessing agent has got to be persuaded to leave for a paradise which is more attractive to him than the girl he is holding possessed.

Can this enthusiastic form of Korean Christianity be called shamanic? Not directly. We believe, the Christian exorcism rites are too dualistic in their worldview to be called shamanic. Daniel J. Adams rightly quotes a Korean scholar called Ro saying, 'a shaman is able to go beyond the boundaries of the duality and to make a harmonious relationship between the conflicting two worlds.'¹⁸⁴ It must also be noted that Charismatic exorcism in Korean churches is phenomenologically not fundamentally different to exorcism rites in Charismatic churches of America, which are not called shamanic so readily. However, the shamanic heritage of Korea certainly has influenced the dramatic growth of Charismatic Christianity in this country. It is again Daniel J. Adams, who remarks:

The significance of shamanism for Church growth is twofold. To begin with, a number of shamanic practices have been carried over into Christian faith and practice. These include all- night prayer meetings; the establishment of prayer retreat houses in the mountains; the practice of exorcism in cases of emotional, mental, and severe physical illness; and the expression of intense emotional states while praying.¹⁸⁵

Adams points to another important relationship between shamanism and the Charismatic exorcisms: the role of women. He writes:

Women were excluded from the Neo- Confucian ancestral rites, for Neo- Confucianism was male- centered and women had very little direct control over their lives. Through shamanism women had their emotional and religious needs met, and through shamanism they carved out a niche for themselves in society where they could have some degree of control over their own lives. When Protestant Christianity was introduced into Korea it made a place in the Church for women, but the leadership positions and the power remained firmly in male hands. The women thus transferred their

shamanistic practices into the Church to ensure themselves a continuing position in this new structure.¹⁸⁶

Laurel Kendall refutes exactly that role of shamanism in her book *Shamans, Housewives, and Other Restless Spirits*.¹⁸⁷ In her opinion shamanism is not merely a peripheral cult, used as a strategy in a male dominated society (contrary to I.M. Lewis' argument). Accordingly she answers her own question:

Are the rituals and the women who perform them also peripheral to Korean society? I shall argue the contrary position, that the gods and ghosts of the Chon family *kut* are integral components of Korean family and village religion. Within this religious system, women and shamans perform essential ritual tasks that complement men's ritual tasks.¹⁸⁸

This argument can be questioned by the notion that shamanism in Korea is not a socially acceptable religion. Fuchigami observes:

Shamanism, looked upon till recently as socially contemptible, is being reappraised as traditional Korean culture, and there is even a movement to place it at the source of the national identity of the Korean people. The contempt for shamanism still runs deep in the consciousness of people, however, and without the aura of cultural asset protection, scientific research, or nationalism, people still find it difficult to have anything to do with shamans.¹⁸⁹

He considers that the shamanistic Christian minister who, of course, denies to have anything to do with shamanism, makes the shamanistic tendencies of the people respectable. Fuchigami: "Those people who gave wide berth to shamans though possessing themselves a shamanistic mentality have been drawn to the shaman-like ministers, who offer a religious life that even educated people with high social position can participate in."¹⁹⁰ Thus the female, working class, non- respectable form of religion which has always been treated with contempt becomes male dominated, classless, and respectable.

Boo Woong Yoo points us to another similarity between shamanism and Charismatic worship: the this- worldliness and immediacy of prayer results. Yoo compares shamanism with the strategy of the leader of the giant "Yoido Full Gospel Church", Rev. Yonggi Cho:

First, his preaching philosophy is "Find need, and meet need." What do the majority of Korean people need and how can the Korean church meet those needs? Why do the Korean working class and particularly women go to the shaman? Because they need health, wealth, fertility and success in their life ventures. Rev. Cho's preaching meets those needs exactly.¹⁹¹

Indeed, a glance at one of Cho's sermons which are published on the internet daily, confirms exactly that. In his internet sermon of the 10th of February 1998, in the midst of the Asian economical crisis, Cho preaches:

Even though slanderers let Jesus die on the Cross, He resurrected. They thought if they killed Jesus by nailing Him on the Cross, preaching of the gospel would die down. However, Jesus resurrected three days after His death on the Cross and made the world full of the gospel by sending the Holy Spirit. Accordingly, even though the approaching test, distress and anguish try to destroy us in many phases of our lives, we can overcome them since we have received the power from Jesus.

Even though our country is currently facing the danger of being struck down, the reason we feel safe is because the precious Jesus is with us. Because precious Jesus is with us in a jar of clay „Korea“ through 50,000 churches, 100,000 servants of God and 12 million Christians, we were not destroyed though we had been struck down by the Korean War.

Also even though our country is at the verge of total ruin due to the current economic crisis, it will rise again for Jesus is in us. If Jesus is with us, we will never be destroyed even though we are struck down.

[...]

We have to ponder over how our country suddenly fell into this type of tragic circumstance, and kneel down, repent and confess before Jesus Christ who is in us. Jesus is our only pride, faith, true Spirit and hope. We have to rise up in the name of Jesus Christ and break the bondage of hard pressure from all sides in half. The fact that Jesus is in us means the source of power in us. What is in us is not religion, nor formality, nor ceremony. One who is in us is Jesus.[...]

If we trust Jesus with uncompromising faith, the amazing work of life overflows from Jesus who is in us. So the Lord destroys them [our enemies] all and gives us the final victory and glory.[...]

Jesus Christ, who is able to change our destiny and circumstances, stays in us.¹⁹²

Cho evokes the connection of Christianity and nationalism by alluding to the difficulties of the Korean war, but most importantly for us he connects faith in Jesus to the overcoming of the economical difficulties the people of Korea had to face when the sermon was published. There is no suggestion of expecting salvation from the present troubles in an afterlife, but it relies also in this life on "a source of power in us" which will help to gain "final victory and glory". Yoo, the Korean theologian, remarks: '[But] for most people religion begins with worldly concerns. For them the body is the medium of the spirit. Christian theology has to reckon with this bodily reality of the people's faith.'¹⁹³

We can conclude by confirming that the shamanic culture of Korea has helped ecstatic Christianity to have great significance in the religious scene of Korea.

However, it needs to be stated that Korean exorcism is not fundamentally different to American or British Charismatic exorcism. We therefore must be cautious to call the exorcist a shaman. This caution is even more necessary when we recall the differences of the shamanic and the Christian Charismatic world- view: whereas the shaman tries to reconcile his clients to the spirits, the Christian exorcist tries to expel the evil

demons from their victim in the name of Christ. Nevertheless, there are enough indicators to assume a close relationship between the strong ecstatic wing of Christianity in Korea and Korea's very old shamanic subculture. Religious ecstasy, for ever a common but embarrassing phenomenon in Korea, has become respectable. The spirits which could only be dealt with secretly can now be driven out publicly, and both, shamanism and Charismatic Christianity in Korea share concern for the present bad situation of the person, not only promising consolation in the afterlife, but an improved situation now through the power of their spirits. Alexandre Guillemoz remarks with the sadness and the sort of hostility of the anthropologist who realises that the object of his research has got to adapt to the circumstances of the present world:

Thus on its own terrain Korean shamanism has been, if not reduced to total silence, severely limited. This forced discretion contrasts sharply with the triumphant proselytizing of the members of certain Protestant sects who, with Bible in hand, shout their faith in the subway and on the city's main thoroughfares.¹⁹⁴

Maybe even in his own article shamanism is less quiet than he thinks.

3.4.4. *Minjung* - the Religion of the People

A presentation of the indigenised Korean Christianity would not be complete without mentioning *Minjung* Theology. At the Seventh General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Canberra, Australia, in 1991, which had been prepared under the headline "Come Holy Spirit, Renew Thy Whole Creation", the audience had just recovered from the theologically very sound and rather long paper by His Beatitude Partheneios III, Patriarch of Alexandria and all Africa. Suddenly the scene changed. A small Korean lady, Hyung Kyung Chung, Professor of Theology at a University in South Korea, entered the stage, with her a group of other women. Korean folk dance and Australian Aboriginal rituals were being performed. Chung started to evoke the spirits of the oppressed, the spirit of the rain forest, the spirit of water, earth and fire, and eventually the spirit of the liberator, Jesus Christ. With her almost shamanic performance, Chung split the audience. Many thought, it was time to leave the World Council of Churches for good when "idolatrous" acts like Chung's

could be performed there, others were enthusiastic for a new non- western form of Christianity.¹⁹⁵

Minjung is the Korean word for the poor and oppressed, the "people".¹⁹⁶

Christian theologians had discovered that their communication with the *minjung* was non existent. To overcome that blockage they started to live and work with the *minjung*. The *minjung* theologian David Kwang- Sun Suh writes:

In the process of participation in the struggles of the *Minjung*, the theologians themselves became *Minjung*. They were not only the story tellers of the *Minjung*; they identified themselves with the *Minjung*; they lived and worked with the *Minjung*; they were on the side of the *Minjung*; they went to prison together with the *Minjung*; and they became the *Minjung*.¹⁹⁷

This sounds similar to Latin American Liberation Theology, but its representatives deny that relationship. Yoo:

[The second thing] that a non- Korean needs to understand about *minjung* theology is its uniqueness. It is a Korean theology defined by the culture and history of Korea. Although its identity is shaped by its commitment to the poor (as it is true of other Third World liberation theologies), *minjung* theology is not identical with black, Latin, African, or even Asian theologies.¹⁹⁸

Yet we can detect similar problems as we found with other liberation theologies - the "people's religion", made for the "people" by middle class academics, when we read the following self- reflection of Suh:

The *Minjung* theology of the 1970 was a theology on behalf of the *Minjung*, and perhaps it was also a theology for the *Minjung*. But the *Minjung* church movement of the 1980s tried to make *Minjung* of the *Minjung*, or a theology by the *Minjung*. It was not merely a dissemination of *Minjung* theology among the *Minjung*; it was an effort to nurture a theological consciousness among the *Minjung* themselves and to return the ownership of theology to them.¹⁹⁹

In their efforts to become the theology of the people, *minjung* theologians tried to integrate Korean folk religion. One of the most controversial passages of Chung's presentation at Canberra runs as follows:

In my tradition people who were killed or died became wandering spirits, the Han- ridden spirits. They are all over the place seeking the chance to make the wrong right. Therefore the living people's responsibility is to listen to the voices of the Han- ridden spirits and to participate in the spirits' work of making wrong right. These Han ridden spirits in our people's history have been agents through whom the Holy Spirit has spoken her compassion and wisdom for life. Without hearing the cries of these spirits, we cannot hear the voice of the Holy Spirit. I hope the presence of all our ancestors' spirits here with us shall not make you uncomfortable. For us they are the icons of the Holy Spirit who became tangible and visible to us. Because of them we can feel, touch and taste the concrete bodily historical presence of the Holy Spirit in our midst.²⁰⁰

Thus *minjung* theology tries to integrate the people's tradition in its system. However, even a man as sympathetic towards *minjung* as Yoo cannot help making a similar criticism to that which has been made towards other liberation theologies:

There are a number of problems with *minjung* theology. From the viewpoint of their social status, educational background or economic status, the *minjung* theologians can hardly count themselves among *minjung*. But then what is their role in *minjung*'s struggles for their own liberation? Clearly they do not want to see their role just as that of an objective observer who pedantically interprets the *missio dei* in the struggles of *minjung*. So, they talk about their participation in the struggles themselves or about their role of observing, describing, criticizing and systematizing the *minjung* movement and even teaching, correcting or redirecting it. Here, in spite of all their insistence that *minjung* are not the object of some elites' or even Jesus' consciousness raising efforts, but the subjects of their own struggles, the secret elitism of *minjung* theologians is clearly visible. *Minjung* theology is, therefore, not quite a theology of *minjung-ochlos* but a non-*minjung* elites' theology for *minjung*.²⁰¹

Thus while *minjung* theology has enabled Korean Protestantism to integrate in Korean folk religion theoretically and consciously, Korean Pentecostalism has done the same thing in practice. The same observation which we made in Latin America and Africa can be made in Korea: Liberation theology is well intended theology for the poor; Pentecostalism is the theology of the poor. Yoo calls the Pentecostals in Korea the Pentecostal *minjung*, the "crusades" which allowed 'all participants, poor and rich, educated and uneducated, men and women, urban workers and rural farmers experience a sense of equality and unity.'²⁰² The Pentecostal *minjung* is experienced liberating religion, and it is deeply immersed in Korean culture. Asking the question about the success of the Pentecostal *minjung*, Yoo gives two answers himself: '[T]he pentecostal *minjung* in Korea really hopes for a release from *Han* by the Holy Spirit and that is why they come to prayer and to the desire to receive the Holy Spirit [sic!].'²⁰³ A little further on he remarks: 'In Shamanistic beliefs and practices one finds the *Han* of the *minjung* expressed in ritual dance and song with social, political and pentecostal insights.'²⁰⁴

Academic *minjung* theology is certainly part of the ongoing process of the inculturation of Christianity in Korea, and it is important because it has realised that living religion needs some connection to the people it is supposed to live with. However, that is an insight which moved the first Protestant missionaries in Korea to apply the Nevius principles in their work. True *minjung* religion can more likely be

found in a Korean Pentecostal or Charismatic church than in the manifestos of *minjung* theologians. What the latter are attempting to reach in a somewhat artificial way, the former have done already, viz. the integration of Korean folk belief and practices, i.e. shamanistic practices, into their daily religious life. Korean Pentecostalism can be looked down upon as superstitious, apolitical, and ready made religion for the urban masses in Korea. This is how shamanism has been looked down on by the ruling Confucianists for centuries. However, one can also appreciate Korean Pentecostalism as the religion which carries on Korean traditions in a new Christian garment and thus helps the Korean people to adjust to a world which has been changing in Korea quicker than anywhere else over the last hundred years and not always in Korea's favour; a people which has always been deeply religious continues to be so and thus keeps its dignity and pride in the face of ongoing cultural, political, and economic humiliations.

3.4.5. Conclusion

Korean Protestant Christianity has been designed as an indigenised Christianity from its very beginnings by the successful application of the Nevius principles. As a religion of the small people it learned quickly to be identified with the sufferings of the Korean nation after the occupation and oppression by Japan. It also acquired many features of the oldest but mostly underground working class religion of Korea, shamanism, by identifying misery and illness with the spirits of those who died suffering. This was theoretically expressed by the *minjung* theology movement, but has been lived out practically by the Pentecostal masses.

The real miracle of Korean Christianity is that a religion imported from America can become the major religious force within less than a hundred years in a country with thousands of years of its own religious and cultural traditions. One important reason for this may well be that the other two "high" religions of Korea, Buddhism and Confucianism, were also imported religions, imported from China, and that Korea always considered herself to be a cultural daughter of the great Chinese empire. While Buddhism could be replaced by Confucianism as the established religion after it had lost its cultural integrity and power, the only real indigenous religion of Korea, shamanism, always lingered and lived on in the dark as the religion of the

uneducated and women. And surprisingly enough Charismatic Christianity has apparently been able to accomplish what Buddhism and Confucianism, normally regarded as much more syncretistic than Christianity, were unable to do; integrate the shamanistic religiosity into their worship and theology.

The other reason why Christianity could integrate so well into Korea is its early identification with Korean nationalism in her resistance to Japanese oppression. The total exclusivity of Christian faith in its most fundamentalist form stopped Christians worshipping the Shinto shrines, an act which was also a symbol of surrender to the supremacy of Japanese rule and culture. The martyrs of Christian faith thus became martyrs of Korean dignity. The identification of Korean Christianity and Korean nationalism certainly helped the integration of indigenous religious customs and ideas into the new religion imported from the West.

On the other hand one has got to state that the phenomenology of Korean Pentecostalism as described by Fuchigami or Yoo is not fundamentally different to its equivalent anywhere else in the world. This observation does not undermine what we said earlier about the integration of Pentecostal Christianity into Korean culture and religious life. It does, however, demonstrate again how adaptable Pentecostal religiosity is to any culture.

3.5. The Worldwide View - Some General Remarks

On our journey through the Charismatic Christian world we have found Pentecostal religiosity amongst Indian Gurus, South- American Indians, amongst African tribes, and in synthesis with Korean shamanistic practices. We have not mentioned many other places of Charismatic growth: the villages of Russia, where the Orthodox Church finds itself challenged by aggressive evangelism of Pentecostal groups, the Charismatics in Italy, who challenge an almighty Roman Catholicism, the Church in China, which only started to grow after the expulsion of foreign missionaries by the communists and has developed in a rather Charismatic way, the list goes on and on. The purpose of this thesis is not, however, to develop a world map of Charismatic worship, but to understand ecstatic religious experiences of Charismatic Christians in our own society and age. Why then all this travelling through the world?

This look at Charismatic phenomena in other cultures allows us to go a step backwards and to provide another perspective of the phenomena in our own culture. It appears that Pentecostal worship finds it easier to indigenise, to integrate into other cultures than the form of Christianity based on traditional denominations and church structures as we know them from our own experience in the West. The basic phenomena of Charismatic worship tend to remain similar: speaking in tongues, baptism of the Spirit, both connected with a state of trance, a rather dualistic world view, a very literal approach to the Bible, which also delivers a strict code of ethical conduct. However, most important in all the examples we described is the healing by the Holy Spirit, often connected to exorcisms. These elements of religious life are connected with indigenous religious ideas, practices and structures. They thus help to heal wounds caused by the aggressive impacts of the Western way of life on local traditional culture all over the world: Indian faithful can overcome caste boundaries without creating a cultural distance between Hindu fellow Indians, Indian societies, fragmented by the macho culture and individualism of the European conquerors, find new ways of restructuring their communities, African Christians re- discover their cultural roots without giving up their Christian faith, Korean Christians can strengthen their own national identity by connecting the newly imported religion, Christianity, with their oldest religious and cultural heritage, i.e. shamanism. In many cases Charismatic religiosity helps to reconcile local traditional values with the difficult and often hostile realities of the modern world. The sociologist of Religion David A. Smilde puts it in his article on 'Conservative and Revolutionary Tendencies in Venezuelan Evangelicalism' in the following way:

The turn to evangelicalism is a means of confronting the problems and dilemmas of their social existence by adopting and elaborating a preexisting meaning structure. The latter comes, in large part, from a straight forward interpretation of the writings of Paul not by leading theologians but by "religious practitioners": the ground- level pastors, evangelists and activists who make- up the leadership of the movement.²⁰⁵

Smilde sees it from the point of view of sociology and Troeltsch's idea that Christianity combines a revolutionary and a conservative element. Troeltsch pointed out:

Christianity seems to influence social life in two ways: Either, on the one hand, it develops an idealistic anarchism and the communism of love, which combines radical indifference or hostility

towards the rest of the social order with the effort to actualize this idea of love in a small group; or, on the other hand, it develops along social- conservative lines into an attitude of submission to God and His Will, so far as the world is concerned, combined with a strong independence of an organized community which manages its own affairs, which, as its range of influence increases, finds that it cannot ignore secular institutions, but that it must do its utmost to utilize them for its own purposes.²⁰⁶

Paul and the early Church managed to combine both wings and

to adopt a social conservative attitude, and yet at the same time to remain inwardly deeply separated from the whole life of Society around them, patiently enduring the conditions in which they found themselves, and clearly using them for their own ends, while at the same time, in contrast with the life of Society, they build up an entirely new and quite different community life.²⁰⁷

These double strands of radical elements of Christianity, according to Troeltsch, 'continued right on into the Middle Ages and into Protestantism.'²⁰⁸ This observation might help to understand the enormous dynamics of Charismatic Christianity which helps it to adapt especially well to traditional societies which have to cope with cultural changes. Smilde, however, does not take into account sufficiently the force of the religious experience. It is not traditional Presbyterian evangelicalism which causes so many worries for the Roman Catholic authorities in Venezuela, but Charismatic evangelicalism. In other words, it is not the power of the spoken gospel which heals conjugal relationships, families and villages in Venezuela, but the experience of actual healing in the lives of the individuals which then strengthen those individuals to spread the healing force within their relationships, families, villages, societies.

If we now take a step back and compare the background and impact of Pentecostal spirituality around the world to our own situation, where Charismatic Christianity is increasing as well, we could ask ourselves some interesting questions: how do we understand the force of Pentecostalism in our own society? How does it integrate into our own culture which has been shaped by Christianity for almost two thousand years now, but which also has been secularised rapidly since the Enlightenment period? Established religion has not been imported into our culture only in the last two hundred years, but over one thousand years ago, and it has had a rich and colourful development since. Why is it on the retreat on such a massive scale, giving more and more ground to Charismatic spirituality? Can we say that Charismatic spirituality can become more indigenous in our own culture than the established churches which have shaped it for so long?

This is the place to put those questions forward. We will try to answer them later, when we had more insights into the nature of the ecstatic religious experience of Charismatic Christians in our own society.

- ¹ G.C. Oosthuizen, *Pentecostal Penetration Into the Indian Community In South Africa* (Durban: Human Sciences Research Council Pretoria, 1975), p. 211, comma after 'The true man Jesus Christ' and EXAMPLE in capital letters as in the original.
- ² *Ibd.*, p. 309.
- ³ Comp. for the following description of Sara Navaroji: W. Hoerschelmann, *Christliche Gurus: Darstellung von Selbstverständnis und Funktion inidgenen Christseins durch unabhängige, charismatisch geführte Gruppen in Südindien* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1977), pp. 182- 198.
- ⁴ *Ibd.*, p. 183. Sara's report has been retranslated from the German into the English by the author of this thesis.
- ⁵ *Ibd.*
- ⁶ *Ibd.*
- ⁷ *Ibd.*
- ⁸ *Ibd.*, p. 185.
- ⁹ *Ibd.*, p. 195.
- ¹⁰ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 429: 'Der "sadhu" versteht sich als ein Mensch, der sein Leben "sadhana", Gebet und Andacht, gewidmet hat. [...] Hinzu kommt noch die Tatsache, daß sie der Funktion des Sadhu als Prediger und Wundertäter entsprechen.'
- ¹¹ Comp. *ibd.*: 'Sie bemühen sich um ein Leben in "sadhana". Sie sind Träger des Schriftwortes und Spender von Prosperität (Sadhu). Sie realisieren "tapas" in ihrem Leben (Sanyasi). Sie wissen um die Bedeutung der Magie in ihrem täglichen Leben ("yogi- Zauberer"). Auch das Motiv der Selbstvervollkommung ist in ihrem religiösen Leben unübersehbar. Und die vergleichende Selbsteinschätzung als des "spirituell Erfolgreichen" its ihnen nicht fremd.'
- ¹² Comp. S. Kakar, *Shamans, Mystics and Doctors: A Psychological Inquiry into India and Its Healing Traditions* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1982), esp. pp. 191- 218.
- ¹³ *Ibd.*, p. 191.
- ¹⁴ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 196.
- ¹⁵ *Ibd.*
- ¹⁶ *Ibd.*, p. 212.
- ¹⁷ *Ibd.*, p. 215.
- ¹⁸ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 213.
- ¹⁹ *Ibd.*, p. 214.
- ²⁰ *Ibd.*, p. 208 f.
- ²¹ *Ibd.*, p. 195.
- ²² *Ibd.*, p. 197.
- ²³ *Ibd.*, p. 202.
- ²⁴ Comp. Hoerschelmann, p. 361.
- ²⁵ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 320f.
- ²⁶ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 352; in an appendix Hoerschelmann tells us about unconfirmed reports that P. Lawries had converted to Hinduism in 1975.
- ²⁷ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 189.
- ²⁸ Kakar, op. cit., p. 215.
- ²⁹ Comp. Hoerschelmann, p. 189: 'Die theologischen Lehrer and den Colleges sind weltlich gesinnte Leute (worldly people). Wir wollen von ihnen nichts wissen. Wir sehen ja, was für ein Leben sie führen!'
- ³⁰ Comp. Kakar, p. 215t.
- ³¹ Hoerschelmann, p. 189, translation by the author.
- ³² Kakar, p. 205.
- ³³ Hoerschelmann, p. 197.
- ³⁴ Comp. *ibd.*
- ³⁵ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 188.
- ³⁶ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 185.
- ³⁷ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 186.
- ³⁸ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 191.
- ³⁹ D. Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

- ⁴⁰ Comp. *ibid.*, p. 101.
- ⁴¹ All the figures comp. *ibid.*, p. 337f.
- ⁴² Comp. *ibid.*, p. 14.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 250.
- ⁴⁴ E. Brusco, *The Reformation of Machismo* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), p. 39.
- ⁴⁵ H. Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty- First Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), p. 166.
- ⁴⁶ E. Brusco, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
- ⁴⁷ D. Martin, 'Evangelical and Charismatic Christianity in Latin America', in *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, ed. by K. Poewe (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 73- 85 (p. 81).
- ⁴⁸ E. Brusco, p. 62f.
- ⁴⁹ R. Ireland, 'The *Crentes* of Campo Alegre and the Religious Construction of Brazilian Politics', in *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America*, ed. by V. Garrard- Burnett and D. Stoll (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), pp. 45- 65 (p. 51).
- ⁵⁰ Comp. E. Brusco, p. 114.
- ⁵¹ Comp. *ibid.*, p. 82.
- ⁵² Comp. K.M. Coleman, E.E. Aguilar, J.M. Sandoval, T.J. Steigenga, 'Protestantism in El Salvador. Conventional Wisdom versus the Survey Evidence', in *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America*, ed. by V. Garrard- Burnett and D. Stoll (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), pp. 111- 142 (p. 126).
- ⁵³ Comp. *ibid.*, p. 127.
- ⁵⁴ Comp. *ibid.*, p. 130.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 132.
- ⁵⁶ D. Martin, *Tongues of Fire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), p. 281.
- ⁵⁷ Comp. Brusco, p. 90.
- ⁵⁸ K.-W. Westmeier, 'The Enthusiastic Protestants of Bogotá, Columbia. Reflections on the Growth of a Movement', *International Review of Mission*, 75 (1986), 13- 24 (p. 19).
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁶¹ D. Stoll, *Is Latin America turning Protestant*, p. 113.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ E. Brusco, p. 117.
- ⁶⁴ Comp. *ibid.*, p. 119.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- ⁶⁶ J. Burdick, 'Struggling Against the Devil: Pentecostalism and Social Movements in Urban Brazil' in *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America*, ed. by V. Garrard- Burnett and D. Stoll (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), pp. 20- 44 (p. 37f).
- ⁶⁷ C. Bridges Johns, 'Healing and Deliverance' in *Pentecostal Movements as an Ecumenical Challenge*, ed. by J. Moltmann and K.- J. Kuschel (London: SCM, 1996), pp. 45- 50 (p. 48).
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- ⁶⁹ J. Sepúlveda, 'Born Again: Baptism and the Spirit' in *Pentecostal Movements as an Ecumenical Challenge*, ed. by J. Moltmann and K.- J. Kuschel (London: SCM, 1996), pp.104- 109 (p. 108).
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 107.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.
- ⁷² W. J. Hollenweger, 'From the Azusa Street to the Toronto Phenomenon' in *Pentecostal Movements as an Ecumenical Challenge*, ed. by J. Moltmann and K.- J. Kuschel (London: SCM, 1996), pp. 3- 14 (p. 12).
- ⁷³ D. Martin., *Tongues of Fire*, p. 290.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 290.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 282.
- ⁷⁶ D. Hofstetter, 'Stories of Faith Among the Zionists' in *Afro- Christianity at the Grassroots: Its Dynamics and Strategies*, ed. by G.C. Oosterhuizen and others (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 246- 258 (p. 246ff).
- ⁷⁷ H. Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, p. 245f.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 246f.

- ⁷⁹ S.I. Maboera, 'Causes for the Proliferation of the African Independent Churches' in *Afro-Christianity at the Grassroots: Its Dynamics and Strategies*, ed. by G.C. Oosterhuizen and others (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 121-136 (p. 124).
- ⁸⁰ *Ibd.*
- ⁸¹ A.S. van Niekerk, 'Multi- Disciplinary and Inter- Cultural Research with Families in Transition: A Search for Common Ground' in *Afro- Christianity at the Grassroots. Its Dynamics and Strategies* ed. by G.C. Oosterhuizen and others (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 180- 191 (p. 183).
- ⁸² *Ibd.*, p. 184.
- ⁸³ S.I. Maboera, p. 124.
- ⁸⁴ S.W.D. Dube, 'Hierophanies: A Hermeneutic Paradigm for Understanding Zionist Ritual' in *Afro-Christianity at the Grassroots: Its Dynamics and Strategies*, ed. by G.C. Oosterhuizen and others (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 105-118 (p. 111).
- ⁸⁵ Hofstetter, D., p. 258.
- ⁸⁶ Maboera, S.I., p. 125.
- ⁸⁷ S.W.D. Dube, M.C. Kitshoff, G.C. Oosthuizen, 'Introduction', in *Afro- Christianity at the Grassroots: Its Dynamics and Strategies*, ed. by G.C. Oosterhuizen and others (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. ix- xii (p. ix).
- ⁸⁸ Maboera, p. 127.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibd.*
- ⁹⁰ D.A. Shank, *Prophet Harris: The "Black Elija" of West Africa*, (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 187.
- ⁹¹ J.E. Kunnie, 'Black Churches in the United States and South Africa: Similarities and Differences' in *Afro- Christianity at the Grassroots: Its Dynamics and Strategies*, ed. by G.C. Oosterhuizen and others (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 80- 94 (p. 88).
- ⁹² *Ibd.*, p. 93.
- ⁹³ Comp. E. Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present* (London: SPCK, 1995), p. 125.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibd.*, p. 125f.
- ⁹⁵ *Ibd.*, p. 127.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibd.*, p. 126.
- ⁹⁷ *Ibd.*, p. 313.
- ⁹⁸ *Ibd.*
- ⁹⁹ Comp. *ibid.*, pp. 313, 314.
- ¹⁰⁰ Shank, p. 275.
- ¹⁰¹ Comp. Isichei, p. 316.
- ¹⁰² Comp. J.E. Kunnie, p. 90ff.
- ¹⁰³ *Ibd.*, p. 91.
- ¹⁰⁴ J.S. Tinney, 'The Blackness of Pentecostalism', *Spirit* 3, 1979, quoted at C.J. Sanders, *Saints in Exile: The Holiness- Pentecostal Experience in African American Religion and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 7.
- ¹⁰⁵ Comp. Sanders, p. 139.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibd.*, pp. 139f.
- ¹⁰⁷ 'Da nach alter afrikanischer Vorstellung Kranksein und Gesundwerden in das Gebiet der Religion gehören, fand diese Kirche alsbald den Weg zu vielen Afrikanern. Gleichzeitig war durch das Einbeziehen des Medizinischen ein Tor geöffnet, durch das alte magische Vorstellungen, die als Substrat auch bei vielen Christen vorhanden waren, aufs neue auftauchen. Und wenn erst einmal ein Tor geöffnet its, gibt es in der Regel kein halten mehr.' E. Damann, 'Das Christusverständnis in Nachchristlichen Kirchen' in *Messianische Kirchen, Sekten und Bewegungen im Heutigen Afrika*, ed. by E. Brenz (Leiden: Brill, 1965), pp. 1- 22 (p. 4), translation by the author of this thesis.
- ¹⁰⁸ Isichei, p. 4.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibd.*
- ¹¹⁰ D. Hofstetter, p. 257.
- ¹¹¹ M.P. Johnson, 'Called to Be: *Isangoma* or Prophet' in *Afro- Christianity at the Grassroots: Its Dynamics and Strategies*, ed. by G.C. Oosterhuizen (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 165- 179 (p. 173f).
- ¹¹² Comp. J. de Wet, 'Social Change, Resistance and the Worldview of a Community in the Transkei' in *Afro- Christianity at the Grassroots: Its Dynamics and Strategies* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 134- 164 (p. 139).

- ¹¹³ *Ibd.*, p. 148.
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibd.*, p. 152.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibd.*, p. 154.
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibd.*, p. 157.
- ¹¹⁷ H. Cox, p. 257.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibd.*
- ¹¹⁹ S.I. Maboea, p. 129.
- ¹²⁰ P. Makhubu, *Who are the Independent Churches* (Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1988), p. 19.
- ¹²¹ J.E. Kunnie, p. 90.
- ¹²² E. Isichei, p. 306.
- ¹²³ *Comp. ibd.*, p. 307.
- ¹²⁴ *Comp. ibd.*, p. 308.
- ¹²⁵ *Ibd.*, p. 309.
- ¹²⁶ H. Cox, p. 260.
- ¹²⁷ *Ibd.*
- ¹²⁸ E. Isichei, p. 312.
- ¹²⁹ *Comp. I. MacRobert, 'The Black Roots of Pentecostalism' in Pentecost, Mission and Ecumenism: Essays on Intercultural Theology, Festschrift in Honour of Professor Walter J. Hollenweger, ed. by J.A.B. Jongeneel and others (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1992), pp. 73- 84 (p. 80).*
- ¹³⁰ *Comp. E. Isichei, p. 340.*
- ¹³¹ H. Cox, p. 252.
- ¹³² C. Sanders, p. 150.
- ¹³³ D. Tutu, Foreword in *Afro- Christianity at the Grassroots: Its Dynamics and Strategies*, ed. by G.C. Oosterhuizen and others (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. vii- viii (p. vii).
- ¹³⁴ 'Gleichwohl - ein solch säkulares, politisches, wir dürfen wohl sagen, pervertiertes Christusverständnis ist denkbar und vorhanden und wird in Zukunft vielleicht eine größere Rolle spielen.' E. Dammann, p. 16.
- ¹³⁵ *Comp. H. Cox, p. 253.*
- ¹³⁶ D. Tutu, p. viii.
- ¹³⁷ *Comp. I.M. Lewis, Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 1989), esp. p. 118.*
- ¹³⁸ *Comp. ibd.*, p. 126f.
- ¹³⁹ *Comp. Boo- Woong Yoo, Korean Pentecostals: Its History and Theology (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1987), p. 209.*
- ¹⁴⁰ *Comp. H. Cox, p. 221 and 222.*
- ¹⁴¹ Underwood as quoted in Boo- Woong Yoo, p. 57.
- ¹⁴² *Comp. ibd.*, p. 58.
- ¹⁴³ *Ibd.*, p. 57.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibd.*, p. 56f.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Ibd.*, p. 54f.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Ibd.*, p. 9.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Com. ibd.*, p. 8f.
- ¹⁴⁸ *Comp. ibd.*, p. 16.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Ibd.*, p. 53.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Ibd.*, p. 85f.
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibd.*, p. 109.
- ¹⁵² *Comp. ibd.*, p. 65f.
- ¹⁵³ *Ibd.*, p. 102 f.
- ¹⁵⁴ What Yoo describes as the First Pentecostal Movement resembles more a Wesleyan revival than what we call proper Pentecostalism. In his own book Yoo does not mention any typical Pentecostal phenomena, like "tongues", "healings", "exorcism", etc., but he cites several examples of individual and communal confessions of guilt and sin which arouse high emotions (*comp. Yoo, p. 79f., p. 83*). Accordingly the origins of the revival seem to had been in a Methodist chapel (*comp. Yoo, p. 76*).
- ¹⁵⁵ J.Z. Moore, *The Great Revival Year (1907)*, quoted in Yoo, p. 86.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Comp. Yoo, ibd.*
- ¹⁵⁷ Yi Yong- do, quoted in Yoo, p. 111.

- ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 120.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Comp. ibd.*, p. 121.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Comp. ibd.*, p. 128.
- ¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 129.
- ¹⁶² Chai Tae-yong, quoted at Yoo, p. 129f.
- ¹⁶³ Chai, quoted at Yoo, p. 130.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Comp. ibd.*, p. 131f.
- ¹⁶⁵ Boo-Woong Yoo, 'Pentecostalism in Korea' in *Pentecost, Mission and Ecumenism: Essays on Intercultural Theology, Festschrift in Honour of Professor Walter J. Hollenweger*, ed. by J.A.B. Joneneel and others (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1992), pp. 169- 176 (p. 171).
- ¹⁶⁶ K. Fuchigami, 'Faith Healing in Korean Christianity: The Christian Church in Korea and Shamanism', *Nanzan Bulletin*, 16 (1992), 33- 59 (p. 34).
- ¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, footnote 7.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- ¹⁷⁰ Boo-Woong Yoo, 'Response to Korean Shamanism by the Pentecostal Church', *International Review of Mission*, 75 (1986), 70- 74 (p. 72f).
- ¹⁷¹ K. Fuchigami, p. 45.
- ¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- ¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 46f.
- ¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48f.
- ¹⁷⁵ Com. Seong-Nae Kim, 'Dances of *Toch'aebi* and Songs of Exorcism in Cheju Shamanism', *Diogenes*, 158 (1992), 57- 68 (p. 57f).
- ¹⁷⁶ *Comp. ibd.*, p. 59.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60.
- ¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.
- ¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 62f.
- ¹⁸¹ *Comp. ibd.*, p. 63.
- ¹⁸² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸³ K. Fuchigami, p. 52.
- ¹⁸⁴ D.J. Adams, 'Ancestors, Folk Religion, and Korean Christianity', *Perspectives on Christianity in Korea and Japan: The Gospel and Culture in East Asia*, ed. by M.R. Mullins and R. Fox Young (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), pp. 95- 114 (p. 107).
- ¹⁸⁵ D.J. Adams, 'Church Growth in Korea: A Paradigm Shift from Ecclesiology to Nationalism' in *Perspectives on Christianity in Korea and Japan: The Gospel and Culture in East Asia*, ed. by M.R. Mullins and R. Fox Young (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), pp. 13- 28 (p. 18f).
- ¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- ¹⁸⁷ *Comp. L. Kendall, Shamans, Housewives, and Other Restless Spirits: Women in Korean Ritual Life*, 3rd edn. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990).
- ¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- ¹⁸⁹ Fuchigami, p. 57.
- ¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹¹ Yoo, *Response to Korean Shamanism*, p. 73.
- ¹⁹² D.Y. Cho on the 10th of February 1998 on http://www.yfgc.org/english/sermon/199801/19980104_english_sermon4htn.
- ¹⁹³ Yoo, *Korean Pentecostals*, p. 226.
- ¹⁹⁴ A. Guillemoz, 'Seoul, the Widow, and the *Mudang*: Transformations of Urban Korean Shamanism', *Diogenes*, 158 (1992), 115- 128 (p. 118).
- ¹⁹⁵ *Comp. World Council of Churches, Document No. PL 3:3* (World Council of Churches, Geneva 1991).
- ¹⁹⁶ *Comp. Yoo, Korean Pentecostals*, p. 192.
- ¹⁹⁷ D. Kwang-Sun Suh, 'Minjung Theology: The Politics and Spirituality of Korean Christianity' in *Perspectives on Christianity in Korea and Japan: The Gospel and Culture in East Asia*, ed. by M.R. Mullins and R. Fox Young (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), pp. 143- 162 (p. 145).
- ¹⁹⁸ Yoo, p. 201.

¹⁹⁹ Suh, p. 155.

²⁰⁰ Hyung- Kyung Chung, 'Welcome the Spirit; Hear Her Cries: The Holy Spirit, Creation and the Culture of Life', *Christianity and Crisis*, 51 (1991), 220- 223 (p. 221).

²⁰¹ Yoo, p. 206.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 220.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ D.A. Smilde, 'The Fundamental Unity of the Conservative and Revolutionary Tendencies in Venezuelan Evangelicalism: The Case of Conjugal Relations', *Religion*, 27 (1997), 343- 360 (p. 355).

²⁰⁶ E. Troeltsch., *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, transl. by O. Wyon, 2 vols, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1956), i, p. 82.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

4. New Age Dawn and Charismatic Renewal - More than Contemporaries?

4.1. Another Religious Awakening

'This is "modern" religion: relevant, well advertised, well marketed and paradoxically in tune with the mentality created in a society such as our own which constantly encourages the pursuit of the millenium.'¹, writes Peter B. Clarke. What could have been said about the latest update of the Charismatic "Alpha" faith course of Holy Trinity Brompton, is actually from an article about 'the occult and newly religious', a group, or better a conglomerate of diverse groups and individuals, commonly called "New Age" (see below on the difficulties of defining the New Age). A book on 'Healing Without Harm' sounds just slightly different to a book on 'Charismatic healing':

Group healing is also practiced. [...] If a group is not meeting in a church or other sacred place, the leader will want to cleanse the room physically and spiritually, before the meeting takes place, so that it is filled with light and goodness, and there is no room for evil forces or spirits. He will do this by prayers, and then the group will discipline themselves to put away all evil and selfish forces or thoughts. There are powers of darkness as well as of light, and all who deal with these little-understood forces should be aware of the dangers.²

The following prayer is not taken from a Pentecostal or Charismatic Christian author, but from a book which would be met by the uttermost hostility from many Charismatics, James Redfield's and Carol Adrienne's experiential guide to Redfield's 'Tenth Insight':

Prayer of Application to the Holy Spirit

HOLY SPIRIT, who solves all problems, who lights all roads so that I can attain my goal. You who give me the divine gift to forgive and forget all evil against me and that in all instances of my life you are with me. I want in this short prayer to thank you for all things and to confirm once again that I never want to be separated from you even and in spite of all material illusion. I want to be with you in eternal glory. Thank you for your mercy towards me and mine.

*The person must say this prayer for three consecutive days. After three days the favor requested will be granted even if it may appear difficult. This prayer, including these instructions, must be published immediately after the favors granted without mentioning the favor; only your initials should appear at the bottom.*³

Here we see elements very much like Charismatic spirituality as the emphasis of the Holy Spirit as such, also words like "eternal glory", "mercy", "to forgive" and yet

the prayer is not conceivably a prayer of a Charismatic Christian. "To attain my goal", "material illusion", "to forget all evil" is vocabulary one would not expect from a Pentecostal, and they would more likely to ask to be forgiven than to forgive themselves. They would also reject the instruction after the prayer, which changes the prayer into a magic formula.

So it appears that there are two different contemporary movements with quite a few similarities. And indeed, Michael York emphasises:

In both, there is the search for direct experience of the sacred as well as the quest for spiritual guidance from spirits or spiritual beings. In both New Age and the Charismatic movement, there is an affirmation of spiritual and physical healing occurring beyond the traditional confines of medical science. And finally, both movements have arisen outside the mainline churches but are now playing increasingly influential roles within the religious establishment.⁴

So it appears that the next thing to do is to check the relationship of the two movements. Both emphasise experience both report a direct contact to the divine, experienced in trance, prayer, or meditation, both report miraculous healings outside the medical framework. Are they comparable? Is there a similar cultural background to both of the movements? Are they both counter- reactions to modernity and yet deeply rooted in it as Paul Heelas says of the New Age, when he writes on the one hand:

The New Age also runs counter to many of the great canons and assumptions of modernity: the faith which has been placed in obtaining progress by way of scientific expertise, together with the application of reason to the management of social and individual affairs; the faith which has come to be placed in the promises of consumer culture; the loss of faith in religion, in particular in northern Europe.⁵

But Heelas also argues,

that the New Age also belongs to central aspects of our times (thereby serving to cater for or advance people's *interests and expectations*). More exactly, the argument is that the New Age is embedded in, whilst exemplifying, long- standing cultural trajectories.⁶

The question arises whether we could say the same thing about the Charismatic religious experience. If the answer is yes, then whether the motivations which run contrary to modernity as well as the cultural roots of both movements could be related.

In order to ask these questions, we will first have to engage more with the New Age movement itself, with the specifics it confronts us with as well as with its world of thought, especially when we try to define it more precisely. We will have to try to find

a suitable definition, and then we will have to describe the phenomena as well as some of the metaphysical background of the New Age in some detail, in order to enable us to find the differences and similarities of both movements and thus to draw a comparison.

Eventually it will also be interesting to think about the mutual hostility both movements like to express towards each other, which will help us to come to a critical evaluation of both movements in their relationships towards each other.

After we affirmed the validity of religious experience in chapter one, we described the specific ecstatic religious experience of Charismatic Christians in chapter two. In chapter three we demonstrated how this form of ecstatic Christianity is spread around the world and how it integrates in different cultures from Korea via South America to Africa. We now turn towards our own culture and this to find out how Charismatic ecstatic experience integrates here. In order to do this, we will compare it to another contemporary religious movement which is based in our own culture and shows similar phenomena. In a next chapter we will trace the origins of Charismatic experience within our culture and history in order to get a fuller picture of its place and meaning in our society.

4.2. New Age Thought and Phenomena

4.2.1. The Difficulties of Defining the New Age Movement

The verb "to define" derives from the Latin "definire", which means to draw a borderline. That is exactly the difficulty with the New Age movement. Do only those who say so explicitly belong to the New Age or do all belong to the New Age who see the dawn of a new spiritual consciousness coming? Is the New Age confined to those who see this new spirituality in connection with the imminent new age of Aquarius after the end of the age of Pisces? Or does the term 'New Age' include all those who are experimenting eclectically with all sorts of spiritual traditions, forms of divination, astrology and some Jungian language, in order to find some fulfilment on their spiritual quest?

Richard Kyle describes the problem regarding to a definition of New Age:

In part the problem of boundaries relates to the relationship of the New Age to its predecessor movements. The New Age grew out of a long standing occult- metaphysical subculture. The New Age borrowed many elements from movements such as Theosophy, Spiritualism, and New Thought, but it did not absorb them. These movements still exist and, while sharing much with the New Age, they have a life of their own. Thus, the New Age is not always distinguished from the movements that precede it.

The New Age also has boundary problems with several contemporary Eastern religions and occult- metaphysical movements. While the New Age did not emerge from these groups, it shares much with them. For example, the New Age and feminist spirituality have much in common. Yet they are not identical movements. The same can be said for neopagan witchcraft, feminist astrology, and many Eastern religious groups - they overlap with the New Age but are distinct movements.⁷

So how can we approach the phenomenon? Eileen Barker suggests not to call it a movement at all, but to use a term of Ludwig Wittgenstein by calling it a "family resemblance": 'two members of the family may bear almost no resemblance to each other, although they both resemble a third member.'⁸ Catherine Albanese calls New Age a language, 'for the New Age is above all a religious discourse community that elicits certain forms of action.'⁹ Paul Heelas tries to describe the New Age more comprehensively as

a highly optimistic, celebratory, utopian and spiritual form of humanism, many versions [...] also emphasizing the spirituality of the natural order as a whole. Ultimacy - God, the Goddess, the Higher Self - lies within, serving as the source of vitality, creativity, love, tranquillity, wisdom, responsibility, power and all those other qualities which are held to comprise the perfect inner life and which, when applied in daily practice (supposedly) ensure that all is utopian. By definition [...] New Agers universally suppose that it is crucial to "work" on what it is to be a person. A new *consciousness*, and all that it brings with it, is essential. This alone opens the way to experiencing the spirituality of other people or the natural order; this alone provides the resources for fulfilling the potential of the planet.¹⁰

He also emphasises New Age as an internalised and detraditionalised form of religiosity, emphasising the Self and the experiential side of religion.¹¹ All this is more a description than a definition of New Age. Which helps us to understand what we mean when we talk about New Age. One important point needs to be added. Michael York emphasises the key difference between New Age and other spiritual movements as 'the collective New Age expectation of a radical, world- wide and imminent shift in consciousness as the foundation for a "New Age". This paradigmatic shift is described in terms of a quantum leap in consciousness.'¹²

These are the general characteristics which apply to all that is here considered as New Age. The movement then splits, as M. York sees it, roughly in three camps:

the occult which seeks personal change through channeling, crystals and magic; the spiritual which centres on individual growth and trance state attainment through meditation and related techniques; and the social which stresses human potential development mainly as a means for collective social change.¹³

However, it is not only difficult to define the New Age in terms of ideas, but also as a sociological entity. Again Eileen Barker's term of the "family resemblance" attempts to find a fitting description of its structure. D. Lyon talks about "SPINs", 'segmented polycephalous integrated networks'¹⁴, thus emphasising a term having 'a more general salience within postmodern discourse, where "networking" is often seen as the new organizational wave.'¹⁵ Hildegard van Hove uses the term "circuit"¹⁶ to describe the situation of a movement consisting of 'organizations and people related to each other on the basis of a similar interest in the development and fulfilment of the self, although this can take different forms.'¹⁷ It is a mushrooming of ideas which then grow into different forms. These ideas are developed and propagated by small groups who are independent but meet at conferences, in bookshops, workshops, or on the internet. Some of them may share certain beliefs with one group, others with another group. Some are more organised movements, others just like to read the same book. There are people gathering as devotees around an "enlightened" person or guru like the late Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, or Osho. Others try to enhance their personal human potential by attending seminaries of Est, or they do so with a change of the whole society in mind by developing into Tethans at the Scientology Church. Again others discover the power of ancient rituals, either in the community of a "Pagan Society", or individually, when they discover the power of witchcraft within themselves. A new veneration for the earth may be expressed in the alternative life style such as at the Findhorn community or, again, in neo-pagan rituals. The access to the spiritual realm may be achieved through "rebirthing", breathing techniques, shamanic journeys, channeling or new forms of astrology. All these activities and interests are independent of each other and yet interdependent. Journals, books, seminaries and conferences create a public forum which binds all these individuals and groups loosely together. In a way they are bound together by the four levels of New Age which R. Kyle mentions when he refers to David Spangler: the commercial level, the glamour of popular culture, the image of change, and the birth of the sacred, the resacralizing of life on earth.¹⁸ The commercial level certainly is a very important link

between the groups and activities: magazines and bestselling books, crystals and magnets, alternative therapies, a seminar at Findhorn - many of these are being sold in high numbers, but nothing is free. Or, as "Father Sanchez" in James Redfield's New Age novel *The Celestine Prophecy* explains:

And our gifts [...] should go to the persons who have given us spiritual truth. When people come into our lives at just the right time to give us the answers we need, we should give them money. This is how we will begin to supplement our incomes and ease out of the occupations which limit us. As more people engage in this spiritual economy we will begin a real shift into the culture of the next millenium. We will have moved through the stage of evolving into our right occupation and will be entering the stage of getting paid for evolving freely and offering our unique truth to others.¹⁹

The "glamour of popular culture" has promoted many New Age ideas. Over the last few years a number of Hollywood films on Tibet ("Kundun" by Martin Scorsese, "Little Buddha" by Bernardo Bertolucci, "Seven Years In Tibet" by Richard Gere) have been released, as 'the New Age maintains an idealized image of the East.'²⁰ The Guardian newspaper reports:

Current American Tibet Chic includes a new make- up called Zen Blush, a TV sitcom called Dharma And Greg, a fruit juice called Passion Potion (the container you reincarnate rather than recycle) and shops like the Bodhi Tree in West Hollywood.²¹

In the same article, "Phenomenon", the film starring John Travolta, who is a member of the "Scientology Church", is called 'pretty much a recruitment campaign for that creed.'²² Celebrities of all religious upbringings like Madonna, have discovered their love for the Kabbalah, at least as long it does not demand too much commitment. Journalist Jeff Dawson remarks wryly:

It [Kabbalah] would also seem to transcend religion in that many of the new practitioners - notably Madonna, who recently renounced the older Hollywood devotion of working out in favour of yoga - aren't Jewish at all and can dabble without having to give up the faith of their birth - important for those style- conscious celebrities not quite prepared to make that lifetime commitment. Instant Karma, if you will.²³

The "image of change" of New Age spirituality is another important factor. At the end of the millenium, change is on the agenda. After the Western world had a period of Conservative dominance in governments during the last years of communism in Eastern Europe and the years of transition in these countries, political change seems to be imminent or has already been accomplished in many Western countries (USA,

UK, Italy, France, Germany, also Spain, but in the other direction). The radical alternative to Western capitalism, communism, has disappeared from the maps. Thus New Age offers a new alternative, not so much politically, but ideologically. The image of change is also important in the light of the new millenium which we soon are to enter. In his book on 'faith and fear in the shade of the millenium' [as the text on the cover promises], writer Damian Thompson remarks:

The 1990s is a decade bristling with popular theories which combine science fiction, scientific theory and mystical religion. Most, if not all, of them seem heavily influenced by the approach of the year 2000, though they often seem unable to explain why this date is so significant.²⁴

Two pages later, he talks more explicitly about New Age:

Put simply, the New Age is apocalyptic: it believes in an End- time. This fact is not always immediately apparent, since the movement tends to concentrate on the process of personal, individual transformation. But there is a sum to these parts, and it is nothing less then the salvation of the entire planet.²⁵

How this salvation will look is summed up by Richard Kyle:

The new age based on a different paradigm will be different. While elements of the old order will be retained, there will be a convergence of East and West. Rationalism will be balanced by intuition. God, humanity, and nature will no longer be regarded as distinct entities. The environment will be nurtured because humanity is one with nature. A holistic worldview of science will replace Newtonian physics. [...] Finally, instead of competition which fragments the world, cooperation will reign supreme.²⁶

The fourth level mentioned above is the resacrilsation of life on earth.

Hildegard van Hove on New Age Gaia worship (the worship of the earth as a living organism) states: 'In this meaning system anything can become sacred, because it is part of the earth. Especially stones, trees and certain animals, like whales, dolphins, eagles and lions become symbols,²⁷ but even those New Agers who do sign up to Gaia worship agree in the rejection of the Cartesian world- view as the traditional philosophical background to modern science and rationalism. New Age refuses to separate the world into mind and matter. In this way New Age has 'launched a frontal attack on modern science and modernity itself.'²⁸

New Age, however, also has a recent history of different predecessor movements, which still exist, and which are not necessarily New Age themselves, although they do not exclude that possibility either. This is part of the "family resemblance" character of New Age. One of the greatest influences has been

Theosophy with its offshoots like the Theosophical Society International, the Rosicrucian Fellowship, the Anthroposophical Society (Steiner Movement), and Alice Bailey's Arcane School. Another important influence was Gurdjieff's and Ouspensky's School of Harmonious Development, and a third influence has been the psychological language provided by C.G. Jung's analytical psychology.

Helena Blavatsky (1831- 1891) and her Theosophy had much in common with modern New Age thinking, such as her eclecticism and her fascination for the East.

Heelas states:

Her emphasis on cosmological beliefs and their role in differentiating ways of being aside, Blavatsky has a great deal in common with the contemporary New Age. Distinguishing between 'Head- learning' and 'Soul Wisdom', she was especially critical of what would today be called ego operations [...]. She also advocated indifference to physical luxury [...]; wrote at length about "the fundamental unity of all existence"; and with her faith in a universal and ageless occult knowledge, was strongly committed to a perennialized view of religious traditions.²⁹

Besides, Theosophy emphasised the spiritual evolution of mankind and the beginning of a spiritual new age, which they thought to be personalised in the young Krishnamurti before he denied that role for himself.

George Ivanowitch Gurdjieff (186?- 1949), whose pupil Ouspensky published many of his teacher's ideas, founded the Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man in Paris in 1922. He taught:

that we are all capable of obtaining "objective consciousness", namely the "enlightened state". But we do not know of this. We are "prisoners". This is because "Man is a machine". And [...] "external circumstances govern your actions irrespective of your desires".³⁰

In his institute he offered the means, which he called "The Work", to help people to reach their true "I" and thus to act rather than react. Thus he became 'the person who has done the most to introduce and emphasize transformational techniques',³¹ he was the forerunner of EST, Synanon Games, Scientology, etc.

Finally C.G. Jung needs to be mentioned. He regarded himself as an empiricist and clinical psychologist, but he provided a language for a new self- centred spirituality. Psychotherapy, especially in the form of transpersonal psychology which has developed beyond the Jungian ideas, on the other hand, 'is providing this kind of

"secular" person access to the same kind of transformational experiences as mystical traditions offer, without the initially unwelcome baggage of religious dogma.¹³²

In a way those predecessor movements, which of course could be treated much more extensively, which we have neither the space nor the time for at this point, can be regarded in their relationship to the New Age movement in a similar way as the classic Pentecostal churches like the Assemblies of God in their relationship to the modern Charismatic movement: the latter, the modern Charismatic movement as it is represented in the "Toronto Blessing" cannot be seen without the former, the old Pentecostal churches, without the two being seen as identical. The old Pentecostal churches provided the ideas, the language, the pioneering in certain religious experiences, but they have their own history which remains distinct from the contemporary movement. There might be touchpoints, for instance individual members of the Theosophic "Church Universal and Triumphant" or the Rudolph Steiner Movement may be involved in other New Age activities, and some members of "Assemblies of God" congregation may experience the "Toronto Blessing" amongst themselves, but the movements remain separate entities.

Another trait of New Age which needs to be mentioned is its unashamed eclecticism. This is an outline of a scenario devised in Paco Rabanne's book 'Has the Countdown Begun?':

As the end of the second Christian millenium approaches, mankind is on the verge of an astonishing transformation, one for which all of human experience until now has been little more than a preparation. Every historical cycle known to man is entering a new phase or about to come to a shuddering halt. We are living in the dying days of the Kali yuga, a period of 6,480 years which Hindus believe is the last and most degenerate stage of a recurring cycle in which mankind slowly descends from light into darkness. We are also in the twilight of what the Greeks called the Age of Iron; a new Age of Gold beckons. The calendar of the ancient Maya, the most mysterious of the civilisations of pre- Columbian America, is about to run out: extending millions of years into the past , it comes to a sudden end on 22 December 2012. Meanwhile, the Age of Pisces, which has dictated the violent content of history for two millenia, is scheduled to give way to the Age of Aquarius, a millenium of wisdom and light, shortly after the year 2000; but in the process the earth may experience such terrible upheavals that the survival of humanity is by no means assured.[...] Gaia, the living organism of the earth, may be about to take revenge for the damage inflicted upon her. [...] Plagues of drugs, pornography, and gambling threaten the foundations of civilisation; biblical prophecies of the fall of Babylon have acquired a new and terrible relevance. We may even be heading towards the reign of the Antichrist as we draw near to the year 1999 - a number which, when reversed and turned upside down, signifies both the Number of the Beast and the divine One. Yet all is not lost. The Elohim, a breed of extra- terrestrial beings who are responsible for planting the first human civilisation on earth, that of Atlantis, may rescue humanity just as they preserved Noah and his family after Atlantis was destroyed in the flood. ...³³

He goes on, but so far I count an accumulation of at least 10 different traditions crammed into that short extract of apocalyptic expectancy, ranging from the old Hindu, Maya, Hebrew and Christian tradition to modern ideas about extra terrestrials and Atlantis. The justification for such eclecticism New Age writers is taken from the idea of the Perennial Philosophy which sees an identical kernel of truth in every religion. (Again, the Perennial Philosophy and its writers like Aldous Huxley or even Bede Griffith have nothing to do with New Age, but New Age takes ideas from them as from any other tradition of thought.) The experience of this perennial truth, according to transpersonal psychologist Ken Wilber, who is influential in some New Age circles, 'is central to every major religion - Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity, Islam, and Judaism - so that we can justifiably speak of the "transcendent unity of religion" and the unanimity of primordial truth.'³⁴ This eclecticism attracts a lot of criticism from the traditions it picks and mixes from. There are of course the fundamentalist and Charismatic Christians, who consider themselves to be at spiritual war against the New Age (see below), but also committed Buddhists see the New Age and its fascination for Eastern religion in a critical light. British Buddhist Alan James describes New Age interest in Buddhism as 'a superficial meeting of two cultures on the popular front: deep and subtle teachings are not fully understood and there is often serious misunderstanding and corruption of ancient truth.'³⁵ A spokesperson of the Federation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition, FPMT, even warns, New Age 'can be a form of "postmodern cultural imperialism" in its consumer attitude to tradition.'³⁶ And Dharmachari Vishvapani from the Friend of Western Buddhist Order, FWBO, says: 'A New Age Buddhism would be a *reductio ad absurdum* of Buddhist tradition; it would be a Buddhism constructed from Western fantasies of the East and post-Christian yearnings for salvation.'³⁷

Interestingly enough this sort of criticism also comes from what some observers would call the inside of the New Age movement. Thus Michael York reports that 'most Neo-pagans do not consider themselves as Christian, and many also eschew the New Age label just as vehemently.'³⁸ The former standpoint is certainly less surprising than the latter, and although outside observers still find it difficult or impossible 'to drive a clear wedge between the New Age and Neo-Paganism,'³⁹ many Neo-Pagans obviously feel usurped by the general New Age eclecticism.

New Age is also dogmatically nondogmatic. Kenneth Meadows promotes New Age Shamanism by writing:

In shamanism you simply *do* it in order to *know* it; knowledge comes through the *doing*. There is no set of beliefs to be accepted before progress can be made; no dogma or creed to be bound by; no sacred writings to be revered and interpreted, literalized or allegorized; no hierarchy to demand devotion; no vows to be sworn. Only the power source that is within to be awakened and guided is needed to point the way.⁴⁰

Eventually the meaning of this is that there is no external reality which is to be grasped, the religious truth and spirituality are within one self. Or as Heelas expresses it, New Age 'as an *internalized* form of religiosity is (albeit to varying degrees) *detraditionalised*. That is to say, *autonomy* and *freedom* are highly valued; and *authority* lies within the *experience* of the *Self* or, more broadly, the *natural realm*.⁴¹ One could, though, remark critically, that this *is* the dogma of New Age. Only it is not accepted as a dogma, but called knowledge, experience, or wisdom. As Paul Heelas describes it:

This means that New Ager's can draw on "traditions" whilst bypassing their explicit authoritative doctrines, dogmas and moral codes. Instead, in *detraditionalised* fashion, they can discern - by way of their own experience, their gnosis or experiential knowledge - those spiritual truths which lie at the heart of, say, Vedanta or shamanism. And although these truths - by virtue of their intrinsic nature - exercise authority, they do not curtail the authority of the New Ager's Self: the truth within the "traditions" and within the New Ager are the same.⁴²

As we have seen, there are many difficulties in defining New Age. Its eclecticism blurs boundaries between itself and traditional religions. Its diffuse SPIN like structure defies any attempt to pigeonhole it as a sect, or cult, although there are certainly organisations under the New Age umbrella which belong to a sociologically defined sect or cult, but there is a "lingua franca", some common denominators which can be drawn out of what has been said so far:

1. New Age is experiential spirituality. Religion is relevant if it is experienced personally and if it adds not only theoretical meaning, but a meaning which one can feel and thus not only believe in but know.
2. New Age is non- dualist or monistic religion which finds its centre eventually not in an outside force but in the Self of each individual personality. There might be an elaborate metaphysical world view with spirits and gods inhabiting different planes of reality, but eventually they are all creations of one's own Self.

3. New Age thinking is evolutionary and thus has got a clear millennialist outlook. A "quantum leap" in spiritual development and consequently in the way society works is being expected. This New Age thinking generally generates an optimistic world view.

We will soon examine in greater detail some of the thoughts and practices of New Age which seem to be of special interest in relation to Charismatic spirituality.

4. The New Age is very much a book- shelf phenomenon. It spreads less through traditional evangelising than through many best- selling books which are available at special bookstores, but also in any high street book shop. That being so, we will use the publications by American author James Redfield as a major primary source, since the sales figure of his books indicate that he has considerable influence amongst many people on a spiritual quest. Ten million copies of his books have been sold worldwide.⁴³ His '*Celestine Prophecy*' and '*The Tenth Insight*' present popular New Age thought in a narrative form, whilst his '*Experiential Guides*' try to facilitate the experiencing of his ideas in the individual. We do not equate New Age with James Redfield, but we think that he represents an important segment of popular New Age thinking. We will of course mention other New Age sources as well.

4.2.2. The Self as an Ultimate Principle

All religion [...] is about humankind finding relationship to one higher source. And all religions speak of a perception of God within, a perception that fills us, makes us more than we were. Religions become corrupted when leaders are assigned to explain God's will to the people instead of showing them how to find this direction within themselves.⁴⁴

Here James Redfield describes one of the central teachings of New Age religiosity, I would almost call it its central dogma, which unites features of many of its various segments. God, religion, truth, reality, is within oneself, and it remains one's own responsibility to find it there and to live accordingly. Not, however, only God and Truth are contained in the Self, but it is the whole universe, all creation which is contained in one's own Self and which needs to be discovered.

The person who awakes to this recognition is said to realize that the I, one's real, most intimate self, pervades the universe and all other beings. That the mountains and the sea, and the stars are a part of one's body and that one's soul is in touch with the souls of all creatures.⁴⁵

This view is very much nurtured by the language of C.G. Jung and his view on the Self as opposed to the Ego. For him the Self 'is a quantity that is supraordinate to the conscious ego. It embraces not only the conscious but also the unconscious psyche and is therefore, so to speak, a personality which we *also* are.'⁴⁶ Since the Self thus constitutes the true centre of our psyche, it is one's hidden, but true reality. Other writers, building on Jung, such as Joseph Campbell, have developed the meaning of the Self from its purely psychological and empirical use by applying it to religious thought. Campbell applies Jung's individuation process to religious realization, and comes to the conclusion that:

The aim is not to *see*, but to realize that one *is*, that essence; then one is free to wander as that essence in the world. Furthermore: the world too is of that essence. The essence of oneself and the essence of the world: these two are one. Hence separateness, withdrawal, is no longer necessary. Wherever the hero may wander, whatever he may do, he is ever in the presence of his own essence - for he has the perfect eye to see. There is no separateness. Thus, just as the way of social participation may lead in the end to a realization of the All in the individual, so that of exile brings the hero to the Self in all that.⁴⁷

Campbell sees religion as one possible application of Jung's psychology, and that is what he demonstrates. New Age goes further. They use psychological language as a metaphor for religious experience. Normal life then becomes egoic life, life that is an illusion, especially if we think that is all there is. As transpersonal psychologist Roger Walsh puts it:

Our consciousness is distorted, constricted, and deluded so that we live in what the East calls ignorance, *avidya*, *maya*, or illusion. In the West this is called a shared dream, a consensus trance, or a collective psychosis. We do not recognize this as a trance because we all share in it and because we all live [...] in the biggest of all: *culture*.⁴⁸

What New Age calls for is the realisation, or even transcendence, of one's spiritual self. That huge relevance of the Self, however, also implies massive self responsibility. Shirley MacLaine explains that self responsibility very clearly when she makes each individual responsible even for the choice of their parents: 'I am certain that I have chosen my parents, all the familiar environment, which made it possible to me to realize myself as an artist.'⁴⁹ Each individual is in charge of change in their life and to discover its real spiritual meaning. This can, but need not, lead to "spiritual egocentrism" - and ethical egocentrism - as a consequence. The idea that the whole universe is within myself, that all is eventually One, can lead to a feeling of

responsibility for others and the earth as a consequence. Heelas remarks: 'For them, nothing taking place beyond themselves has a strictly autonomous existence. It follows that their own authority is all that counts, making them responsible for everything that takes place.'⁵⁰

Since the source of all spiritual truth is within oneself, it can be experienced directly. Belief in some external divinity is criticised as the handing over of one's own responsibility. Therefore the religion of experience is the religion within. Experienced religion, however, is believed to be superior to 'taught' religion. In a way it offers some "empirically" based inner knowledge instead of belief based on external teaching. Religious experience thus receives a "scientific" empirical touch. Science, on the other hand, becomes an integral part of the new religious framework. How this integration works is shown in a quote from the political New Age guide 'Spiritual Politics':

Physicists at the National Institute of Standards and Technology in Boulder, Colorado, recently found that attempting to measure particles at the atomic level can alter the very characteristics that are being measured. The phenomenon is called "the observer effect", or "the quantum Zeno effect", after the Greek philosopher. Scientists found that continuous observation of unstable radioactive isotopes prevented the isotopes from disintegrating radioactively. So, theoretically, if a nuclear bomb were observed intently enough by powerful enough minds, it might not explode. The immense power of our minds to affect the world around us - long a tenet of the Ageless Wisdom - is finally being discovered by science.⁵¹

4.2.3. The Healing Power of Self- Religion

In April 1998 the "Health" page in the *Guardian's* supplement, which normally reports in a medically "orthodox" way about things such as how to cope with migraine, or what to do when one has suffered a stroke, had a one page report on spiritual healing. Of one particular healer, Daphne Guest, the article says:

Working from her home in Malvern, Worcestershire, where she is a piano teacher, she describes her craft as the channelling of energy from a good source, whatever and wherever that may be. When we are ill or stressed through physical or mental imbalance, she says, our energy channels are blocked. When that energy - known as unconditional love - starts to flow again through healing, the balance begins to be redressed.⁵²

The article also addresses the doubts of scientific medicine about spiritual healing, but its tone is generally benevolent towards the healers. The fact that it has appeared on the "Health" page and not under the sensational or curiosity headlines shows that spiritual healing has become mainstream. As New Age religion claims to go

back to the early and true but forgotten meaning of religion, alternative medicine claims that it is 'much earlier in origin and use than orthodox medicine, and it adopts a more natural approach to healing.'⁵³

In fact, New Age has been called by Catherine Albanese 'a new healing religion'⁵⁴. She detects two major directions in New Age healing: 'First, [...], the law of harmony prevails. Healing means harmonizing the energies of the body so that they resonate with larger natural forces and laws'⁵⁵. This approach is expressed by James Redfield in his *Tenth Insight* when he writes on healing:

We know now that the inner attitude of the patient is crucial. A key factor is fear and stress and the way we handle it. Sometimes the fear is conscious, but very often we repress it entirely. [...] If we take this attitude then the fear continues to eat at us unconsciously. Adopting a positive outlook is very important in staying healthy, but we have to engage in this attitude in full awareness, using love, not macho, for this attitude to be completely effective. What I believe is that our unspoken fears create blocks or cramps in the body's energy flow, and it's these blocks that ultimately result in problems.⁵⁶

The second healing strand according to Albanese is the fact, that

the shamanic law reigns supreme. Healing means journeying into the realm of non- matter in which the subtle forces transmute into material substance. [...] The healing shaman, whether self or other, travels to the place of primal energy from which the blueprint for organic life is thought to come.⁵⁷

In contrast to many of the harmonising methods which often work with, in some way, spiritualised matter (as in crystal healing, homeopathic remedies, flower essences, etc.), 'the shamanic model prescribes that one lead with the mind.'⁵⁸ In the wider sense the techniques of the "Human Potential Movement" could be counted under these headings, since in seminars of this kind,

subjects were taught that each person individually creates his or her own reality. Consequently, each person is entirely responsible for the circumstances in which he lives. The key to successful living is to alter your reality so that you are able to succeed or be happy.⁵⁹

Thus the "Self" as described in the previous paragraph is again responsible for the healing process, be it in the "harmonising" or the "shamanic" way. Paul Heelas remarks:

In a general sense of the term, the entire New Age has to do with 'healing': healing the earth [...], healing the dis- eases of the capitalistic workplace [...]; healing the person [...]; and healing disease [...] and/ or illness [...] The greater the importance to inner spirituality, the more clearly healing is New Age. When healing relies on external agencies, that is to say, power, authority and

responsibility is taken away from the person and his or her Self: and this takes us away from New Age Self- spirituality. The authority shift - from without to within - associated with New Age epistemological "Selfism" is what ultimately characterizes New Age healing.⁶⁰

Thus the crystal healer, who re- establishes harmony within the patient, vitalises the self- healing powers of the patient as much as the "shamanic" healer, who takes the patient on his inner journey to allow him to destroy the boundaries of his ego and find the true meaning of his self.

This is what makes New Age so critical about orthodox medicine. For New Age, school medicine approaches the human body externally in a mechanistic way, doctors appearing as figures of external authority who do not take into account the self healing powers of each patient.

Orthodox medicine mainly attacks the symptoms of the particular malady of which the patient is complaining. The alternative forms treat the whole man, seeking to relate his present condition to his whole life- style, which may need to be changed as part of the cure or to prevent a recurrence of the illness. [...] Alternative medicine rejects synthetic drugs in the main, seeking to use natural remedies and to help the body to heal itself.⁶¹

That is what the earlier mentioned little booklet *Healing without Harm* states, confirming the principles outlined above in its criticism of school medicine.

Self- healing again makes the individual responsible for his or her own health, not only in the sense of a healthy diet or enough physical exercise, but also in the sense that health and illness are a matter of my own personal choice, One only needs to be aware of it. The popular American surgeon and propagator of a holistic approach towards health, Bernie S. Siegel, writes:

To be serious, I believe that within that fertilized egg [of a human] is an inner message, an inner awareness that says, "This is your path, this is how you can be the best human being possible." If you follow it, you will achieve your full growth and full potential as a human being before you let go of the Tree of Life - again, whether you die at two or a hundred and two. If you don't, you will become psychologically or spiritually troubled. And if that doesn't call your attention back to your path, you body will become physically ill.⁶²

New- Age writers Corinne McLaughlin and Gordon Davidson connect self- responsibility for personal healing and the self- responsibility for the healing of the planet and thus emphasise the interconnectedness of all being by emphasising the healing power of doing good, what they call "healthy helping":

People who experience healthy helping have better health and overall well-being, which improves the more they volunteer and the more personal contact they have with those they are helping - most especially when helping those they don't know. When our giving is outside our family or community, our actions take on deep, symbolic power, for we are helping to break down the barriers of separateness and enhance collective human unity. There are indications from other research that such helping strengthens the immune system, decreases pain, and helps eliminate attitudes of hostility. This is not surprising, since the influence of the Soul is a great transmuting power, which can uplift and change even the cells of our bodies.⁶³

Thus New Age healing can be called holistic in a double way: it is holistic as it does not separate body and mind, it is also holistic, as it does not separate the individual and the world they live in. True health can only be experienced when mind and body are in harmony, but also when the individual is in harmony with the surrounding world. This world is in a certain way one and the same as the true Self, and from this point of view, as transpersonal psychologist Roger Walsh expresses it:

We would see all people as sharing a common self and human destiny and being part of a single, gigantic, planetary organism. We would see all animals and all life interconnected and interdependent and the earth itself as alive. Where before we saw separation, alienation, and chaos we would now more likely see unity, interconnection, and harmony.⁶⁴

Hexham and Poewe observe how the popularity of spiritual healing spreads through success stories which are being passed on by interested people, and they conclude:

Most people go to holistic healers because someone has told them about being healed by such and such a method or person. In other words, the popularity of holistic healing is spread through myth. [...] The mythological aspects of alternative healing are a modern version of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century magical health movements, and like ancient healing cults, they have roots in primal experiences. Holistic health is therefore the modern expression of an ancient phenomenon.⁶⁵

Healing is certainly one of the keys to understanding the New Age movement. The "mythological" character of alternative health could be one way of seeing the whole movement as such, in its SPIN like consistency. It also directs attention to one of the defining points of New Age religion which we made earlier, namely that it spreads via the bookshelves and media; the modern way of communicating a myth. Healing certainly is the way New Age reaches many people on its fringes, people who are otherwise less inclined to think about religious and metaphysical speculations, but are seeking to improve their health and find the "orthodox" medical establishment unsatisfactory for their needs. Healing roots itself in primal experience. Thus the seeking for it in alternative ways combines a contemporary disaffection with the

medical establishment, which fails in many eyes to deal with the whole human being, and the disaffection for the religious establishment, which fails to cater for the religious needs of many people. It has got a magical quality, but even people on the very fringes of New Age who may not consider themselves as "religious" in any way, can find it acceptable, 'because many practices tend to be cloaked in evolutionary and pseudoscientific language that gives personal myths a cosmic dimension.'⁶⁶

4.2.4. The World of Spirits

McLoughlin and Davidson explain important historical events by the influence of the "Shamballa force", which is 'an energy that works downward into form, bending form consciously to Divine purpose to establish right human relations and circulate the energies of greater Life to all people throughout the planet',⁶⁷ in the following way:

Some spiritual teachings indicate that in 1925 and again in 1975 there was a direct release of the Shamballa energy to Earth for the first time without the mediation of the Enlightened Ones, who had previously protected humanity from the potency of its full impact. [...] The first release in 1925 eventually resulted in the destruction of crystallized attitudes and forms of civilization that were preventing growth of human consciousness. But the distortion and wrong use of this will energy by Hitler and others in World War II created immense suffering. [...] The inflow of Shamballa energy has stimulated movements for peace, philanthropy, the recognition of our common humanity, and the principle of relationship. [...] The Shamballa principle of synthesis - bringing together people, groups, and nations around essential identification with one another - is evidence in the ecumenical movement in religion, the urge toward greater international cooperation through the United Nations, the European Community, citizen diplomacy, cooperation among public service organizations, and the development of transnational cooperations, free trade and the global economy.⁶⁸

And although matter and Spirit are eventually one, since 'Spirit is matter at its highest rate of vibration and matter is spirit at its lowest rate of vibration,'⁶⁹ there is an almost dualist battle between good and evil going on at the metaphysical level, evil being called "Dark Forces", which 'represent involuntary energy - movement into matter and enslavement to it'⁷⁰:

The Dark Forces are actually like vampires, living of the suffering and pain of humanity. Human ignorance of their existence only contributes to their power. While some of the Dark Forces exist solely on the inner levels and seek to influence people from there, others work outwardly in the world. [...] Possessions by evil "astral entities" are also real but never happen by accident. A person in some way opens up the door to possession by being obsessed with obtaining power at any cost, or by abusing drugs, or by practicing black magic rituals (even as a parlor game).⁷¹

Although these Dark Forces have much strength in the physical world, we can, and must, fight them:

While being aware of the existence of the Dark Forces, it is important not to become overly fearful or angry in our response to them or to focus too much attention on them. We are susceptible to them only in our own negative emotions, such as fear and anger, and we have a built-in protection whenever we invoke the love of our Soul or Higher Self or great Masters such as Christ or Buddha. Rather than resisting evil, we need to organize and mobilize the good and thus strengthen the hands of those working for love and the good of the whole so that evil will find less opportunity. We need always remember that love burns the Dark forces - they cannot stand its radiation.⁷²

In our battle with the dark forces we are supported by Devas, or Angels, the inner forces of Nature,⁷³ which exist on many levels of evolution, from the Archangel and the Divine Messenger Angel to the Nature Spirits and elementals in our garden.⁷⁴ Those Devas can help us by the means of attuning even in daily tasks like gardening:

We always have a quiet time of "attunement" (at-one-ment) with the Devas in our garden before working there. We attune to the Devas of trees before we cut them and we have successfully attuned to the Devas of insects to have them leave plants. But when we tried to attune to the Deva or Spirit of the deer to ask them to stop eating our garden, we found that it took many days of meditation to get into rapport with that Deva.⁷⁵

The Devas, however, are not the only extra human forces of energy which shape our world. There are also outgoing and incoming rays, 'which condition human life. As a ray cycles into expression on earth, new ideas, impulses, and life forces are available for changes in human life- styles and institutions.'⁷⁶ Right at the moment, the sixth ray is outgoing:

The Sixth Ray of devotion and idealism has been a primary influence in human affairs for the past two thousand years of the Piscean era. Christ came to earth to inaugurate this cycle by providing an example of a perfected human being. The Sixth Ray energy has helped humanity develop the capacity to imagine this higher ideal and the devotion to strive to live up to Christ's ideal and other ideals. [...] The Sixth Ray also contains tendencies towards fanaticism, personality worship, and the desire to impose beliefs on others - a tendency that manifests most powerfully when a ray energy reaches the end of its cycle of expression.⁷⁷

However, now there is a gradual shifts toward the "Seventh Ray":

The Seventh Ray energy helps human beings contact and recognize God within themselves and all humanity - God Immanent - which is the focus of today's new spirituality. It brings together Spirit and matter. The purpose of the Seventh Ray is to provide the impetus for manifesting spiritual principles here on earth, in our daily lives, in contrast with the earlier Sixth Ray, which was an otherworldly spirituality trying to reach a transcendent God beyond the sinful world.⁷⁸

Besides these celestial rays, there are also the stars which influence the fate of all being. That is why Astrology is necessary, which is 'the study of cosmic timing celestial alignments and radiations from various stars and planets.'⁷⁹ Although it cannot as a cause of events overturn free human will, timing of actions is important.

McLoughlin and Davidson can therefore predict:

In the postconjunction phase, as Uranus moves away from Neptune, new frontiers are often explored, and choices are made that have resonances for the next 171 years. As a result of this conjunction, the cycle of 1994 and onwards is a cycle of intense creative inspiration and opportunity for projects aimed at bettering life on the planet. Pursuits focused on creating a better quality of community, ecological health and social well-being will get a boost and breakthrough for projects that have been incubating for years can occur.⁸⁰

These are some of the features of the spiritual world- view of one New Age publication. New Age in its diversity can produce many more metaphysical or parapsychical entities, e.g. the "energy fields" of James Redfield⁸¹, or the "shamanic worldview" of Roger Walsh⁸². Very often New Age authors use some popular buzzwords of modern science like the quantum theory to back up their metaphysical ideas. Sometimes they just appeal to personal experience. And although some of the spiritual entities seem to be quite fantastic to the outsider they remain within the overall idea of the New Age world- view. Newtonian science and Cartesian philosophy are rejected in favour of a more "holistic approach" to reality. The interconnectedness of all being is emphasised. The ultimate root of all reality is located in the individual Self. Are there not light and dark forces within the Self, which needs to integrate the "Shadow"? If all reality comes from within myself, why should I restrict it to scientific limits and not create healing and helping? If everything is interconnected, why should I not call the "energy fields", which connect me with everything else, Angels, or Devas, or Spirits? Having accepted the basic principles of New Age, (wo-)man is responsible even for the way God exists for the individual. Richard Kyle rightly observes: 'If reality is undivided substance, there can be no sharp distinction between the natural and the supernatural realms.'⁸³ Since the New Age spirit world is not taught but discovered in individual experience it is not questionable. Paul Heelas quotes the brochure of a Reiki healer, who says about his practice: 'Although it has its roots in ancient Buddhist

teaching, it is *not* a faith system. [...] Such teachings are true not because they have been taught by others who know better, but because they "are" authentic.⁸⁴

These spiritual realities originating in the Self and the interconnectedness of the world can be manipulated through divinatory and magic practices. Astrology, palmistry, and "occult" magical practices become intellectually conceivable. Susan Greenwood and colleagues have written an article on their 'Current Research on Paganism and Witchcraft in Britain', and in the paragraph on magic it becomes apparent how much these movements overlap with New Age when we apply our parameters of describing the movement:

There is also a large measure of diversity within the area of magic, with some groups focusing on a particular type of magic, such as Wicca, Chaos Magick, or "Earth Mysteries", whilst many make use of some or all of these types. Indeed, magic means different things to different people, but it essentially depends on the belief in a holistic interconnected universe of energies and forces, many of which may (or may not) be viewed as deities. A much quoted phrase is that magic is 'the science and art of causing change to occur in accordance with Will.'⁸⁵

However, although New Age believes it has recovered many lost treasures of pre-Christian divinatory practices,⁸⁶ it uses many of the old magic tools in a new way. Shoshana Feher reports the different ways Astrology is being used by New Age and non-New Age astrologers. She observes: 'The difference between the two groups is based primarily on the role that astrology plays in their lives: whether astrology is part of a worldview or is perceived as a predictive tool.'⁸⁷ Thus for New Agers magic is not just magic, it is part of a whole. It is worth mentioning the main differences between New Age astrologers and non-New Age astrologers:

- While New Agers 'consider themselves religious, they do not identify with mainline religion. Non-New Agers identify with mainline religion *or* are not religious.'⁸⁸

- Both categories see astrology to a certain extent as a psychological tool, but New Agers more so than others. While non-New Agers are more interested in the predictive element of astrology, 'New Agers are more likely to believe that astrologers should be primarily concerned with counselling people rather than with future events or trends.'⁸⁹

- New Agers are 'likely to engage in other esoteric teachings and to have friends who are involved in astrology, in this way approaching a life-style enclave.'⁹⁰

Magic and divination therefore in the New Age are not necessarily the "quick fix" of problems, but an integral part of the holistic New Age worldview. Like many people who believe and practice astrology without being New Agers, there are many other people who are looking for a "magic" solution for their problems when they consult books or "specialists" on palmistry, crystals, or any other contemporary forms of divination. They are not necessarily New Agers, but people looking for a specific solution to their problems. It is therefore wrong of Richard Kyle to claim, 'The occult phenomena are the most individualistic and strangest aspects of the New Age movement.'⁹¹ They are either an integral part of the New Age worldview and thus lose a lot of their "occult" character, or they are not New Age at all. The fact that they are very popular at the moment does not make them New Age.

To conclude, one can say that the underlying ideas of New Age allow its adherents to live in a universe filled with supernatural entities like angels, spirits, devas, etc. These entities can be communicated with by way of traditional divination and magic. These divinatory practices, however, are integrated into the overall New Age structure. For the New Ager divination therefore is eventually communication with the Self. Whereas in traditional astrology an astrological chart is generally considered to be about the external forces of the stars which influence one's life, New Age astrology is about the stars as the image of a personality, the mirror of one's Self. The traditional practices thus change their meaning when integrated into the New Age religion.

4.2.5. On the Path to Perfection - the Spiritual Evolution of the World

The idea of evolution is an integral part of a wide range of Western religious thought, and anthropologists Hexham and Poewe describe it as functioning as a mythological device in nineteenth century Mormon belief in the preaching of Apostle Parley P. Pratt:

Pratt speculates about humankind's visiting other worlds in the future and places Mormon views of human life within the framework of spiritual evolution [...]. According to Mormon theology, humans are spiritual beings whose existence predates their physical birth. Mormons believe that our spirit bodies originated in eternity and that we progressed to earth to "gain a body" and undergo a probationary period that determines our future state. This spiritual evolution is covered by the "law of eternal progression". As their early leader Lorenzo Snow said, "As man is, God was; as God is man may become." [...] The idea of evolution gives Mormon theology its essential unity by providing Mormon beliefs with an all- embracing operating system.⁹²

Evolutionary thought, of course, has been part of western religious tradition at least since Joachim of Fiore. However, Hexham and Poewe emphasise how it becomes especially important in the 19th century, when the belief in progress was an important part even of secular culture. This cultural belief was translated into religious language as part of Mormon theology, but also in the ideas of Christian Science founder Mary Baker Eddy, or the Theosophy of Madame Blavatsky, and even of the theology of the influential Roman Catholic thinker Teilhard de Chardin.⁹³ New Age has taken over this as one of the most important aspects of its ideology. New Agers McLoughlin and Davidson write:

Examining each event from the inner side, we can begin to see in each the larger context of an evolving Divine Purpose - an outworking Will that fosters the evolution of consciousness as well as the evolution of physical forms. History is simply the record of this unfolding Divine Purpose.⁹⁴

This evolutionary way of seeing history is clearly expressed in Redfield's 'Celestine Prophecy', albeit in the style of a novel. Here the hero lets the history of the last millenium pass through his mind:

Suddenly, in that instant, the span of history Dobson and I had been discussing seemed to integrate fully into my consciousness. I could see the millenium clearly, as though it was part of my own life history. A thousand years ago we had lived in a world where God and human spirituality were clearly defined. And then we had lost it, or better, we had decided there was more to the story. Accordingly, we had sent explorers out to discover the real truth and to report back, and when they had taken too long we had become preoccupied with a new, secular purpose, one of settling into the world, of making ourselves more comfortable. [...] Propelling it all was the call to progress, the desire of the individuals to provide his own security, his own purpose while he was waiting for the truth. We had decided to create a more comfortable and pleasurable life for ourselves and our children, and in a mere four hundred years our preoccupation had created a human world where all the comforts of life could now be produced. The problem was that our focused, obsessive drive to conquer nature and make ourselves more comfortable had left the natural system of the planet polluted and on the verge of collapse. We couldn't go on this way. [...] We were reaching a climax in our cultural purpose. [...] A four hundred years old obsession had been completed. We had created the means of security, and now we seemed to be ready - poised, in fact - to find out why we had done it.⁹⁵

This somewhat lengthy quote shows several characteristics of the New Age view of evolution and history. First of all, although history is not seen uncritically (especially the externally and doctrinally defined world- view of the pre- modern period,⁹⁶ the Cartesian way of separating matter and mind and the Newtonian view of science in the modern world view⁹⁷ are criticised. Generally everything develops

according to a grand plan, which leads us to the point where we are and which will lead us in our continuing development to the future. It is a thoroughly positive view of history and also of future expectation. It also includes a certain romantic notion of history, which seeks the return of a certain age of innocence in the past before the scientific age, or before the Renaissance period, or before the establishment of the Church.

Anthropologist Marion Bowman describes how contemporary New Age Paganism tries to interpret cultural evolution by emulating the Noble Savages, the ideal figure or society of the Golden Age⁹⁸ with the idea of cultural and spiritual evolution. On New Age she observes:

A strong element in New Age thought is the idea of the age of the Spirit; intuitive knowledge from the past, from a variety of mystical or esoteric traditions, from ascended masters, the spirit world and assorted life forms, is perceived to be coming together in new and exciting ways. [...] With this outlook comes the view that there is no such thing as spiritual property, that the spirituality of one group or tradition is applicable to others, and that those with spiritual insights should, in keeping with the new dispensation, be willing to share it.⁹⁹

In Redfield's novel *The Celestine Prophecy* this attitude can be seen in the way he describes the "ancient document" which is the centre of the whole novel. It is a document found in the ruins of an ancient Mayan city - so it comes from "native Americans", one of the prototypes of the Noble Savage.¹⁰⁰ It is from 600 B.C., thus it is pre-Christian and from a culture we know very little about, which is placing it in the Golden Age. It is written in Aramaic, the language of Jesus. It is, as Bowman expresses it, 'all the same really'.¹⁰¹ Bowman writes:

Indeed, applying the logic of cultural evolution, there is a view that not only are Noble Savages of a certain geographical area all the same really, all Noble Savages are the same really. One English informant "with Celtic blood" attended a weekend workshop involving a Lakota and an Ojibwe "sharing" sacred knowledge about the land and spirituality "lost in this country". She felt that what they were teaching was "all there in the Celtic past, lost not forgotten", and that Native American spirituality was "very close to the Celtic thing". "When it comes to spirituality", she declared, "it's all the same in the end."¹⁰²

This view is not always favourably received amongst contemporary "Noble Savages" themselves. Again Marion Bowman reports: 'In the case of native Americans and Australians, when those who are perceived to have taken land and traditional lifestyles away now tell them that they do not own their spirituality, the potential for antagonism is obvious.'¹⁰³ And the "Westocentrism" of New Age can be rather blatant,

in spite of all its fascination for Tibetan Buddhism, Tantric traditions and native American shamanism. The *Celestine Prophecy* again serves as an example. The "Manuscript" talks about the 'close of the second Millenium'¹⁰⁴ although it is Southern American, alternatively Aramaic, and pre- Christian, and yet the history of the whole of humankind is explained in terms of European history.

James Redfield's novel is the popularised version of New Age. To many people it is certainly just an entertaining novel, but the *Experiential Guides* to the *Celestine Prophecy* as well as to the *Tenth Insight* try to transform the books into spiritual sources, and the success of all these publications indicates that to many people they serve as exactly that. On a much more intellectual level Ken Wilber, a critic of the New Age, who also strongly influences it, teaches the evolution of consciousness from the point of view of transpersonal psychology. According to him the evolution of human consciousness has gone through five stages so far and is about to reach stage number six. At the first stage, the archaic stage, '[T]he first sexual- functional *differentiation* has just taken place, based largely on simple biospheric differences[...].'¹⁰⁵ In the very beginning men have sex with women but do not feel any responsibility for their children. But then 'the first major *integration* of these two spheres has also occurred: placing the male in *both* worlds via the altogether novel emergence of the father.'¹⁰⁶ The next stage is the magical- animistic stage, in which, 'because the biosphere and the noosphere are not yet clearly differentiated/ integrated, the subject has special power over the object (magic) and the object has special subjective qualities (animism).'¹⁰⁷ This stage was succeeded by the mythological stage. Here,

personal identity switched to a *role* identity in a society of a common *political* (not generally related) ruler, and this ruler was given legitimacy not because of blood ties but because of his (or sometimes her) special relation to mythological gods/goddesses - "mythic membership".¹⁰⁸

In the following stage of development, the "mythic- rational", rationality mingled with the mythical world view:

Even though it was a mythological worldview that was trying to be propped up, the propping up was nevertheless being done with formal operational thought, and thus central parts of the mythic-rational world were centred around formal rationality and its universalizing or global outreach.¹⁰⁹

Then the rational stage was reached. From now on,

it was not only the case of a subject trying to look at and understand and operate on a world of objects (concrete operational). Suddenly, very suddenly, humanity had taken a new turn, a new transcendence, had discovered a new and deeper interior, with a new and higher consciousness, and that consciousness was to be found by *looking within*.¹¹⁰

Right now at the present we are struggling to reach our next step on the ladder, that of "Vision Logic", in which we 'not just reasonably decide the individual issues, but hold them all together at once in mind, and judge how they fit together as a truth-vision.'¹¹¹ The stages we are to expect in the wider future are the transrational, the transpersonal, and the mystical stage of development.¹¹² Eventually evolution reaches for the highest goal possible:

Evolution seeks only this Formless *summum bonum* - it wants *only this* - and it will *never* find it, because evolution unfolds in the world of form. The Kosmos is driven forward endlessly, searching in the world of time for that which is altogether timeless. And since it will *never* find it, it will *never cease* the search. Samsara circles endlessly, and that is always the brutal nightmare hidden in its heart.¹¹³

4.2.6. The End of the Millenium and the Dawn of the Age of Aquarius

New Age generally sees our world and time in an age of transition. Great changes are ahead of us, important choices are to be made, which have the potential to be fatal if we make the wrong choice, but which will lead us into a new Golden Age if we do it the right way; the latter way being the more probable one. James Redfield predicts that:

[M]ankind is on this planet to consciously evolve. And as we learn to evolve and pursue our particular path, truth by truth, the Ninth Insight says the overall culture will transform in a very predictable way. [...]

Once we reach the critical mass, [...], and the insights begin to come in on a global scale, the human race will first experience a period of intense introspection. We'll grasp how beautiful and spiritual the natural world really is. We'll see trees and rivers and mountains as temples of great power to be held in reverence and awe. We'll demand an end to any activity that threatens this treasure. And those closest to this situation will find alternative solutions to this pollution problem because someone will intuit these alternatives as they seek their own evolution.¹¹⁴

In this outlook of positive expectation concerning the future, there are several aspects of New Age belief we have already talked about, focused into millennialist attitude: the evolution of the individual and culture; the interconnectedness and

sacredness of nature; and in the typical self- confident "pelagian" New Age way, it is convinced that it is our own responsibility, and indeed within our own ability, to save ourselves, humankind, and the planet. We are expected to reach a climax in our own development, which forces us to decide whether we want to jump into the abyss or onto a new plane of existence. In this millennialism, Damian Thompson sees one common denominator within the diverse strands of New Age:

Put simply, the New Age is apocalyptic: it believes in End- time. This fact is not always immediately apparent, since the movement tends to concentrate on the process of personal, individual transformation. But there is a sum of the parts, and it is nothing less than the salvation of the entire planet.¹¹⁵

In the diversity of the New Age movement as a whole, this apocalyptic element consists of a number of elements borrowed from a variety of traditions. Thus the millennialism of New Age is less its central focus but more an overall attitude, and, as Kyle rightly remarks, 'it must be considered as part of the longstanding Western millennial tradition'¹¹⁶

The Astrological influence on New Age supports the belief that we are about to change fundamentally from one important configuration of the planets to a new one:

Due to the precession of the equinoxes - the apparent movement of the grouping of stars we call a "sign" of the zodiac, caused by the wobble of the axis as the Earth rotates - we move astrologically from one age to another. We are leaving the age of Pisces - the watery sign of emotion, mysticism, idealism, and devotion to authority - and entering the age of Aquarius - the airy sign of the intuitive mind, electronics, group consciousness, pouring out the waters of new life through planetary service. Each age has a cycle of approximately 2,120 years. The alteration in cycles is not merely a rhythmic repetition, but rather a significant change that has direction and ultimate meaning. Each change is on a higher turn of a spiral, leading to an expanded awareness for humanity and greater depth of understanding of the Divine Purpose in evolution.¹¹⁷

The belief in this significant astrological change seems to be shared by most New Agers, although the exact timing is more disputed; the suggested dates of the beginning of the Aquarian Age range from 1781 to 3000.¹¹⁸ The Piscean Age has widely been associated with the age of Christianity. It is regarded as an age in which individuals make themselves dependent on outside authorities such as the Christian Church. James Redfield makes one of his novel's characters explain the characteristics of that age:

The churchmen explain that God has placed mankind at the center of this universe, surrounded by the entire cosmos, for one solitary purpose: to win or to lose salvation. And in this trial you must correctly choose between two opposing forces: the force of God and the lurking temptations of the devil. But understand that you don't face this contest alone [...]. In fact, as a mere individual you aren't qualified to determine your status in this regard. This is the province of the churchmen; they are there to interpret the scriptures and to tell you every step of the way whether you are being duped by Satan. If you follow their instructions, you are assured that a rewarding afterlife will follow. But if you fail to heed the course they prescribe, then, well ... there is excommunication and certain damnation.¹¹⁹

This passage, I should point out, is not directly on the Piscean Age but, in his short course on history, on the Middle Ages. However, it describes many characteristics which New Age deplores, and these characteristics are the characteristics of the Age of Pisces: it is authoritative, it is dualistic, it is monolithic. The Age of Aquarius is quite different, it 'is essentially the longed-for, perfect age, albeit one whose dawn may be attended by terrible cataclysms.'¹²⁰ Or, again in the words of James Redfield:

In the new worldview, an integrated mind/body/spirit perception is replacing linear perception. At this stage of consciousness we will be able to handle *paradox*, which means that we will be able to think in terms of both/and, not just either/or. Instead of drawing lines about *concepts* (such as more government vs. less government), we will be able to see the greater context and come up with actual solutions that work for everyone.

Because we are able to stay in touch with our energy flow [...], we will be quick to recognize between feeling heavy and light. We will understand that when we are separated from wholeness [...], we experience a drop in energy and feel alone.¹²¹

Thus New Age millennialism replaces the return of Christ with astrological change (although this can be connected with a return of Christ¹²²). It accepts a postmillennial view: the Golden Age is about to come and will encompass us all. We will all be transformed in the way as described above.

Luc Racine has opposed the myth of the cyclically returning Golden Age to secular Utopian thought and sees millennialism as well as Messianism as stages of development in between these two extremes of *Weltanschauung*. He writes:

Like Utopian thought, Messianism and millenarianism can adapt to a conception that the ideal society is realizable in this world in a durable way and in a future that is more or less near. On the contrary, Messianism and millenarianism differ from Utopia and come close to the paradisiacal myth in that they can adapt a cyclic and negative conception of historical time, and also because they do not give a determinative role to science and reason in the passage from actual society to ideal society.¹²³

If we accepted his terminology, the New Age would be closest to the Utopian strand, which, according to Racine, unites the following features: 'projection of paradise in an accessible future, linear and positive conception of irreversible time, the active intervention of humanity in the establishment of the Golden Age.'¹²⁴ Although these features could be applied to the New Age expectations of the Golden Age of Aquarius, there are a few important characteristics missing. Racine's terminology seems to take for granted the recession of religious thought. The New Age, however, includes religious features as well. Although its idea of time, due to its evolutionary thinking, is eventually linear, or at least in the form of a progressive spiral, the idea of the astrological age of Aquarius has a cyclic character, since all star movement is cyclical. New Age expectations can be messianic (for example by expecting "Christ Maritrea"), and although it stresses "new science", the power of Devas or other spiritual entities can be involved in the arrival of the New Age. Thus Racine's Utopia fits more with communist expectations than New Age thought.

More appropriate to New Age thought is Catherine Wessinger's term "progressive Millennialism". She proposes it as a replacement for the term postmillennialism. Its adherent believes, according to Wessinger, in progressive evolution and 'sees humanity as overcoming contingency according to divine will to achieve a collective terrestrial salvation.'¹²⁵ Wessinger herself associates this view with the New Age movement,¹²⁶ although it must be conceded, as Wessinger does, that due to the great variety of New Age thinking, there are as always exceptions to the rule.¹²⁷ However, as she characterises "progressive millennialism" 'by a keen sense of imminence of the millenium and, often, messianism',¹²⁸ but regards it to be 'unlikely that progressive millennialism is compatible with authoritarian Charismatic leadership and violence',¹²⁹ this term seems to be both, precise and open enough, to encompass the Aquarian expectations of the New Age movement.

Thus New Age is a postmillennial, or better, a progressively millennial movement, a fact which is already indicated by its name: it expects a New Age to arrive with the astrological age of Aquarius, which will be more spiritual, peaceful and happy than the present age of Pisces. This conception of a new age contains elements of cyclical mythical thinking and the return to a Golden Age, but also elements of progressive linear thinking in terms of evolution. It can be connected with a messianic figure, but very often is not. Although humankind has got the option to go horribly wrong, New

Age thought is generally optimistic enough to expect our natural evolution to progress towards the expected world of harmony and spirituality.

4.3. Charismatic Religious Experience and New Age Spirituality

Compared

4.3.1. The Self- Experience and the Individual Intimacy with the Holy Spirit

One of the most profound differences between the New Age and Pentecostal *Weltanschauungen* is the monism of the New Age, which locates God and all reality eventually in the Self of the individual, and the dualism of Pentecostalism, which sees itself fighting for a transcendent God in a spiritual warfare against the devil and his forces. This difference has profound consequences for how the individual perceives themselves in relationship to the world, to other religions and to their own fellow believers. Nevertheless, there is one common factor between them: they both aspire to the personal, intimate, individual experience of the Holy. Traditional faith asserts that the Holy is present in a certain rite or ceremony like the Eucharist, or because "one or two gather in his name", or that it proclaims itself by the preaching of the word. However, by many people this assertion of traditional religion is not accepted as sufficient for individual religious life anymore, but regarded as bloodless articles of faith, as irrelevant dogma, as "mere belief". Val's account of her pre- Charismatic church life is typical in that:

I was brought up as an Anglican. I was always sure that there was a God, but I could not find my way to God. Our church was not very much alive [...].

When I got married, we moved to New Zealand. Since my husband was an Atheist, I did not attend any church for a while. But because I really wanted to find God, I converted to Roman Catholicism, and I really was a good Catholic, I went to Mass and did everything they do. But I still could not get to God, something was not getting through. After three years I came out of Mass with the children, and I asked the children, how they liked it, because children always tell you the truth. The children said, it was terribly boring and dull in church and there was no love in there.¹³⁰

Later on she writes about her water baptism:

'On Sunday [...] when I was sitting in the baptisimal bath, they immediately encouraged me to speak in tongues, but I felt nothing but silence within me. It was the same disappointing feeling which

I had when I was 13 after my confirmation - I was expecting something great to happen, and experienced nothing but disappointment.¹³¹

Traditional church life is not experienced by many as relevant to one's life. The individual does not feel involved in the symbolism and rites which are being performed on their behalf by a priest. Only direct and personal experience can have personal relevance. This feeling is summed up by Charismatic evangelist John Fergusson, who writes:

God's sign of the New Covenant is not the cross, though it has been pointed out that that is Christ's unique logo. Indeed it is, but it is not ours. Nor is the sign the blood of Jesus, though the mark of the blood is part of the inheritance of every believer. Neither is the covenant sign the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion, which is a sacrament, not a sign. No, *the covenant sign of the New Testament is the baptism of the Holy Spirit.*¹³²

And a little later on he declares:

We have seen the Lord and have lived! Greater than this, we have been allowed past the cherubim and the flaming sword, and eaten the fruit from the tree of life. God's fire separated and marked each one individually. The baptism of the Holy Spirit is not just a sign to the whole body of Christ, but to individuals. Each one is declared and demonstrated to be holy in God's sight.¹³³

In the first quotation Fergusson rejects all the traditional symbols of communal religious experience, symbols which embody the faith of a community and thus elevate it from the purely subjective individual experience onto a more inter- subjective plane. It is the belief in the meaningfulness of external symbols which binds the faithful together. Ferguson, however, propagates the individual experience of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, 'not just a sign to the whole body of Christ, but to individuals'. Spirituality is taken away from the more objective symbolic plane onto the purely individual, subjective plane. Consequently the religious practitioner feels in a more secure position than the traditional believer. He/she does not only believe, he/she knows. 'We have seen the Lord and have lived!' says Fergusson. 'Not propositional belief, the substance of faith, but personal *experience*, whereby we personally see, hear and feel the immediate nearness of God,¹³⁴ is what preacher Guy Chevreau asks for. This is the direct advantage of the Charismatic over the traditional Christian experience.

This is also where Charismatic spirituality meets New Age. Phillip C. Lucas, who to my knowledge has published the only comparison between Charismatic and New Age religiosity so far, writes on the direct personal experience of the sacred for both groups:

What is clear is that, for both New Agers and Pentecostals/ charismatics, these events are experienced as a dramatic breakthrough of sacred power into the ordinary world, as an intensely personal, often ecstatic interaction with this power, and as compelling evidence of the proximity of other realms of being.¹³⁵

We encounter a similar idea of religious knowledge, *gnosis*, if you like, when confronting the spiritual experiences of the Charismatic Christian, as described by Guy Chervreau, the Charismatic preacher, and of the New Age shaman, as described by Roger Walsh when he describes traditional and "contemporary" shamanism.¹³⁶ Both would criticise traditionally organised religion as 'an institution largely devoid of direct experience of the sacred'¹³⁷ and ask for a renewed access to direct religious experience as they claim to have discovered it either in other religious traditions such as in shamanism or in the early Church. In that they both show a certain kind of romanticism, they claim to go back to very ancient roots by very modern means. As Toronto Airport Vineyard ministry team member Marc Dupont's prophecy of 1993 reveals: 'There is going to be a move of the Spirit of God on the city that is going to include powerful signs and wonders, *such as in the early days of the Church in Jerusalem*.'¹³⁸ Guy Chervreau is quite certain that

the worship of the early Church is characterized by an openness to, and dependence on, the immediate inspiration of the Spirit, be it through prophecy, spontaneous prayer and extemporaneous preaching, spiritual songs, and perhaps above all, an unfettered enthusiasm and joy.¹³⁹

Thus he can conclude that for the past as for the present, '[I]t is the *experiential* reality of the presence of God that stands at the centre of biblical faith.'¹⁴⁰

In a similar way New Age looks back to exotic or bygone religious tradition as untainted by rationalism and theoretical abstract thought and as a way to direct religious experience and knowledge. Thus, for example, while shamanism on the one hand, 'is taken as the universal pre- historic religion for which we feel a certain nostalgia [...], it is also a universally available technique which may be put into practice

in any cultural context as long as the correct procedures are followed.¹⁴¹ This reverses a process of degradation of religion which has led to

an institution largely devoid of direct experience of the sacred, without firsthand understanding of altered states and the transcendental experiences they access. Techniques for inducing altered states then give way to mere symbolic rituals, direct experience is replaced by belief, and living doctrine fossilizes into dogma.¹⁴²

Catharine Albanese writes, that

mysticism recreates in a provisional way the diffused religion of the mythic ages even as it incorporates the revelation of the institution through its appeal to a continuing inner voice. In so doing so mysticism, for want of a better word, "reprimativizes" religion, conflates it with self and word and, therefore, in its amorphousness, also with society.¹⁴³

This can be said about both the mysticism of New Age and Charismatic Christianity. They both "reprimativise" religion, the one attempting to go back into the "Golden Age" of the early Church, the other by making use of "ancient techniques of ecstasy", and thus the revelation of an institution (the Church on the one hand, the many institutions New Age chooses eclectically on the other hand) is incorporated into the individual. Although the world-views of both groups differ fundamentally, they agree how religion must be experienced, *viz.* individually and directly, and how it is flawed, *viz.* by dogmatisation, ritualization, hierarchy, and theoretical concept.

4.3.2. Healing as Deliverance or Healing by the Power of Self

Both Pentecostalism and New Age put a lot of emphasis on alternative ways of healing. Lucas remarks that 'both of these movements place a strong emphasis on the healing and inner transformation of the wounded, fragmented modern individual through various nonmedical means.'¹⁴⁴ Before him Albanese said: 'For both movements, physical health is a sign of blessing, part of the empowerment that comes through close contact with what is sacred.'¹⁴⁵ Both movements have rejected the Western dichotomy of mind and body. They both acknowledge that physical and spiritual well being are interconnected and that physical problems can have other than just organic reasons.

Thomas J. Csordas states in his award winning essay 'Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology' that in the lived world of perceptual phenomena, 'our

bodies are not objects to us. Quite the contrary, they are an integral part of the perceiving subject.¹⁴⁶ Our culture, however, tends to objectify the body, and the person is reduced to their mind. This view is not followed by many Charismatics or New Agers, which results in a different view of themselves and others. Csordas observes:

If we do not perceive our own bodies as objects, neither do we perceive others as objects. Another person is perceived as another "myself", tearing itself away from being simply a phenomenon in my perceptual field, appropriating my phenomena and so conferring on them the dimension of intersubjective being, and so offering "the task of a true communication"¹⁴⁷

Now the way religious practice works is that it

exploits the habitus in order to transform the very dispositions of what is constituted. What is out of the ordinary in such situations, and what therefore can be thematized as sacred, is the evocation in ritual of the preorchestrated dispositions that constitute its sense. The locus of the sacred is the body, for the body is the existential ground of culture.¹⁴⁸

Csordas' view helps us to understand the similarity of New Agers and Charismatics in their relationship towards healing. They do not perceive the body as object, but as the locus of the sacred, the Self, the Chakras, or the Holy Spirit. It is the body with which the sacred shows itself, by resting in the Spirit, speaking in tongues or channeling, as Csordas says, the elimination of the dichotomy between "me" and "my body", has as a consequence the elimination of another dichotomy, namely that between "me" as a subject and the other person as an object. Therefore "I" recognise myself in the experience of the other. Thus not the body nor the other is the object anymore, but the personal experience becomes objectified. The experience now is "the other". The experience now is sacred. This 'shift from a realist epistemology (usually associated with empiricism, but also Christian fundamentalism) to, one might say, its "twin", a revelationist epistemology (associated with postcritical philosophy and Charismatic Christianity),¹⁴⁹ as Karla Poewe describes it for the Charismatics, is also a characteristic of the New Agers.

Poewe, on the other hand, indicates a significant difference between Charismatics and New Agers, when she compares the epistemology of the Charismatic Christian with that of an empiricist: 'Charismatic Christians share with empiricists the assumption that reality exists independently of the observer.'¹⁵⁰ It is here where the

New Ager and Charismatic part company, since for the New Ager reality never exists independently from the observer but is formed by the observer. Consequently, as illness is caused for the Charismatic Christian by evil influences, it is caused for the New Ager by him- or herself. As Shirley McLaine writes:

And human beings feeling pain, terror, depression, panic, and so forth, were really only aspects of pain, terror, depression, panic, and so on in me! If they were all characters in my reality, my dream, then of course they were only reflections of myself...If we create our own reality, then of course we are everything that exists within it. Our reality is a reflection of us.¹⁵¹

Consequently if even the evil which seems to be outside myself is part of myself, then illness within me is part of my self- created reality. The task of a healer then must be to help me to find out how I am causing this reality which causes me pain. Consequently New Age Doctor and healer Bernie M. Siegel writes about his patients with incredible cancer remissions: 'They all learned that it's yourself you have to change in order to heal.'¹⁵² This is New Age monism against Charismatic dualism once again. Where the New Ager tries to recreate harmony and integration of the different forces within oneself, the Charismatic Christian fights the evil and tries to exorcise it.

To clarify, Charismatic healing is not solely based on exorcism, the dualism of God and the devil always plays an important part in it. American evangelist Benny Hinn gives seven answers to the question, 'Why does Christ heal?'¹⁵³ Because he has compassion, to bring glory to his Father, to fulfil the Father's promise, because it belongs to his children, it demonstrates the power of God as well as the power of his blood, and to destroy the works of the devil.¹⁵⁴ However, none of these reasons leaves the dualistic world view of Charismatic faith. Healing happens either to increase the intensity of Christ's light in our dark world, or to directly fight the devil.

Thomas Csordas in a recent article describes a few examples of Roman Catholic Charismatics, where this dualism is not quite as obvious. He can say: 'The bad self is not abandoned, but merged with the good self in the embrace of the divine figure.'¹⁵⁵ However, he argues that the healing experience is a 'manifestation of genuine intimacy with a primordial aspect of the self - its *otherness* or *alterity*.'¹⁵⁶ This otherness of the self he identifies with Jesus.¹⁵⁷ This, of course, I would like to argue, is the view of the anthropologist Thomas Csordas, not of the Charismatic Christian.

The Charismatic Christian will stress the importance of Jesus being external and not identical to himself. To this "external" Jesus the patient can relate in the case of a healing ritual, and 'within the imaginal performance, the patient engages in intimate interaction with both the perpetrators of trauma and the divine figures.'¹⁵⁸ Charismatic Christianity embedded in the broader philosophical and ritual system of Roman Catholicism may have a broader range of metaphysical ways to deal with illness than exorcism, but even the Catholic Charismatic will stress the otherness between himself on one hand, and God on the other hand. The dualism is never abandoned.

To conclude we would like to emphasise again the similarity between New Age and Charismatic healing. Both refuse to see the body just as a physical object, but they see it as an integral part of themselves. As a consequence both tend to objectify the experience they have with that body as experience of the sacred. Part of this experience is physical healing. However, the different worldviews of both groups create different views of healing as well. While healing for New Age means a harmonisation of one's own self- created reality within one's self, healing for Charismatic Christians normally means the experience of the duality of good and evil, of God and the Devil.

4.3.3. Evolution into Paradise or Apocalypse Now?

Catherine Wessinger defines millennialism as the

audacious human belief that suffering and death, i.e., evil, will be eliminated, so that collective (not simply individual) salvation is accomplished on earth. The audacity of this expectation lies in the conviction that finitude can be overcome in the here and now rather in an undisprovable afterlife.¹⁵⁹

This definition applies to both, Charismatic Christian apocalyptic belief, and New Age belief of evolution into the Golden Age of Aquarius.

Charismatic preacher John Fergusson predicts for the world a final judgement, since 'the Holy Fire of God instantly destroys all that is unholy.'¹⁶⁰ He explains:

In fact, a God of love *must* also be a God who judges unrighteousness. Pure love must abhor sin. [...] [I]t is not enough simply to be separated from sin, but sin must be destroyed if purification is to occur, and love to remain pure.¹⁶¹

This judgement will be given at one final point of history, after which there will be a new heaven and a new earth.¹⁶² Consequently the earth and its history are coming to an end.

These different views of history are normally described as premillennialism or postmillennialism, as Wessinger explains:

Premillennialism is used by scholars to denote a pessimistic expectation of universal catastrophe caused by divine intervention to destroy the world as we know it and then subsequently to establish the millennial salvation. The term postmillennialism is used to refer to the optimistic expectation that human effort working progressively according to a divine plan will bring about the millennium.¹⁶³

As we described earlier, due to the different expectations for the future, Wessinger prefers the terms "catastrophic" and "progressive" millennialism. In this case, the Charismatic view is catastrophic millennialism, whereas the New Age view is progressive millennialism. The catastrophic character becomes evident in the Worldwide Web page "Apocalypse soon", which predicts:

Countdown. It's almost midnight. Several prophetic events are about to take place that will take an unprepared world by storm. As the prophetic clock ticks inexorably forward, history is swiftly speeding to its inevitable end. [...] The Church, as it was prophesied, is mostly asleep and uninterested. The world, in an orgy of New Ageism is bringing forth much end- of- the millennium nonsense or dusting off old staples like Nostradamus. The blind leading the blind. Bible prophecy, graciously given to us by God, is the only beacon of light and compass in the present and increasing spiritual darkness. And while this heralds the beginning of the Kingdom of God on earth, getting there will prove to be the most traumatic and trying time ever since man walked the earth. **Two thirds of mankind will perish during this time of unbelieving devastation and only the return of the Lord Jesus Christ will prevent the total destruction of mankind.** God is about to pass His Judgement upon a sinful, unrepenting (and proudly- so) mankind.¹⁶⁴

The Charismatic writers we have encountered in the course of this thesis prove to be in this tradition of thought, when they describe the wrath of God in terms of burning sulphur.¹⁶⁵

Frightening images are foreign to the New Age. Here we can find millennialist images reminding us of traditional biblical language, but it is all more positive than in the Charismatic literature. The situation described is not fundamentally different, but seen critically as an urgent emergency. The solution, however, is not expected to be as gloomy as described by the catastrophic millennialists. Another Website, this time New Age, says:

The problems of the planet are so massive that working with a few individuals is not going to cut it, or create enough critical mass to shift the rest. It will take a wider view and a more global approach to make effective inroads into healing our planetary situation. Fortunately, there are millions of persons of goodwill who want to do whatever they can to reverse destructive trends on the planet today.¹⁶⁶

The *Celestine Prophecy* already foresees what the world, transformed by those people of goodwill, will look like:

The Ninth Insight explains how human culture will change in the next millennium as a result of conscious evolution. It describes a significantly different way of life. For instance, the Manuscript predicts that we humans will voluntarily decrease our population so that we all may live in the most powerful and beautiful places on the Earth. [...] According to the Ninth Insight, by the middle of the next millennium [...] humans will typically live among five hundred year old trees and carefully tended gardens, yet within easy travel distance of an urban area of incredible technological wizardry. By then, the means of survival - foodstuffs and clothing and transportation - will be totally automated and at everyone's disposal. Our needs will be completely met without the exchange of any currency, yet also without any overindulgence or laziness.¹⁶⁷

Interestingly enough the influence of biblical tradition is so strong, that both groups can foresee a rapture of the "true believer", a miraculous disappearing into the realm of God, in the time of apocalyptic change. Unsurprisingly the anonymous writer of the 'Apocalypse soon' internet website foretells: 'The Rapture of the believers can occur at any time, since there is no prophecy that must be fulfilled before its [sic] taking place.'¹⁶⁸ The *Celestine Prophecy* on the other hand foretells:

The Ninth Insight [...] says that as we humans continue to increase our vibration, an amazing thing will begin to happen. Whole groups of people, once they reach a certain level, will suddenly become invisible to those who are still vibrating on this lower level. It will appear to the people on this lower level that the others just disappeared, but the group themselves will feel as though they are still right there - only will they feel lighter.¹⁶⁹

The different views between them are something Charismatic Christians and New Agers are both fully aware of and there is an area of open conflict between them, which leads none of them to mince their words. John Fergusson fumes against New Age monism:

The third great deception is simply that hell does not exist at all; that there is no "void of separation" and therefore no universal salvation. Allied with the Eastern and New Age idea that there is no such thing as evil, there is then no need for either hell or salvation from it. Now we have slipped completely off the rungs of anything which could be called Christian doctrine, and are falling into *pluralism*, or the tolerance of all religions. Just as the Assyrians, who "spoke about the God of

Jerusalem as they did about the gods of other peoples of the world - the works of men's hands" (2 Chron 32:19) ridiculed Hezekiah for his faithfulness to the Lord, so the multi-cultural, multi-racial society of today looks with severe disapproval upon those who remain dogmatic about their own faith. Labelled "exclusivism" and described as the "I-am-right-and-everyone-else-is-wrong" syndrome it is painted as the severest form of bigotry, and not to be tolerated. Hezekiah-style unswerving faithfulness is called "narrow minded dogmatism". This intolerance is extended both to Christians who take their faith literally and seriously (labelled 'fundamentalists') and incidentally to Jews who do too. This results in consequent ridicule and persecution of born-again Bible believing Christians and fundamental Judaism. It rapidly degenerates into the very hypocrisy of which it is so critical. And, of course, anti-Judaism is anti-Semitism. The author of this thinking then begins to show his true colours. *Pluralism is a satanic plot to deny the truth of Scripture and the uniqueness of Jesus Christ.*¹⁷⁰

Fergusson attacks several points at once here, apparently without being aware of the inconsistencies in what he is sayingⁱ. On the one hand, he attacks New Age monism and consequently the lack of a catastrophic millennialism in New Age. By attacking New Age monism, he also attacks the concept of pluralism, and the tolerance of all religions, and a multi-cultural and multi-racial society. It is here he becomes inconsistent - and, as it seems, racist, because he mixes the religious with the political. He is consistent in that a dualistic worldview and a catastrophic millennialism are interconnected. If there is a battle of good and evil going on, and one assumes the final victory of the good, one can come to the conclusion that this final purification has to be catastrophic for all who are not part of the saved minority. However, he extends his dualism to everything which is different from him, not only in matters of religion, but also in race and culture, and here lies the great danger of Charismatic catastrophic millennialism, as in Charismatic dualism generally. As long as it is the religion of the poor and suppressed, it strengthens the believers and helps them to survive in a hostile world, but as soon as this thinking becomes the religion of a wealthy, middle class society, there is a danger of it being used to serve as a means to defend racial supremacy, social division, and an unjust status quo. On the other hand Fergusson accuses the New Age of being intolerant towards exclusive Christianity and Judaism. This seems to be paradoxical, but is not absolutely unfounded. New Age's view that everything eventually is one, has the tendency to lose sight of the differences between and varieties of phenomena, traditions, and points of views. Other religious practitioners who cannot follow this position are then labelled as short-sighted. They in

ⁱ Actually, by complaining about being labelled "fundamentalist" he demonstrates that he is ignorant of the fact, that "fundamentalism" is a label invented by the "fundamentalists" themselves, who try to live their religious life according to five fundamentals. This ignorance, on the other hand, highlights the distinctiveness between Charismatic Christians and true Christian fundamentalists.

turn feel New Age has stolen their spiritual property and then sidelined them. This problem concerns not only conservative Christians. Marion Bowman reports on followers of traditional religions, who feel reduced to "noble savages" by the New Age:

One person's elective affinity or post-modern religiosity may seem to others like cultural travestism. The problem is that there are real native Americans, more conventionally defined Celts, real native Australians. At the interface where Cardiac Celts meet the more conventionally defined Celt, where spiritual searcher meets native peoples, all will not necessarily be sweetness and light. One might see a kindred spirit, the other an incomer, another form of cultural imperialism.¹⁷¹

This tension between traditional religion and New Age culminated in an intended but not finalised "Declaration of War", demanded by native American Indians and Australian Aborigines in the Parliament of the World's Religions in 1993.¹⁷² The same tension in a way is also expressed by Fergusson, Christianity being culturally so much closer to New Age than many of the exotic religions New Age is so fascinated with.

Finally one has to say, of the passage quoted from Fergusson, that his closeness to Judaism is important in regard to Charismatic catastrophic millennialism,ⁱⁱ since the rebuilding of the temple and the conversion of the Jews are seen as necessary prerequisites for the final tribulations.¹⁷³

On the other hand, the New Age often takes a position of superiority regarding the catastrophic millennialism of many Charismatic and fundamentalist Christians. James Redfield lists the catastrophic millennial belief as an example of 'beliefs and fears that blind us to other creative possibilities'¹⁷⁴ in the following way:

The Bible says these are the last days that are being set up for the return of the Christ. Fear: "Our destruction has been preordained." Belief: "The Bible is a literal message about our future, and nothing we have done so far has been able to change the prediction."

We have to suffer wars, natural disasters, and other apocalyptic events such as global warming, riots, and chaos. Fear: "We are being punished." Belief: "We have sinned." This reflects a collective poor-me/victim attitude that stops creative response.

War will ensue, and then angels of God intervene and install a spiritual utopia that lasts a thousand years. Fear: "Our dark side will prevail, and we'll get what's coming to us." Belief: "You can't have the good without the bad." This attitude thinks darkness and evil are inevitable, and abdicates the co-creative aspect of God and wo/man, giving all redemptive power to the angels of God.¹⁷⁵

ⁱⁱ Interestingly enough he does not at all defend Islamic fundamentalism.

Thus the New Age stance against their Charismatic and fundamentalist Christian counterparts is generally more subtle than the Christian fire and brimstone preaching against the "New Age devil". It sees itself as advanced, having left behind narrow thinking in terms of good and evil, black and white, and having reached a more universal view. New Age does with the Christian worldview, what it tends to do with all traditional religions; it reduces it to psychology. The view of fundamentalist and Charismatic Christians is described as a fear of oneness and unity, which, in the words of McLoughlin, 'may be due to the fact that many who are drawn to simplistic fundamentalist perspectives are "pre- individualized" and haven't as yet discovered their own identity as individuals. For them anything transcending individuality is not yet appropriate.'¹⁷⁶ The New Age takes the standpoint of the patient therapeutic healer facing an unwilling client whom it wishes to heal.

To sum up, the main difference between New Age and Charismatic millennialism is that New Age fosters a progressive millennialism while Charismatic Christians tend to adhere to the catastrophic type of millennialism. Consequently they both have a different idea of history: the New Age sees history as a progressive spiral, while Charismatics have got a more linear idea of history which will come to an end eventually as it had a beginning with the creation. These contradictory ideas are closely connected with the contrast between the dualism of good and evil of the Charismatic Christians and New Age monism.

4.3.4. Angels, Demons, Spirits: the Inhabitants of the Spiritual Realm

Angels are intelligent beings, capable of feelings, yet of a different species. This means we can't perceive them ordinarily with our eyes and ears, but they can perceive us. The word "Angel" is the Latin word for "messenger". Angels are the messengers of God and are the collective group of beings - citizens of "inner space". Some people believe that Angels are the thoughts of God, and other believe that they just send us messages that God would like us to know when we ask for help and guidance.¹⁷⁷

Is the text New Age or Pentecostal? In this case it is from a New Age author. However, the imagery of his or her description proves one further point of similarity between the New Age and modern Charismatic Christianity. Both have constructed a whole universe of supernatural beings, some helpful, some harmful, all fascinating for those concerned with them. They are part of the religious world experienced by those

who follow either the Charismatic or the New Age path. Religious experiences with a strong impact invite explanations, and those are often sought in another spiritual realm.

Anahid Schweikert of the Charismatic magazine *Charisma* reports about one such experience:

An acquaintance of mine was driving alone on a wintry highway, returning from an emotional visit with relatives out of town. She had been wrestling with strange feelings that she would soon die. While she was driving, two angels suddenly appeared on the hood of her car and another in the passenger seat. Noticing a light behind her, she turned around to find three more angels riding there. The encounter lasted only about five seconds, but the memory of it has never faded. "I felt peaceful and secure", she said. She described the angels with one word: light. She said their features were humanlike but were too bright to be recognized in detail, and they wore white garments -- descriptions that are universally reported.¹⁷⁸

This description could have been made by either a New Ager or a Charismatic Christian; and again, it is the *experience*, which forms the ideas, or, as Phillip Lucas puts it in his comparison between the two groups, the emphasis lies with 'each movement's attempt at *rediscovery of invisible realms of sacred power* and each movement's emphasis on *ecstatic, emotional experience* of this power.'¹⁷⁹ He detects a significant parallel between the beliefs of New Age and Pentecostals: 'each assumes a functional, dynamic relationship between spirit beings (however conceived) and humans. These beings are being experienced as *real* and as part of a subtle, sacred dimension that constantly interacts with mundane reality.'¹⁸⁰ Lucas even discovers

a cosmological vision similar to that of traditional peoples, who perceive the cosmos as populated with a multitude of malevolent and benevolent noncorporeal entities, who act as causative agents in processes such as disease, plant growth, and human psychological breakdown.¹⁸¹

This last statement remains to be questioned: we will come back to it soon. However, the connection of the *ecstatic experience* of the sacred and *the description of one's relationship to the sacred* in terms of a multilayered supernatural reality seems to be plausible.

Gerard Roelofs defines religious language as 'language in which people articulate religious experience and reflect on it,'¹⁸² in order to enable us 'to deal with talk and meta- talk about those events to which believers attribute religious meaning. This includes not only participant's talk about the supernatural, but also talk about worldly affairs and human beings.'¹⁸³ This language can be metaphorical or metonymic. Both work differently. A metaphor is a 'use of words to indicate sth [sic; abbreviation

for something] different from the literal meaning,¹⁸⁴ while a metonymy is a 'shift in meaning that is accomplished by using an adjunct to stand for the whole.'¹⁸⁵ Thus the direction of metaphor and metonymy points to two different goals; the metaphor's purpose is to 'cast up and organize a network of associations,'¹⁸⁶ the metonymy 'directs one's attention straight to the non- uttered term.'¹⁸⁷ Metonymical religious talk therefore is only possible 'amongst speakers who hold explicit ideas about Him[...]' Such an attitude of confidence originates either from a strong conviction of faith or from a position of uncertainty,¹⁸⁸ and this strong conviction is brought forward by direct experience.¹⁸⁹ Here lies the central difference between New Age and Charismatic religious talk. While Charismatic religious talk is metonymic, New Age experience is described metaphorically. The experience of the Charismatic is interpreted directly along the lines of the Bible: this means that, and that means this. This becomes evident when we compare the Charismatic description of Angels with that of a New Age author. First Schweikert from *Charisma* magazine, who starts by distancing himself from the New Age camp:

When it comes to recognizing Angels, discernment has less to do with feelings and more to do with having a standard of truth. The Bible debunks modern spiritualism, which retains eternal life but does away with God, heaven and hell. It's no doubt impossible to stay informed about all spiritual deceptions. But as Terry Law notes, the best way to discern angels is to understand what the Bible says about them. "Then there's almost an automatic knowing, because of knowing the word of God", he says.¹⁹⁰

He goes on to describe the status and character of Angels by quoting different verses of the Bible. The anonymous New Ager we quoted earlier on the other hand, describes Angels as 'citizens of "inner space"'. He goes on:

Angels work with our souls, in conjunction with Universal Mind, to help us raise our sights and spirits and the goodness that exists within everything. Angels are loving, caring beings who help us in loving, caring ways. We are living in a new era of spirituality. We are coming out of an era of materialism. And Angels- with or without wings - are making a comeback. They have always been with us in every time and culture.¹⁹¹

"In every time or culture" - it is all the same, really. Thus while the Pentecostal Christian explains his or her experiences in a metonymical way by using the surface of the Scripture, the New Age person deals with them metaphorically: as symbols of his self- truth. The New Age person therefore has many more ways of expressing his or her experiences; they are not restricted to biblical imagery. Whether they are

surrounded by Angels, Devas, Spirits, the deceased, or just a Presence, does not really matter. Roelofs is right, when he remarks that 'the metonymy's creative potential is less than that of the metaphor.'¹⁹² This brings us back to Lucas' claim that New Ager and Charismatics share a cosmic vision similar to that of traditional peoples. If we look at the metaphorical view of New Age this cannot be the case. Traditional peoples do not move in their spiritual world metaphorically, but neither is it a metonymical world. They do not need to verify experiences according to a certain code, or book, etc.. Neither do they feel under stress to defend their reality against other forms of reality. If a traditional shaman meets his guardian spirit x, he meets his guardian spirit x, which is an ontological reality for him. He does not meet some entity which derives from his search for his Self, nor must he consult the Bible to inform himself about that guardian spirit. As a modern biologist can say, 'a mouse is a mouse is a mouse', he could say 'guardian spirit x is guardian spirit x is guardian spirit x'. The Charismatic view, though, is still closer to the traditional peoples' way of seeing reality than the New Age view, since both regard reality as an objective reality, while the New Ager sees all reality as subjective.

The metaphorical view of New Age which eventually points to the conviction that all reality is one, makes the New Age look much more at the positive side of entities of the supernatural realm, while Charismatics with their dualistic worldview are much more preoccupied with the negative and dark side of supernatural beings. The author of the earlier quoted website who is being subsumed under the heading "New Age" here, consequently can say, 'there are no such thing as "bad" Angels, because only those of the highest enlightenment are chosen by God to serve as Angels.'¹⁹³

Anahid Schweikert, on the other hand, warns:

It was an angel - Lucifer - who was first cast out of heaven because of his prideful desire to be like God. He also brought down a third of the angels, now subject to him in his campaign against God and man (see Rev. 12:9). Called the Father of Lies, the Tempter, the Prince of Demons, Satan can even disguise himself as an angel of light (see 2 Cor. 11:14). It follows that his fallen angels do the same.¹⁹⁴

In their spiritual warfare Charismatics sometimes concentrate on Satan and his army so intensely that they are in danger of seeing anything else but demons, which are minutely classified and named, in their spiritual reality (Compare chapter 2 on

'Deliverance'). As a consequence, healing for Charismatics often means deliverance from evil spirits, while for New Age people it normally means self- healing (see above).

To sum up, both New Age and Pentecostalism foster the idea of a supernatural world, inhabited by different sorts of entities. However, whereas the New Age view of this world could be described as metaphorical, *viz.* being an expression for something else, i.e. the reality which originates in one's Self, the Pentecostal view is metonymic: it is the experience of a reality which one finds described and explained literally in the Bible. The New Age has therefore more scope for creativity and experiences a wide range of beings from Angels to Devas and Spirit. They are mostly essentially good and looked at in a positive way which is typical for the New Age. The Charismatic choice of entities is much restricted to those mentioned in the Bible and a dualistic world view and their a sense of fighting a spiritual war causes a preoccupation with negative entities like the devil and his demons.

4.3.5. Conclusion

Phillip C. Lucas notes as the final common feature of New Age and the Charismatic revival that 'each movement sees itself as part of a planetary spiritual transformation that is helping to bring about a transformation wherein the locus of authority will be the individual rather than an institution.'¹⁹⁵ This in a way sums up all possible points of comparison between both movements. The centre of religious authority does not rest with a church, a dogma, a creed, academic philosophy or theology, or a certain ordained religious figure any more, but with one's own individual religious experiences. This can be seen as the consequent continuation of modern individualism, the belief that the individual human being is the centre of the world, and only what the individual human being experiences is valid for their life. Be it channeling, or speaking in tongues, be it healing by crystals or by the Holy Spirit, be it an exorcism or the invocation of pagan Gods, all these are expressions of a desire to 'see rather than to believe'(John 20. 29). It is the victory of empiricism over faith, the victory of individual centred thinking over community centred thinking. Lucas claims that 'both movements place a high value on the reintegration of the individual into an intimate, stable, and meaningful sacred community.'¹⁹⁶ This community however is secondary, the individual comes first. The individual chooses the community which

best meets the individual's needs, and as soon as this need is not met anymore by a particular community, the individual will look for another one. Perrin, Kennedy and Miller in their examination of conservative church growth prove that the majority of recruits to new evangelical movements [NEMs] (most of them are Charismatic) in the US have come from other conservative churches,¹⁹⁷ after breaking away from their original traditional liberal Protestant or Catholic churches many years ago.¹⁹⁸ What they call "new volunteerism", 'which seems especially to characterize the baby boomers who largely comprise NEM memberships, has resulted in greater church "shopping", as Christians actively search for the church which best meets their needs.'¹⁹⁹ The same generation, the "baby boomers", are also the main clientele of New Age,²⁰⁰ where in most cases the groups which meet are not as closely defined as a church congregation. Asked about their religious identity, the visitors of London's St James Picadilly's New Age lectures (SJA)

...revealed the greatest diversity. Twenty- three percent claimed no present religious identity [...]. Only 8 percent of the SJA respondents identified their current identity as "New Age". Another 16 percent ranged between Buddhist, neo- Christian Buddhist, Hindu, and Vedic, 10 percent described their religious preference as "spiritual", and another 8 percent used the terms "Pagan" (3) or "Goddess religion" (1). The Christian element is only to be identified within the following: neo- Christian Buddhist (42F), open- minded Christian (35M), Quaker (37F), and "a mixture of many: Christian/ Spiritualist/ Buddhist, etc." (40F). And apart from the unspecified 'Orthodox', the only semi- Jewish response was listed as "Hindu/ Jewish" (30F). Two people spoke of "The God (force) within (me)". Other responses include none- Taoism, none- nature, religious (nonspecific), open, eclectic, my own path, own inner guidance, no religious dogma, alternative, any, and all pathways.²⁰¹

Like the NEMs examined by Perrin and colleagues, the majority of New Age people had been raised in traditional churches (SJA: 61% Protestant, 14% Catholic, 12.5% Jewish, 6% other, 6% none²⁰²). This behaviour of pick and mix in religious affairs is contrary to the old parochial system. Everyone was part of a community, religious and secular. *Rites de passage* confirmed the membership within the community. This way of life started to die with the industrial revolution. The restriction of religion to personal religious experience unrelated to the community one is part of in secular life, e.g. at work, is the finalisation of secularisation. What Paul Heelas says of the New Age can be said about both of the movements:

From the time of Renaissance, the standard account under consideration maintains that a variety of factors have served to weaken the hold of the cultural domain as a external order of

authority. Increasingly, especially during the last couple of centuries, people have ceased to think of themselves as *belonging to*, or as *informed by*, overarching- systems. Such disembedded, desituated or detraditionalized selves, the argument goes, have adopted cultural values and assumptions which articulate what it is to stand 'alone' - as *individuals* - in the world.²⁰³

4.4. New Age - Modern Religion?

Many New Agers do not like to be called "religious", they prefer to be called spiritual. They want to distance themselves from traditional organised religion which they have experienced as restricting, psychologically damaging, intolerant, or in other negative ways. Although there are some "cults" which are influenced heavily by New Age such as the "Scientology Church", or the "Church Universal and Triumphant", the vast majority of New Age activists are not organised by any formal religious institution. New Agers meet in bookshops, at lectures, at workshops, alternative health centres, or in local meditation groups. As we mentioned above, only a few New Agers would actually call themselves "New Ager"; more likely they identify themselves as 'neo- Christian Buddhist', or "Hindu- Jew". Can New Age then be called "modern religion", or is it more a religious fashion?

On the other hand New Age has an ideology: a message of salvation (monism, the Self, the sanctity of the earth, the illusory quality of the world); ethics following on from that (tolerance, universalism, individualism, self- responsibility, environmentalism); and rituals (channeling, neo- shamanism, etc.). It therefore clearly has the marks of a religion. New Age can take on board Christian language, but its message is certainly different from that of traditional Christianity. New Age can take on board Buddhist or Hindu language, but traditional Buddhists or Hindus certainly do not like to be equated with New Age. New Age can take on the language of Native American Indian or other traditional tribal religion, but native American Indians and Australian Aborigines have tried to issue a declaration of war against New Age at the last world parliament of religions (see above). So is New Age a new world religion?

Here it is being argued that it is not. New Age is nothing new but the continuation of the Western idea of human progress. Paul Heelas has stated that New Age is not post- modern, but 'a perpetuation - thinking of perhaps the most pertinent of cultural trajectories - of the counter- Enlightenment Romantic Movement.'²⁰⁴ Indeed, the New Age certainly has several romantic elements (the "Noble Savage", the

search for the inner light, the dislike of pure rationality). However, New Age is also in line with the modernist, positivistic tradition in our culture. Although it is often anti-rationalistic, it tries to support its theories by a pseudo-scientific use of scientific theories, such as the relativity theory, the quantum theory, or the theory of critical mass, in order to stress that it does not talk of "mere belief", but of experiences and "facts". Traditionally secular Western society has used the idea of progress as a substitute for the Christian ideas of afterlife and the last judgement. Since the period of Enlightenment in the 18th century this has been seen as a progress of society as well as individual progress which needs the ideal of reincarnation, since a human life span is too short to achieve real progress.ⁱⁱⁱ New Age has taken on board the whole idea of human progress by taking on board the idea of evolution. The goal of the Aquarian Age as described by James Redfield is a paradise where technical progress allows a life of spiritual and economical luxury.²⁰⁵ New Age is not a counter-movement anymore, as it was in the sixties and seventies. People who generated protest in those days are now in the establishment positions. New Age claims the re-sacralisation of the world. It could also be said that New Age incorporates the secularisation of religion. Religion is reduced to the idea of Self-reality and the mystical experiences possible within that framework. The notion of superiority allows the New Age to be tolerant towards "traditional" religions, assuming that these are just lacking the final insight and thus assuming that they eventually will come round to the truth. On the other hand, attempts by traditional religions to claim their distinctiveness from the New Age ideas are considered by the New Age as intolerant and small minded.

Thus we do not want to call the New Age a modern religion, but rather secularised religiosity. After science, medicine, law, education, art, etc. have become independent from our religious institutions, New Age allows the individual to take religion away from the traditional religious institutions into their own hands.

ⁱⁱⁱ G.E. Lessing promoted the idea of reincarnation in his treaty 'Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts'.

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- ² E.G. Bartlett, *Healing Without Harm: Pathways to Alternative Medicine*, (Kingswood: Elliot Right Way Books, 1985), p. 64.
- ³ J. Redfield & C. Adrienne, *The Tenth Insight: Holding the Vision. An Experiential Guide*, (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1996), p. 120, instructions printed in italics as in the original.
- ⁴ M. York, 'New Age in Britain: An Overview', *Religion Today* 9 (3, 1994), 14- 21 (p. 19).
- ⁵ P. Heelas, *The New Age Movement: The Celebration of the Self and the Sacralization of Modernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 135f.
- ⁶ Heelas., p. 154, italics in the original.
- ⁷ R. Kyle, *The New Age Movement in American Culture*, (Lanham: University Press of America, 1995), p. 4.
- ⁸ E. Barker, *New Religious Movements. A Practical Introduction*, (London: HMSO, 1995), p. 189.
- ⁹ C.A. Albanese, 'The Magical Staff: Quantum Healing in the New Age', in *Perspectives on the New Age*, ed. by J.R. Lewis and J.G. Melton (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), pp. 68-84 (p. 73).
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- ¹¹ Comp. Heelas, p. 29.
- ¹² M. York, p. 14.
- ¹³ M. York, 'The New Age and Neo- Pagan Movement', *Religion Today* 6 (2, 1991), 1- 3 (p. 2).
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- ¹⁸ Comp. Kyle, p. 5f.
- ¹⁹ J. Redfield, *The Celestine Prophecy: An Adventure* (London: Bantam Books, 1997), p. 259f.
- ²⁰ Kyle, p. 43.
- ²¹ J. Dawson, 'The Joy of Sects', *The Guardian Friday Review*, 27 March 1998, pp. 4- 5, (p. 4).
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- ²³ Ibd., p. 5
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- ²⁶ Kyle, p. 79.
- ²⁷ Hove, p. 193.
- ²⁸ Kyle, p. 95.
- ²⁹ Heelas, p. 45.
- ³⁰ Ibd., p. 47.
- ³¹ Ibd.
- ³² J.W. Drane, *Gnosticism and the New Age*, Unpublished Paper given at the conference Nag Hammadi: Fifty Years After, at the University of Exeter, September 1996.
- ³³ Thompson, p. 191f.
- ³⁴ K. Wilber, *No Boundary: Eastern and Western Approaches to Personal Growth* (Boulder: Shambhala, 1981), p. 3.
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- ⁴¹ Heelas, p. 29, italics as in the original.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- ⁴³ Comp. a letter by Transworld Publishers Ltd to the author.
- ⁴⁴ Redfield, *Celestine Prophecy*, p. 274.
- ⁴⁵ Walsh, p. 261.
- ⁴⁶ C.G. Jung, 'The Relations Between the Ego And the Unconscious', in *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, The Collected Works of C.G. Jung, ed. By Sir Heribert Read and others, 2nd edn., 23 vols. (London: Routledge, 1990), vii, 123- 241 (p. 177).
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- ⁴⁹ S. MacLaine in an interview in the German edition of *Vogue* (1, 1988), quoted from 'Dokumentation', *Materialdienst der EZW* 6 (19880, 178- 182 (p. 179).
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- ⁵² J. Ameghino, 'Have Faith', *The Guardian G2*, 7 April 1998, p. 13.
- ⁵³ Bartlett, p. 8.
- ⁵⁴ C.L. Albanese, p. 75.
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- ⁵⁶ J. Redfield, *The Tenth Insight: Holding the Vision* (New York: Warner Books, 1996), p. 57.
- ⁵⁷ C.L. Albanese, p. 75.
- ⁵⁸ C.L. Albanese, p. 80.
- ⁵⁹ G.A. Rupert, 'Employing the New Age: Training Seminars', in *Perspectives on the New Age*, ed. by J.R. Lewis and J.G. Melton (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), pp. 127- 135 (p. 129).
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- ⁶² B.S. Siegel, *Peace, Love & Healing: Bodymind Communication and the Path to Self- Healing: An Exploration* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), p. 43.
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- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibd.*, p. 165f.
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- ¹¹² *Comp. ibd.*, p. 254.
- ¹¹³ *Ibd.*, p. 316.
- ¹¹⁴ Redfield, Celestine Prophecy, p. 258.
- ¹¹⁵ Thompson, p. 195.
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- ¹¹⁸ *Conf. Kyle, p. 189.*
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- ¹⁹⁰ Schweikert, p. 4.
- ¹⁹¹ Anonymous 2, p.1.
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5. Charismatic Ecstasy and Western Culture

We so far have demonstrated that ecstatic religion is not a psychopathic abnormality, we have described and examined the experiences of Charismatic and Pentecostal Christians, we have seen how they allow Christianity to root herself in many different cultural settings, and we have compared the phenomenon to another contemporary religious movement, the New Age spirituality. Our next step will be to find its place within the history and setting of Christianity as a world- wide and two thousand year old religious movement, and its place within our own Western culture. Are the Pentecostal Christians right to assume that they are the true inheritors of early Christianity after the "Constantinian fall" of the early Catholic Church which had abandoned the "gifts of the Holy Spirit"?¹ Or are they just part of a pattern which repeats itself again and again throughout the history of the Church, 'not in outline merely, but in detail,² playing through the centuries the same fugal melody, 'The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard'?³ Is there, as Knox wants us to believe, real continuity between the Montanists, Donatists, the Manicheans, Anabaptists, and Wesleyans, and the subsequent enthusiast movements,⁴ which would of course include present Pentecostalism and Charismatic Christianity?

This chapter will attempt to locate Pentecostalism, including the latest Charismatic revivals, within the Christian tradition and as a part of our own modern culture. In order to do this we will first attempt to establish the Pentecostal's view of their position within the church, then their relationship to other, older enthusiastic movements within Christianity, and also external influences on their worldview and way of worship. This will eventually help us to estimate the meaning of Charismatic ecstatic experience within the wider western religious context.

5.1. The Restoration of Pentecost - The Pentecostal View of History

From a Pentecostal or Charismatic point of view the early Church as it is described by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles can be regarded as the climax of Christian history, if one reads it according to Pentecostal hermeneutics. Before that ideal community came into being they find traces of the Holy Spirit throughout the history of the Old Covenant, culminating in the figure of Jesus. However, soon after

the first generation of Christians, the Church became institutionalised by a priestly class and gave up the gifts of the Holy Spirit and thus it became a fallen Church. The Reformation improved the situation only partly, and only the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements have begun to restore the ancient ideal situation. This is how Roger Stronstad, a Pentecostal theologian, describes this course of history:

The Church is a community of prophets. This is truer in potential than it is in practice. Indeed prophets and prophesying among God's people have had a checkered history. For example, Israel began as a priestly nation rather than as a prophetic community. Nevertheless, as the centuries passed, and as the nation proved to be stubborn and rebellious, God raised up prophets to be an alternative to priesthood which was often accomodating and compromising. During the intertestamental period, however, the priesthood gained the ascendancy, and prophecy ceased in Israel. Nevertheless, with the coming of Jesus, prophecy was once again restored in Israel, and, as a result of the subsequent outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples, the Church was constituted a nation of prophets. As the history of the Church advanced, for the second time in the history of God's people, the priesthood once again gained the ascendancy over the prophets. Except for isolated and sporadic outbursts of prophetic activity, such as was to be found among the Montanists, prophecy died out in the Church. Thus, by the mediaeval period the power to administer or withhold the sacraments lay in the hands of the priesthood. The Reformers rejected this, but instead of developing the New Testament doctrine of the Church as a prophethood of all believers, they developed the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers.⁵

The fact that many scholars of history and biblical studies would not agree with his view of events need not be considered for the moment. Stronstad sees both, the course of history as well as the biblical document, through his own pair of Charismatic spectacles, applying his own hermeneutics. His hermeneutics is determined by inducing his own experience in the reading of biblical texts. As a member of the contemporary Pentecostal movement, he starts with the assumption, that the present experience of the Spirit of Pentecostals and Charismatics 'restores important New Testament realities. For example, the baptizing/ filling with the Holy Spirit restores the immediacy of God's presence to his people. In other words, the formerly transcendent God becomes immanent in the conscious experience of his people.⁶ This is his experience of contemporary "good Christianity", and he juxtaposes it with what he conceives as a very deficient form of Christianity, which very soon in Church history 'ceased to function as prophets, either individually or corporately':⁷

Identifying the reception of the Spirit with water baptism, institutionalizing the gifts of the Spirit, and reacting to perceived excesses in prophetic movements, such as the Montanists - these actions all contributed to the cessation of prophecy in the Church. But this was never a permanent condition. Among both individuals and renewal/ pietistic groups, prophets and prophesying sporadically reappeared. Now, in the twentieth century, Luke's vision of God as the prophethood of all

believers has been permanently, though only partially, restored.⁸

Stronstad experiences his own spirituality, which includes "prophecy", in a positive way. This allows him to project an even more positive image, an ideal, onto the biblical past, coming to the conclusion, that 'in its first generation the Church became a nation, or a community of prophets.'⁹ To come to his conclusion he does not consult other researchers' opinions on the matter, since they might not fit into his world view,¹ but constructs the image of the past the way he wants to see it: after God failed to succeed in transforming Israel into a truly prophetic nation, he sent Christ, who, after his resurrection, transformed the early Church into exactly the "nation", that Israel failed to be. Then the Church failed as well, and only now the contemporary Pentecostals/ Charismatics bear witness to the ideal - not perfect yet, but on the right path. By projecting the ideal into the distant past, Stronstad also gains the liberty to criticise the present Pentecostals and Charismatics, and to state, that they do 'not fully measure up to the effectiveness of that first generation of prophets which Luke talks about.'¹⁰ Thus he can assert in a self-conscious way that 'the Pentecostal experience tends to be individualistic, self-centred and, even, narcissistic,'¹¹ that 'the restoration of prophecy is often trivialized and/ or commercialized,'¹² and that it is today 'a splintered or fractured phenomenon.'¹³ Martyn Percy calls this way of legitimising present experiences by projecting them into an ideal past, with reference to Peter L. Berger the "inductive possibility" - 'a moving from tradition to experience. When the tradition comes to be questioned, this strategy seeks to trace back to the religious experiences which began it.'¹⁴ This was the strategy of Schleiermacher's romantic liberalism. 'But', continues Percy, 'there is a second variant which is more active, and emphasizes the necessity of confirming and supplementing historical analysis by seeking direct religious experience at first hand.'¹⁵ This is the strategy of the Pentecostal theologian as well, when he projects the ecstatic religious experiences of his own religious group into the Bible and, therefore, claims not only to prove the validity of the Biblical reports through his own experiences, but also to justify his own experiences by reference to the Bible. In the meantime, over many centuries, the true Biblical meaning

¹ His claim, that 'Israel began as a priestly nation' (p. 60) is plainly wrong, he calls Jesus 'a Galilean peasant' and Mary a 'peasant woman' (p. 62), but Jesus was more likely a craftsman, and we do not know anything about Mary's background, he describes John the Baptist's teaching an 'outburst of prophecy after four hundred years of silence' and just denies the existence of all the apocalyptic and

was not really understood in Stronstad's eyes, since the Church did not sufficiently appreciate the "prophetic element".

5.2. Is There A Historical Connection between Pentecost - Montanism - Revivalism - Pentecostalism?

Yet in all the darkness of history the Pentecostal theologian sees a stream of light, as when Stronstad acknowledges that the cessation of prophecy never was a permanent condition, but: 'Among both individuals and renewal/ pietistic groups, prophets and prophesying sporadically reappeared.'¹⁶

And so they did. Ronald Knox draws attention to that stream of enthusiasm within Christian history in the West by writing:

Nobody seriously pretends that there was any filiation between Montanism and Donatism, or between Donatism and the medieval sects. But with these, and with the Anabaptists who followed them, it is possible to guess, though not to be certain, that there is a real continuity; did half-remembered fragments of the Manichean teaching help to form the strange theology of the Anabaptists? Was an Anabaptist remnant the touchwood that George Fox quickened into flame?¹⁷

Knox does not pretend that all the movements were historically linked to each other. The conflict with Montanism in the second century has no direct link to the Anabaptist reign at Münster in the sixteenth century. However, the conflict which had started in biblical times has never been finally resolved. And Knox expresses exactly this from his Roman Catholic point of view:

The Church is always finding herself attacked from a new quarter just when she thinks her victory is assured. In the Middle Ages she raised a splendid fabric of argued belief to bar the way against the Arabian philosophers; only to find herself cut off from the rear by the infiltration of Lollard simpletons, crying shame on her intellectualism. So, in the latter half of the second century, her precarious peace was disturbed by Montanus and his prophesyings.¹⁸

There is certainly a phenomenological similarity between Montanism and the Pentecostal/ Charismatic movement. Christine Trevett in her monograph on Montanism, reports on the controversies surrounding the movement:

In Asia Minor it was the *form* of the prophecies and their associations with ecstasy which

late prophetic literature of the two centuries before Christ, a.s.o..

attracted attention. The Prophets were accused of ecstatic excesses, with Montanus carried away by the Spirit [...], unforeseen possession and (spurious) ecstasy[...]. Out of this came inspiration to speak [...] and to utter strange sounds [...]. The Anonymous said all this was at odds with Christian tradition (*HE* v.16.7)[punctuation sic]. And Priscilla and Maximilla were as bad, showing abnormal, frenzied speech (v.16,9). Such *παρεκστασις*, and false prophecy [...] was not confined to the Three, for it was also true of Theodotus, an administrator in the Prophecy, who was said to have experienced heavenly ascents and died after one such experience (v. 16, 14). Foolish ecstasies, unaware of their own actions, abused themselves and others, related Epiphanius' anonymous early source (*Pan.*xlvi.5,8). It was to be argued, of course, that such things could be legitimised by reference to Scripture and were far from "untraditional!"¹⁹

However, these phenomenological links can be drawn to other, non Christian movements contemporary to Montanism, as Lucian's satire on the pagan prophet Alexander of Abonuteichos shows:

Alexander prophesied under divine influence, spoke incomprehensibly and (cf. *HE* v.16,9) gave blessings. He too organised his cult with flair and was active in the 160s, probably during the plague of 166 when he used his itinerant (salaried?) prophets to circulate an oracle from Apollo which told of protection from the disease (*Lucian, Alex.*xxxvi).²⁰

This is the historic setting of enthusiastic prophecy, including glossolalia, in the Hellenistic age. It is not exclusively a Christian phenomenon. Interestingly, St. Paul's advice about the "gifts of the Spirit" goes to the Church of Corinth (I Cor. 12- 14), i.e. a congregation with some non- Jewish background. He does not condemn enthusiastic phenomena, but he admonishes the Corinthian Christians to keep them within the framework of "the common good" (I Cor.12,7). He advises them: 'When you come together, each one has a hymn, a lesson, a revelation, a tongue, or an interpretation.' (I. Cor. 14, 26) He does not discourage spiritual gifts, but he does not want them to be out of control: 'And the spirits of prophets are subject to prophets, for God is a God not of disorder but of peace.' (I. Cor 14, 32f) Reading these chapters one cannot detect the air of something extraordinary about spiritual gifts like glossolalia or prophecy. Paul, who says about himself, 'I thank God that I speak in tongues more than all of you' (I Cor. 14,18), recommends it only as a form of private prayer, since 'nevertheless, in church I would rather speak five words with my mind, in order to instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a tongue' (I. Cor. 14,19). All in all Paul advises the Corinthian Christians: 'So, my friends, be eager to prophesy, and do not forbid speaking in tongues; but all things should be done decently and in order.' (I. Cor. 14, 40)

Pentecostals and Charismatics, though, often prefer the book of Acts as a

biblical source for their spirituality. It is here that the Holy Spirit is promised (Acts 1,4-5.8), where Pentecost with its xenolalic miracle occurs (Acts 2,1-13), where a "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" is described (Acts 8,14-17). These texts are used by Pentecostal theologians like Frederick D. Bruner, in order 'to bring what the first-century witnesses report into a very concrete, contemporary missionary situation - into relation with twentieth- century Pentecostalism.'²¹ In order to do this they are even prepared to leave certain modern scholarly knowledge on Luke and his writing out of consideration, as Bruner explains:

We should say that in Acts, to which special attention is necessarily devoted, we cannot presume a competence to assign the text's main features *primarily* to Luke's literary work, or as it is more clear, to his theological work, rather than to events in history which the author of Acts seeks to reflect and, of course, to interpret, *if* such an assignment should in practice involve making the text as it stands mean less, or bear less weight in the church, than it intends to mean and bear.²²

In other words, we again find the hermeneutics of Pentecostalism which we described above: the present experience is being read into and idealised by the biblical texts. Bruner himself is aware of what biblical scholars know about Luke and his way of writing church history, but he would rather read the Acts in his way, in order not to lose the mirror in which he wants to find his own spirituality:

To do this - to say, for example, that Luke is principally an artist, of either aesthetic or theological provenance, and therefore in doctrine often simply mistaken, distorting, or the victim of his sources, or of his de- eschatologized or *frühkatholische* theology, even if any one of these or more should be true - would mean not only to go beyond our competence, but in our task to appear to concede to Pentecostalism that while it works with Acts we work with something better - for example, with *Paul's* doctrine of the Spirit - or with something worse, namely with Luke's pretensions. This must mean in our case to concede Acts as it stands to Pentecostalism.²³

Thus he refuses to try out any other point of view than the one which starts with his own experience. He says, 'it is not the text, or Luke, whom we wish to put on trial, but ourselves, Pentecostalism'²⁴ - but by remaining uncritical towards the text, he remains uncritical towards his own view of the text, and thus he remains uncritical towards Pentecostalism.

Luke, however, is known for his *frühkatholische* (i.e. early catholic) standpoint. He paints an idealised picture by trying to harmonise the conflicts and divisions of the early church - the Paulines and the followers of Peter, the Jewish Christians and the gentile Christians, the more enthusiastic followers of the young

religion and those who were more philosophically and sacramentally inclined, the fact, that some had already suffered martyrdom for their faith's sake and the fact that more and more "respectable" people wished to be loyal to both their Christian conviction and the Roman empire. The New Testament scholar Gerd Lüdemann says about the events at Pentecost as they are described in the book of Acts:

The fact that on the very day on which the Christian religion is founded the Holy Spirit equips the members of the new movement with the languages of all other people already expresses Luke's conviction of the universal nature of Christianity.²⁵

Lüdemann concedes that behind the narrative of Luke may be a tradition of ecstatic utterance as described by Paul in I. Cor. 12- 14, which was picked up by Luke, 'who would first have interpreted this tradition as a language miracle in order to prepare for the idea of the world- wide mission. This suggestion is supported', Lüdemann goes on, 'by the evidence that Luke probably no longer knew the original glossolalia.'²⁶

The picture which becomes more and more clear to us is that the enthusiastic *charismata* of the Spirit were received in an environment which generally had an open mind towards direct religious experience. In fact, it seems to have been part of the religious atmosphere in certain groups and circles of that Hellenistic age. Paul, whose letters are older than the writings of Luke, mentions the "gifts" as something more or less natural, and the opening comment of I. Cor.12 seems to indicate that they were not necessarily *Christian* phenomena. This is what we know also from the pagan prophet Alexander, who received his glossolalic messages from the God Apollon. Lucian even gives us phonetic quotes of Alexander's oracles delivered in unintelligible glossolalia. In his biting satire, Lucian reports: 'Let me also tell you a few of the responses that were given to me. When I asked whether Alexander was bald, and sealed the question carefully and conspicuously, a "nocturnal" oracle was appended: "Sabardalachou malachaattealos en."²⁷

Christopher Forbes, on the other hand, claims concerning early Christian glossolalia 'no convincing parallels whatsoever have been found within the traditions of Graeco- Roman religion, as they were known in the environment of the New Testament, whether it be at the level of terminology, phenomena and concept.'²⁸ In case of phenomenology he says that if a pagan fortune- teller was to convince people

that he was "inspired", then his language 'would be archaic and poetic rather than glossolalic.²⁹ This does not match reports like the one by Lucian mentioned above.

Christians in that age certainly did not offend with their stories of glossolalia, prophecy, or miracle healing; it is more likely that their religious and moral exclusivity caused offence.³⁰ They were part of a broader religious trend of their time which was interested in direct religious experience.

While certain factions of Christianity soon began to historicise enthusiastic phenomena and thus marginalise enthusiastic elements within their midst, as we saw with Luke, who wrote his books between the early 60's and early 90'sⁱⁱ, it was associated with the new Christian religion for quite a while. Irenaeus of Lyon, who was in close contact with the churches in Asia Minor, defended spiritual prophetic revelation within the church even at the end of the second century by writing:

For this gift of God has been entrusted to the Church, as breath was to the first created man, for this purpose, that all the members receiving it may be vivified; and the means of communion with Christ, that is, the Holy Spirit, has been distributed throughout it, the earnest of incorruption, the means of confirming our faith, and the ladder of ascent to God. For *in the church*, it is said, *God hath set apostles, prophets, teachers*, and all the other means through which the Spirit works.³¹

About two or three decades earlier the New Prophecy of Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla had taken off in Phrygia in Asia Minor - in time and space quite close to the pagan prophet Alexander. It obviously did not come out of a void. Christine Trevett thinks:

Montanus' bid for the public sphere [...] must have come in relation to something *which already existed*. Was he part of a tolerated prophetic conventicle whose relations with catholic clergy had been relatively unstrained up to this time [...]? That is an option I favour. Was Montanus now seeking to usurp the rights of clergy while still a member of a catholic congregation, or was he instigating schism (using Tertullian's dictum) because of envy of bishops? [...] I have argued already that the prophecy must have begun its life *within* the Church [...], but inevitably their increased insistence on the voice of the Spirit [...] was bound to be seen as a threat to catholic clerical authority.³²

What the members of the New Prophecy experienced included several "Charismatic" features. An anonymous, anti-Montanist writer is quoted by Eusebius,

ⁱⁱ Scholars are still divided about the date of Luke's work. While one school wants to see it in the early 60's (comp. C.J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, ed. by C.H. Gempf, Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen 1989, p. 407f.), their opponents insist that it must have been written after the events of 70 AD (comp. R. Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke - Acts*, ed. by J. Riches, T.&T. Clark, Edinburgh 1982, p. 8f.).

telling us about Montanus:

and that moved by the spirit, he suddenly fell into a state of possession, as it were, and abnormal ecstasy, insomuch that he became frenzied and began to babble and utter strange sounds, that is to say, prophesying contrary to the manner which the Church had received from generation to generation from the beginning.³³

Again Christopher Forbes denies that Montanism knew glossolalia. 'Rather, it resembled Delphic enthusiasm in that the inspired speech that resulted from it was intelligible, and "Dionysiac" enthusiasm in its (in the modern sense) ecstatic or frenzied nature.'³⁴ However, this seems to me to fall into the trap of the anti- Montanist writers and to characterise Montanism as a religious movement basically foreign to Christianity. Christiane Trevett, on the other hand, has conclusively demonstrated that Montanism grew harmonically out of the early Christian Church.

Even Forbes accepts that 'the Hellenistic period knew of several related, though differing traditions of inspired or Charismatic speech.'³⁵ Since we believe we may discover closer relationships than Forbes does, we once again find a phenomenon similar to the phenomena known from I Cor. 12- 14, the tradition behind Luke, the pagan Prophet Alexander, and Irenaeus. It happened in a church, where there was still 'prophecy in some congregations[...]: visions, foreknowledge and those who believed they could judge a prophetic gift,³⁶ but it was also in a church with good communications between the establishing church hierarchies from Asia Minor to the East of Gaul, and where more and more communities had long forgotten the Charismatic gifts, as we already encountered with the account of Luke from the second half of the first century.

The New Prophecy soon ran into resistance from the Catholic hierarchy. The prophetess Maximilla, one of the leading figures of the new movement, complained: 'I am driven as a wolf from the sheep. I am not a wolf. I am word and *spirit and power*.'³⁷ She and her other female colleagues were one of the main reasons for the developing establishment of the Church to be furiously against the movement, which allowed women more equal opportunities in its ranks. 'Montanism treated women as spiritual equals,³⁸ and branches of the movement even ordained women as presbyters and bishops.'³⁹ Elaine C. Huber, who examined Montanism as one case study in her monograph on 'Women and the Authority of Inspiration', reports, that women

generally 'in Asia minor were part of the religious as well as the political mainstream.'⁴⁰

Huber claims:

The status of women is also an essential element to consider in understanding early Montanist history. Since it is clear that Montanist teachings contained nothing heretical and that Montanists understood themselves to be faithful Christians, it appears likely that much of the anger directed at them by ecclesiastical authority was due to the fact that they allowed women to exercise important leadership roles. It is also clear from the writings of contemporary heresiologists, as well as subsequent church historians, that the women in the New Prophecy were apportioned the greater share of blame than were the men.⁴¹

Ironically, this view is vindicated from the opposite point of view by the Roman Catholic Knox who writes: 'From the Montanist movement onwards, the history of enthusiasm is largely a history of female emancipation, and it is not a reassuring one.'⁴²

The twofold development within the young Christian church was bound to produce a major clash between the developing establishment and the movements clinging to the more enthusiastic traditions within the religion. Huber quotes James Ash from his study on the decline of ecstatic prophecy saying:

The evidence suggests that the ecstatic prophecy of Montanism was rejected because of developments more sociological than theological. The Church was undergoing the profound changes of becoming an establishment ... The prophet, whose authority lay in the spontaneous inspiration of ecstasy and whose apocalyptic and ascetic demands might have tended to thin the ranks of the faithful, became a major threat to establishmentarians, whose spokesmen were the emerging monarchical bishops.⁴³

Some of this evidence is in the accounts of Eusebius himself, who keenly gathered anything in writing he could find against the Monatanists not even stopping short of spreading malicious rumours like Montanus being a castrated former priest of Cybele (*HE* v. 16,7) or his alleged suicide (*HE* v. 16,5). This is the same Eusebius, who was a strong supporter of the establishment of the church as a state church and who could call the Emperor Constantine's character as being 'formed after the Divine original of the Supreme Sovereign, and whose mind reflects, as in a mirror, the radiance of his prudence.'⁴⁴ Knox is right where he says that '[T]he suggestion that Phrygian Montanism is simply primitive Christianity seen against a background of ecclesiaticism flies in the face of probability.'⁴⁵ Both sides have their origins in "primitive Christianity" as we demonstrated above. However, ecclesiastic Christianity has shaped itself in its struggles with rival groups by denouncing them as heretics and

thus trying to dispose of them to the rubbish bin of history - although it took them until the sixth century to eradicate Montanism completely from the landscape.⁴⁶

What does this story of early enthusiastic Christianity tell us concerning our examination of contemporary ecstatic Christianity? Let us summarise the most important points and then try to bridge the temporal gap to the contemporary phenomenon.

- There were two strands of Christianity from the very beginning of its existence. One drew heavily on direct religious experience like prophecy and glossolalia, the other one more interested in the church as a community of faith with common practice and order and good relationship with the political community. Neither of the two can claim to be more "original" than the other.

- Neither of the two strands was a unique cultural phenomenon in itself. As the "catholic" side laid more emphasis on matters of community, the enthusiastic wing of the church was closer to certain tendencies which were apparent especially in the East of the empire, like the Prophet Alexander, but others as well (Phrygia was also the home of the "Great Mother" cult and some heterodox forms of Judaism⁴⁷).

- Thus the conflict between the two groups was a conflict between two different kinds of religious aspirations and sentiments, between those who lay emphasis on individual religious experience and those who stressed religion and faith as an act of a community and not so much a conflict of dogma or ideology. The latter will automatically seek closer ties to the political community, whereas the former will distance itself from everything which could restrict its religious life and does not care much about the lost masses. This conflict had been a problem for the young religion from its very beginnings, as I Cor shows, when Paul admonishes the Christians of Corinth: 'Let all things done for building up.' (I Cor. 14,27b) In the turmoil of the late Roman empire the catholic wing of the Church was better equipped: it offered a unifying force in the midst of increasing chaos, continuity within rapid change. Consequently when the "catholic" wing of the church became a leading force within society structurally, politically, and philosophically, there was little room left for those stressing individual experience.

How do these points relate to modern Christian Charismatic phenomena? We can again observe two strands of Christianity, the individualistic one, based on personal experience, and one which is more bound to the community, the traditional

churches. As the two strands of early Christianity were also products of their own culture, these two strands of Christianity today are deeply imbedded in the cultures of their age - the traditional churches having been one of the main influences of Western culture over the last two millennia, and the rise of individual and individualistic religion being a phenomenon not restricted to Christianity - see the last chapter on New Age. Religion has become a private matter, and the role of public religion is decreasing. We again have the conflict of two different religious aspirations and sentiments, but this time the "individualists" are on the offensive, while the traditional established churches have been on the defensive. Since the age of Enlightenment the traditional churches have been confronted with the secularisation of society. The process of establishment of the first millennium, in which the Church has risen from a persecuted sect to a state religion, has been reversed during the last three centuries of the second millenium. An increase in numbers in the ranks of enthusiastic Christians does not question but confirms that trend of disestablishment of the Christian church, because it means that more and more the content of faith is less constituted by shared dogmas but by personal experience. The traditional denominations have not the strength to resist the individualism within their own ranks. Since the established churches have lost considerable power and influence if not *de jure* then *de facto* in most countries of the Western world, secularisation has now reached the churches themselves: powers to define their own doctrine, their ways of worship, and hierarchy have moved away from the centres of the established churches and lay more and more with the individual congregation or even the individual Christian. From that angle, Charismatic Christians are, again, not a counter movement to modernity but an expression of modernity itself; they are not "post- modern", but extremely modern. This hypothesis is what we will try to confirm when we now describe the place of enthusiastic Christians in the history of the modern world.

5.3. Charismatic Experience in Europe and North America - a Phenomenon of the Modern Age

As we have seen above the conflict between the more enthusiastic and more institutional Christians in the early Christian age was a conflict between individual thinking and communal thinking and connected with that was the dispute over whether

the Church should be affiliated with the state in a closer or a looser way. Although we cannot make the same historical connections as the Pentecostals and say that "true Christianity" has always been enthusiastic - Christianity has always existed in both ways - we can make historical connections by describing this conflict. It seems to us that the stronger the link of Christianity to the state, the more community orientated it was and less interested in individual ecstatic experience. On the other hand, the weaker the links between Church and state, the greater the relevance of enthusiasm. As Ernst Troeltsch put it at the beginning of this century:

The tendency towards conservatism was prepared by Paulinism, and it was continued in the combination of radical and conservative elements which was achieved by the Thomist social doctrine in the form of a structure of Christian civilization upon architectonic- evolutionary- historical lines. (...) Even alongside of Paulinism, however, there already existed a radicalism which was indifferent and even hostile to the world; it appeared in the form of the love- communism of the Primitive Church and in the Chiliast- Apocalyptic rejection of the world; similarly, Radicalism existed alongside of the social development of the Early Church which carried on the Pauline tradition in the Montanist and Donatist sects, and, above all, in monasticism.⁴⁸

This radicalism had been an undercurrent of the official Church even in its strongest ages which was often nurtured by a strong sense of millennialism. The Church in the Middle Ages constantly had to struggle with this tension within Christianity, where in the face of a church dominated by stark contrasts as an often impoverished clergy and a powerful and rich hierarchy, many people sought religious comfort in the mass movements, some within the Church like the Crusader movement or the Franciscans and mendicants, some outside the Church, like the Cathari or the Waldensians about whom Troeltsch says: 'each individual had to stand on his own feet, i.e. upon his own personal achievements and good works, i.e. upon his religious subjectivity.'⁴⁹ He further says about the great Southern European sect movement of the Middle Ages:

Its fundamental element was its primitive Christian individualism aroused by the New Testament, breaking out in opposition to the materialized institutional Church, coupled with the co-ordination of individuals into groups for the practical performance of good works, combined with great indifference and hostility towards the world and its institutions of authority and property.⁵⁰

Parallel to the two types of Christianity originating in her very own origins, Troeltsch observes during the Middle Ages a third type of religious culture in the making, which he calls mysticism. He writes:

Through all these movements, however, a sociological type of Christian thought was being developed, which was not the same as that of the sect- type; it was, in fact, a new type - the radical religious individualism of mysticism. This type had no desire for an organized fellowship; all it cared for was freedom for interchange of ideas, a pure fellowship of thought, which indeed only became possible after the invention of printing.⁵¹

It is what Norman Cohn called the "Heresy of the Free Spirit", although the beginnings of this heresy can be dated much earlier than printing in the early 14th century:⁵²

The adepts of the Free Spirit [...] were intensely subjective, acknowledging no authority at all save their own experiences. In their eyes the Church was at best an obstacle to salvation, at worst a tyrannical enemy - in any case an outworn institution which must now be replaced by their own community, seen as a vessel for the Holy Spirit.⁵³

However, it is interesting for our purposes to look more closely at how Troeltsch defines this "mysticism" more precisely:

In the widest sense of the word, mysticism is simply the insistence upon a direct inward and present religious experience. It takes for granted the objective form of religious life in worship, ritual, myth, and dogma; and it is either a reaction against these objective practices, which it tries to draw back into the living process, or it is the supplementing of traditional forms of worship by means of a personal living stimulus.⁵⁴

This describes, on the one hand, a second undercurrent of institutional Christianity, which we are only going to mention briefly, here, the undercurrent of the gnostic type. We have not got the space here to go into more detail, but, without postulating any historical links, it might be worth asking if there is not a similar common threat going from the Gnostics and Manicheans of the time of the ancient Church via the Albigenses and Cathari to the adepts of the Free Spirit, the Schwenckfeldians, the Swedenborgians to the New Age. However, this is another book and cannot be dealt with here. The above mentioned definition applies also to the Charismatic enthusiast. This is seen by Troeltsch himself when he writes:

Now, however, we must seek to distinguish mysticism in the narrower, technical concentrated sense in which it is used in the philosophy of religion from this wider mysticism with its immense variety. The phenomena which have just been described proceed directly from the emotional sphere, and for that reason they are comparatively instinctive and spontaneous, and can be combined with every kind of objective religion, and with the customary forms of worship, myth, and doctrine. They contain no kind of doctrine and theory about themselves; at the most all they possess is a

primitive technique of religious self-cultivation and the production of a certain temper. Their varied forms of expression - enthusiasm, orgiasm, contemplation and Gnosticism, allegorical and spiritualizing tendencies, the renewal of the bringing forth of forms of worship - are quite different from each other, and they develop very different results which often cancel each other out.⁵⁵

What is important is the individual experience, the spiritualising of the doctrine. The water baptism, a defining moment of initiation for the "normal" Christian and as a sacrament loaded with dogmatic meaning, loses a great deal of its value as soon as there is the spiritual initiation of a "Baptism of the Holy Spirit".

The Reformation of the 16th century was the climax of a great crisis in the Western Church, but eventually it did not weaken the close links between church and state. To the contrary, the Reformers Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin stressed their desire to co-operate with the rulers of the age, and eventually in most states where the Reformation could gain ground the ties of church and state were closer than ever before - most princes were not at all sad to get rid of the political influence of Rome. Protestants and Catholics agreed on one point, *viz.* that enthusiasts like the Anabaptists needed to be extinguished by any means, and thus the latent seed had no chance to flower. However, there was one important difference in the Protestant states to the old tradition within the Holy Roman Empire: the conflict between the Church and State about the question of supremacy had been resolved in favour of the supremacy of the state over the church.

At first glance the seventeenth century seems to be the age of solid religious concrete in Europe. After thirty years of war all religious questions seem to have been settled, politically and religiously. A complicated and rigid orthodoxy had developed in the Protestant areas of Europe, while the counter reformation proved the new strength of Roman Catholicism after the Council of Trent. However, cracks quickly appear in the fabric. Copernicus, Keppler, Newton *et al.* posed questions which the orthodox theologians were unable to answer and which left the individual unprotected in the universe. Arndt, Labadie, Böhme, Spener, Francke, *et al.* began to change the idea of salvation by faith from something granted by an institution to faith as the individual experience of salvation. Enlightenment and Pietism go hand in hand in their destruction of the established church; although opponents in many questions of ideology, they share a fundamental criticism of the traditional ways of thinking from the whole to the particular, turning it upside down by starting the argument at the experience of the

individual. In fact, the Enlightenment philosopher Leibniz was a friend of Spener in his youth, and in the eighteenth century the ideal of Christian faith of the Enlightenment philosopher Gotthold E. Lessing is much closer to the Pietist's ideal than to that of his orthodox opponent, Hamburg's chief pastor Goeze, when he writes:

What does the Christian care about the hypotheses, explanations, and proofs of the theologian? Christianity is just there for him, which he feels so truly, in which he feels so happy. If the Paralyticus experiences the benign electrical strikes, will he care if Nollet, or Franklin, or none of them is right?ⁱⁱⁱ⁵⁶

As early as 1675 Philip Jacob Spener, then minister in Frankfurt am Main, formulated very similar criticism, however from the opposite perspective. His little tractate, the "Pia Desideria", is regarded as the founding piece of written work for Pietism. Far less polemic than Lessing, writing as an insider who wanted religious matters to improve and not an outsider who has nothing left but contempt for the traditional church, he says:

When men's minds are stuffed with such a theology which, while it still preserves the foundation of faith from the Scriptures, builds on it with so much wood, hay, and stubble of human inquisitiveness that the gold can no longer be seen, it becomes exceedingly difficult to grasp and find pleasure in the real simplicity of Christ and his teaching. This is so because men's taste becomes accustomed to the more charming things of reason, and after a while the simplicity of Christ and his teaching appears to be tasteless.⁵⁷

As the philosopher Lessing does later, Spener demanded spiritual experience rather than complicated theological debate:

What they [very sophisticated theologians] take to be faith and what is the ground of their teaching is by no means that true faith which is awakened through the Word of God, by the illumination, witness, and sealing of the Holy Spirit, but is a human fancy. To be sure, as others have acquired knowledge in their fields of study, so these preachers, with their own human efforts and without the working of the Holy Spirit, have learned something of the letter of the Scriptures, have comprehended and assented to true doctrine, and have even known how to preach it to others, but they are altogether unacquainted with the true, heavenly light and the life of faith.⁵⁸

What both men did, Spener as the founder of Pietism in the late 17th century and one hundred years later Lessing, as a playwright and philosopher in the

ⁱⁱⁱ 'Was gehen den Christen der Theologen Hypothesen, und Erklärungen, und Beweise an? Ihm ist es doch einmal da, das Christentum, welches er so wahr, in welchem er so selig *fühlet*. Wenn der Paralyticus die wohlthätigen Schläge der elektrischen Funken *erfährt*: was kümmert es ihn, ob Nollet, oder ob Franklin, oder ob keiner von beiden Recht hat?'

Enlightenment tradition, was to divorce the meaning of religion from the objective realm of a system of rites and dogmas shared by the whole community and connect it with the subjective realm of the individual. Lessing's opponent, Hamburg's Hauptpastor (Senior Minister) Johann Melchior Goeze, taking up the infallibility of the Bible as a point of "objective" dogma as opposed to individualistic religion, saw that clearly, and he also saw the political consequences of subjectivity and individualism as a move towards democracy (a dangerous move in his eyes), when he refutes Lessing:

[Lessing claims:] *It is a mere hypothesis, that the Bible is even in detail equally infallible.*

No! this is not a hypothesis, but uncontradictable truth. Either the Bible is being revealed by God in all these details, or at least authorised by him, or it is not. If the former is the case, the Bible is infallible, not only in essence, but also in detail. If the latter is the case, the essence could not be trusted any more either. Which great Lord would allow those whom he had trusted to compose a constitution of his state, to add details from their own minds, and be it only explanations, if he himself found them wrong? Would this constitution not lose authority, if the subjects found out about these disagreements? Who has authority to declare what is the essence and what is mere detail of the Bible?⁵⁹

Of course the Pietists would not disagree with Goeze about the infallibility of the Bible, but they would disagree about the mere objectivity he attributes to dogma. For Goeze the Bible is as objectively true as a legal constitution, which is valid equally if the subject agrees with it or not. The Pietist as well as Lessing would reject that idea of religion. They would stress the individual's attitude towards religion as an individual experience as the important point. Goeze himself realized how close the Enlightenment sceptic and the Pietist were in that point and saw himself opposed to both,⁶⁰ and, as indicated above, Goeze sees clearly the political implications of an individualistic faith:

Only those can regard these publications [of Mr Lessing] as something indifferent, who regards either the Christian religion as empty phantasy, or even as dangerous superstition, and who has not realized, or does not want to realize, that the whole happiness of the civil constitution is directly dependent on it, or he is one of the conviction: *As soon as a people has got the desire to be a republic, it is entitled to, consequently not accepting the biblical sayings which are the foundation of*

^{iv} *Es ist bloße Hypothese, daß Bibel in diesem Mehrern gleich unfehlbar sei. Nein! dieses ist nicht Hypothese, sondern unwidersprechliche Wahrheit. Entweder dieses Mehrere ist von Gott eingegeben, oder wenigstens gebilligt, oder nicht. Ist das erste, so ist es ebenso unfehlbar, als das wesentliche. Nimmt man aber das letzte an, so verliert das erste auch an Zuverlässigkeit. Welcher große Herr würde es zugeben, daß diejenigen, denen er aufgetragen hätte, eine Landesverfassung nach seinem Willen abzufassen, wenn es auch nur zu Erläuterung und Bestätigung dienen sollte, aus ihren eignen Gehirne solche Dinge mit einfließen ließen, welche er selbst für falsch und unrichtig erkannte. Würde, wenn solches den Untertanen bekannt würde, oder wenn sie im Stande wären, solches zu entdecken, nicht seine gesamte Landesverfassung dadurch alles Ansehen verlieren? Wer soll bei der Bibel festsetzen, was unfehlbar ist, und was zu dem Wesentlichen oder Mehrern gehört?*

the rights of profane authority.⁶¹

Why do I discuss a seventeenth century Pietist, an eighteenth century Philosopher, and a Senior Minister from the same period? Because I believe we can detect in them the seed of Western Charismatic (and, for that matter, New Age) religiosity. When we investigated early Christianity, we discovered a conflict between two groups within the Christian Church from her very beginnings, one stressing the individual religious experience, the other one stressing the communal character of the Christian faith. This conflict came to a first climax in the Montanist controversy, when the Church had established herself to a certain degree, and Orthodoxy scored a temporal "victory" when the Church had established her strong links with the state from Emperor Constantine on. In the course of the history of the Church, it went through periods of crisis, and each time the latent individualistic ecstatic currents became stronger for a while. After the Reformation however, and especially with the onset of movements like Pietism and Enlightenment, the wheel changed its direction: Church and state, two non- separable entities until then, started a process of disestablishment, and religion, formerly as objective a truth as geometry, became a more and more individualistic and private matter. This process is what the critic of the secularisation theory, David Martin, calls 'the first group of meaning encapsuled in "secularization"', which according to him 'are concerned with the ecclesiastical institution, and specifically with any decline in its power, wealth, influence, range of control and prestige.'⁶² As a result of this decline, '[R]eligion becomes a private matter in a pluralist society where different perspectives and metaphysics compete on equal terms; or a private matter where perspectives emphatically do *not* compete on equal terms.'⁶³ He himself renders the label "secularization" to be misplaced for that process, since 'the height of ecclesiastical power can be seen either as the triumph of the religious or its most blasphemous secularization.'⁶⁴ This, of course, is a matter of perspective, but it seems perfectly legitimate, I would hold, to call the *decline* of ecclesiastical influence the process of secularisation, in the lines of sociologist Mark

^v 'Nur derjenige kann Unternehmungen von dieser Art als etwas gleichgültiges ansehen, der die christliche Religion entweder für ein leeres Hirngespinnst, oder gar für einen schädlichen Aberglauben hält, und der nicht eingesehen hat, oder nicht einsehen will, daß die ganze Glückseligkeit der bürgerlichen Verfassung unmittelbar auf derselben beruhe, oder der den Grundsatz hat: *Sobald ein Volk sich einig ist, Republik sein zu wollen, so darf es, folglich die biblischen Aussprüche, auf welchen die Rechte der Obrigkeit beruhen, als Irrtümer verwirft.*'

Chaves, who regards secularisation best understood 'not as a decline of religion, but as the declining scope of religious authority.'⁶⁵ As such, secularisation 'will refer to the declining influence of social structures whose legitimation rests on reference to the supernatural.'⁶⁶ This decline of religious authority, however, is no decline of individual religiosity. 'Rather than inevitably undermining religion, modernity seems quite unthreatening to, and perhaps even promotes, religious ideas, sentiments, and practices among individuals.'⁶⁷ A different point of view, on the other hand, would be taken by many Charismatic Christians, who would undoubtedly call the height of ecclesiastical power the climax of usurped religion. They do not hold allegiance to some objective church, and often they even cross traditional denominational lines by finding their religious allegiance amongst those who share their individual subjective experience more than their dogmatic construction. Using sociologist Bryan Wilson's criteria, the Charismatic's idea of religious fellowship is more that of a sect, in the sociological sense, than that of a church, when he juxtaposes the two:

'Whereas in the Church there is an objective institution which administers grace, in the sect there is a subjective fellowship and a participation in mutual love. The Church represents itself as a hierarchy, the sect as a community and fraternity. Whereas the Church represents itself as the religious organization of the nation or the society, to which men are come at birth as members, the sect regards membership as an achievement, proved by one's capacity to live up to certain standards. The sect member both chooses and is chosen.'⁶⁸

The sects for their part are themselves an indicator of secularisation:

They represent an alternative pattern of religious commitment in the secular society. They are themselves a feature of societies experiencing secularization, and they may be seen as a response to a situation in which religious values have lost social pre-eminence.'⁶⁹

However, modern Charismatic religiosity transcends even the formation of sects; it is even more subjective. Charismatic Christians can be members of a mainstream denomination or a little Pentecostal church; they can be Roman Catholic, Anglican, or Baptist, and a Charismatic Christian of Holy Trinity Brompton in London may have more in common with another Charismatic Christian from a Charismatic house church than with his fellow Anglican who worships regularly in Canterbury Cathedral. The membership of any institution has become so insignificant that people do not try to gather the faithful in one specific new church any more, as the classic Pentecostals did in the beginning of this century. As Val, our informant, told us, after

she had received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit in that small Pentecostal church which was so dogmatic, she moved around, and found suitable worship in several other churches. It is the shared experience which counts, since shared tradition, institution, or leadership have lost their significance. The American scholar of Religious Studies Donald E. Miller calls the new Charismatic churches "new paradigm churches". He also recognises the difficulty in putting them into the sociological "sect" file:

While new paradigm churches have some sectarian qualities, such as intensity of religious experience, they are not cultural separatists in the way scholars normally think about religious sects. Rather than calling their members away from cultural engagement, they actually appropriate many aspects of contemporary culture, transforming these aspects for their own purposes. In addition, these churches do not ask members to disassociate themselves from culture, but to see these associations as the vehicle for inviting a secular friend to radically change his or her life.⁷⁰

Miller sees them 'as representing a new style of Christianity that utilizes the moral and spiritual energy associated with sectarian religion, and yet embraces many - although certainly not all - of the aspects of postmodern culture.'⁷¹ He calls them "postmodern primitivists", 'for they acknowledge and utilize many aspects of postmodern culture, yet they find in the biblical tradition - in particular, the "primitive Christianity" of the first century - an underpinning for radical spirituality that undermines the cynicism and fragmentation of many postmodern theories.'⁷² Bernice Martin even attests the power to shift cultures to Pentecostalism in Latin America, arguing 'that the mass movement of Latin American Protestantism has been an integral part of a dramatic transformation of the continent in a postmodern direction.'⁷³ However, the term "postmodernism" remains problematic. Miller sees it in opposition to Enlightenment thought: 'The clay feet of rationality have been revealed, and postmodern philosophy is questioning the authoritarian character of any claim to a universal epistemology, or theory of knowledge.'⁷⁴ Yet Miller does recognise that new paradigm Christians 'see themselves as radical empiricists, while those captive to the Enlightenment worldview are "scientific fundamentalists", excluding a priori those realities they cannot measure and test.'⁷⁵ As Harvey Cox puts it:

Experience, after all, is the experience of *something*. Even in the most "experientially" oriented spiritual movements, experience itself is not the Source. Experience does not create spiritual reality. It makes something real *for me* which was not real before. If the pentecostals can clarify this, they could become a major ally of the experientialists against the fundamentalists in today's battle.⁷⁶

Karla Poewe, on the other hand, has shown that Charismatic religiosity can be seen much more in the tradition of modern thought than postmodernism. She asserts:

Contrary to postmodernism, which tends to be relativist in both its ontology and epistemology, the ontology of charismatic Christians is realist while their epistemology is both realist and revelationist. Charismatic Christians share with the empiricist the assumption that reality exists independently of the observer. But contrary to empiricists, the reality of charismatic Christians does not only refer to a priori facts or discrete objects in space or time.⁷⁷

Poewe sees Charismatic Christianity 'as a part of a tradition of German religious and metaphysical thought going back to the Lutheran Pietists Johann Arndt (1555- 1621), Philipp Jakob Spener (1635- 1705), and August Hermann Francke (1663- 1721).'⁷⁸ She also included the Enlightenment philosopher Leibniz and the colourful Count Zinzendorf, and two former Jesuits, turned into Lutheran priests, in her list⁷⁹. Francke, an important figure of Pietism who introduced the "conversion experience" as an important part of Christian religious life, was a strong opponent of Enlightenment thought on the one hand, and in his roles at Halle University, his orphanages, and world- wide missions, a great moderniser on the other hand. Zinzendorf who with his Moravian Brethren propagated an experiential Christianity, was in touch with Enlightenment philosophers, Roman Catholic Bishops, Charles Wesley, and many others. As Walter Hollenweger has demonstrated in his writings on the history of the Charismatic movement, Charles Wesley's Methodism, mixed with African religiosity, forms the basis of early Pentecostalism.⁸⁰

What united all these men, although in different degrees, is the emphasis on the *individual experience* of their faith, their *dislike of theoretical concepts* in questions of dogma, and their *indifferent attitude towards the Church as an all encompassing institution*, including her traditional rites and ceremonies. All this also unites them with a modern attitude towards religion, which regards religion as a private matter, only of interest if it is connected with personal experience, which often regards theological arguments as futile, sees traditional churches as a remnant of a bygone past, and can not see any meaning or relevance in their rituals and services for their own personal lives. Thirdly, it also unites them with the attitude of Western Charismatics. Val, our informant, finds ritualistic, catholic religion dead and boring. Religion only becomes relevant when she has her own individual experience of God, 'like a private time, between God and me'. Dogmatic concerns, as of the little Pentecostal church, where

she receives her Baptism, are of little meaning. She does not feel any special obligation to that particular institution. The ritual is considered disappointing as long as the personal experience is not happening. This is secularised Christianity, Christian religion fully independent of institutional authority.

Thus, although Charismatic Christianity is in some ways a counter reaction to modern rationalism, it is a very modern phenomenon, and the term "postmodern" seems to be forced onto it. After so many segments of our society have become secularised, the process has now reached Christian religion by removing it from the influence of the traditional churches. This secularisation had become possible after the Constantinian unity of Church and State had ended, the Church become subordinate to the State in the countries of Western and Northern Europe, where the Reformation could gain ground, and where subsequently the Church was gradually disestablished from the state. The battles between individual enthusiasts and a community based hierarchy, which was typical for early Christianity, had to be fought again, and this time the formerly victorious hierarchy seems to be on the retreat; thus Christianity as described by the Anglican theologian Martyn Percy is the Christianity of the established Church:

The Church of England is a social religion and, as such, is necessarily beholden to its past, attentive to its presence, and profoundly aware of its context. Its character, identity, liturgy and praxis are borne out of respect for history, which includes a sense of national identity, location and community responsibility. It admires tradition; it has a knowledge of God's presence in the past and his faithfulness for now. In recent times it has assumed all the characteristics of a caring, modernist meta- organization. Thus, there are chaplains for the armed services, hospitals, colleges, universities and the like. Every corner of England is in someone's parish. It aims at coverage, not "targeting". It is the spiritual counterpart to the ideal (subsidiary) of the National Health Service - you're always covered by the C of E, even if you decide to opt out and go "private".⁸¹

Almost every word of that statement is in stark contrast to Charismatic thinking. Charismatic religion in the "first world" is an individualist religion, disinterested in the past (except the biblical past seen as a Golden Age) and not consciously aware of its context. Its character, identity, liturgy and praxis are not directly connected to historical practice, and it often tries to separate itself from any political responsibility. It views tradition as a burden, and often it denies God's presence in the ecclesiastical past. His presence now can only be assured by the spirit filled worship in the Pentecostal sense. It rejects development into a meta- organisation

and prefers to remain decentralised. Public institutions as well as the country as a whole are, at least in so far as their connection to religion is concerned, regarded as a mission field rather than a point of identification. Percy recounts Weber and differentiates between primitive chaotic magic and rational, organised, and functional religion, in order to come to the conclusion: 'The advent of postmodernity, ironically, creates a set of conditions under which the magicians, shamans and prophets can thrive.'⁸² He believes he detects that 'some elements in an over- developed, postmodern culture are looking beyond "religion" and *back* to "magic"'⁸³. How can a culture be "over- developed"? What are the paradigms from which to judge if a culture is "over- developed" or "under- developed"? To use a set of terms we have established much earlier, here we have a "primitivist- barbaric" view of society, based upon which the paradigms of a "healthy" order are those of Western rationalism (comp. chapter 1). He is unable to recognise that the romantic "primitivist- arcadian" view of many Charismatics is not some lofty "over- developed" postmodernism, but the flip side of his own thinking. As German Pietism and Enlightenment are not the same, but two sides of one cultural phenomenon, so are the Charismatic renewal and the New Age very modern religious expressions of our own modern culture.

5.4. Pentecostalism outside the Western hemisphere

Having identified Charismatic religion in the Western cultural hemisphere as an expression of the secularisation process, we cannot draw the same conclusion for the growing numbers of Pentecostals in Africa, Asia, or Latin America. It obviously would not make sense to look for a secularisation process in countries where Christianity is relatively new and never has had a social status which could be regarded as a process of secularisation. An exception of course is Latin America where the Roman Catholic Church has held a powerful position, sometimes in close co-operation with the government as in Columbia, or in opposition to 'secularist' governments as in Brazil. However, as we have demonstrated in our sub- chapter on Pentecostalism in Latin America, Pentecostalism there does not necessarily always fit into the category of European/ American Pentecostalism: it does not preclude social and political action and it rebuilds a sense of community where that has been lost through social and political changes. Pentecostalism there should be called more neutrally a phenomenon

of a religious restructuring of society than a phenomenon of secularisation.

Quintessentially religious peoples are looking for a new religious framework which allows them to express their religiosity on the one hand and suits them more in new social circumstances on the other hand. Catholic religion fitted well in the feudal but stable world of the *hacienda*, whereas the more open but much more insecure world of the mega cities with their mega slums leads either to *machismo* or the attempt to rebuild religion as well as community in the Pentecostal congregation.

There is even less justification to call the growth of Charismatic Christianity in Africa or Asia a "secularisation process" than that in Latin America. We have dealt before with I.M. Lewis' thesis of Pentecostalism as an escape of oppressive reality, and we think that this can only be seen as an element of Charismatic religiosity, but it cannot be completely reduced to that element. What we can see, however, is that ecstatic forms of religion have adapted Christianity to local cultures, they have inculturated the religion brought by European and American missionaries. Walter Hollenweger mentions the Pentecostal theologian Allen Anderson, who

reminds us of the fact that Christian theology has not entered Africa in a vacuum. Just as the Hellenistic theologians accepted certain connotations of Greek culture with the Greek term *pneuma*; just as the Latin theologians accepted certain dualistic connotations of the Latin- Hellenistic culture with the term *spiritus* (with far- reaching consequences for European theology - which has forgotten the original meaning of *ruach jahwe*, the Hebrew term); just as the French theologians hear in the word *esprit* and the German theologians in the word *Geist* some of the intellectual and "spirited" cultural background of these words; so Anderson tries to use the term *Moya* in order to discover the Holy Spirit in an African context with its understandings of power, spirit, world, and the ancestor cult.⁸⁴

Since the cultural background is different to that of the ancient Church in the West, individual ecstatic experience and hierarchical structure are not necessarily opposed to each other. In fact, in spring 1998 the author of this thesis heard the Anglican Archbishop of Uganda preaching to a baffled congregation in Canterbury Cathedral, saying : 'The Church of Uganda is alive and growing, because it is Charismatic.' To evaluate the cultural meaning of Charismatic church life any further in other cultures such as Africa is difficult for the outsider and non- specialist. The sort of difficulties we might suddenly find ourselves in becomes clearer, when we consider that Rosalind I.J. Hackett has cited the Aladura churches, which we have used as examples for indigenous Charismatic religiosity, as a references for indigenous African

New Age religiosity.^{85v1} Therefore the cultural evaluation of the Charismatic/ Pentecostal revival in so many countries outside the North American/ European hemisphere needs specific consideration for each culture and country, a task which cannot be fulfilled here.

5.5. The Spiritual Age or Materialist Faith?

Harvey Cox mentions Joachim of Fiore's prophecy in his evaluation of modern Pentecostalism:

The abbot suggested that the different persons of the Trinity, although they lived in eternal mutuality, actually manifested themselves in history in a sequential fashion. Thus the Father had been the principal actor during the period of the Old Testament. The first millennium of Christian history had been the age of the Son. But in his own time, the abbot taught, humanity was about to enter its third - and final - period, the age of the Spirit. In this dawning new age, Joachim taught, the church would no longer need a hierarchy because the luminous presence of God the Spirit would suffuse all people and all creation. Priests and bishops - even popes - would become superfluous. Sacred scriptures would no longer be necessary because the Spirit would speak directly to each person's heart. Further, with the arrival of this new age of the Spirit, the strife and hostility that had divided Christians from infidels would disappear. All clans and nations would be joined in a single harmonious body. It almost seems as though Joachim was writing the script for the pentecostal drama that would come 700 years later.⁸⁶

Well, not quite. The contemporary Pentecostal drama is certainly not about a single harmonious body, and most Pentecostals would cry foul if one suggested that the sacred scripture was not necessary anymore. However, we can use Joachim's idea of the Age of the Spirit as a description of the present situation without necessarily seeing it as the ultimate climax of history; in other words, if we looked at Joachim's idea of the age of the Spirit less from an evolutionary perspective and more in a descriptive way, the metaphor could be quite fitting in some ways. As Donald Miller puts it,

new paradigm churches and their members have responded to the *therapeutic*, *individualistic*, and *anti-establishment* themes of the counterculture. In each instance they have

^v Hackett's article shows how some forms of New Age religiosity, like the Rosicrucians, have found a foothold in Nigeria. To include the Aladura churches or some other native religious practices into the realm of New Age I find a little bit condescending, as is also her observation in Nigeria, 'that many people are New Agers by default rather than conscious commitment.' (p. 230) It is true that there are some magical or other elements which are typical for New Age in Aladura religion, but New Age is therelike that every religion has got some elements of it. Traditional African religion does not draw from New Age, but New Age draws from traditional religion.

incorporated an element of these values into their religious life, while rejecting other implications of these stances.⁸⁷

In their response to these "themes" lies the Joachimite character of the Charismatic renewal in our culture - and its relationship to the other great contemporary movement of our time, the New Age movement.

Those who we have identified as the forefathers of modern religion, the Pietists and philosophers of the Enlightenment period, certainly hoped for the "Third Age" prophesied by Joachim. Lessing speculated in his *'The Education of the Human Race'*:

Perhaps even some enthusiasts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had caught a glimpse of a beam of this new eternal Gospel, and only erred in that they predicted its outbursts as so near to their own time. Perhaps their "Three Ages of the World" were not so empty a speculation after all, and assuredly they had no contemptible views when they taught that the New Covenant must become as antiquated as the Old had been.⁸⁸

Spener does not mention Joachim's theory in that way, but Reeves and Gould have linked the two nevertheless:

Spener illustrates exactly the case in which a pattern of threes follows naturally from a belief in progress: the first period of Christian history he saw as one of obscurantism under the Catholic Church, the second, inaugurated at the Reformation, has been a period of half- light; now the third will be one of total light.⁸⁹

A similar pattern of threes would be followed by contemporary Pentecostal theologians as we observed earlier.^{vii}

Our task cannot be to postulate a *progress* of religious history. However, we can use the Joachimite pattern to *describe* what presents itself to us in several shades. Ernst Troeltsch has used the Joachimite "pattern of three" before in that sense, as the German scholar of religious studies, Christoph Bochinger, points out:

Troeltsch's analysis can be summed up as a pattern of three: traditional Christian religion - criticism of religion/ disintegration of religious tradition - revitalisation, albeit loss of the moral and religious monopolies. Maybe we should keep a certain degree of scepticism in regard of that very schematic formalisation: neither was the religious- historical past coined merely by the Church, nor should the revitalisation of the religious be interpreted as the swing- back of a pendulum, a point Troeltsch was aware of more than others. The remaining validity of his description over a period of

^{vii} The steps would be "Early Christianity - Modern Pentecostalism - The soon awaited Awakening" (comp. the beginning of this chapter).

now 80 years emphasises, that there will always be both under the conditions of modernity, the religiously critical and the re- spiritualising streams, maybe in gradual shifts in their relationships towards each other.^{vii90}

As we have observed above, modern Charismatic religiosity is beyond the classic church - sect scheme, and Troeltsch described this third wing of religious life, when he described, what he called "mysticism", and what he retraces to the romantic movement and to Schleiermacher:

Everyone who has read Schleiermacher's *Discourses* knows that there is clearly proclaimed in them the "spiritual" idea of a direct revelation of religious feeling, and a mutual understanding of all Spirit- filled men and of all revelations, and that the sociological conclusions are also drawn quite definitely from these ideas: a system of loosely connected groups, varying from time to time, gathered round particularly strong leaders and prophets, serves to unite the faithful in ever new groupings for mutual fellowship, in order to awaken the spiritual consciousness which all possess; the "spirit" is not tied to the historic Christian community, but, reaching out beyond its borders, it can allow religious feeling, which is in itself everywhere the same, to form ever new concrete groups. The prophets and seers, Christ Himself included, are merely those who arouse and enkindle that spark of direct religious life which is the possession of every human being.⁹¹

Religion based on Christian Charismatic experience oscillates between Troeltsch's definition of a sect ("The sect is a voluntary society, composed of strict and definite Christian believers bound to each other by the fact that all have experienced "the new birth"⁹²) and the "mysticism" as described above. This latter attitude is more apparent in many New Age circles, and although many Pentecostal churches still very much adhere to the sect- scheme, many Charismatic Christians transcend that category, as we have mentioned above. Besides the idea of collective salvation under the hierarchy and the sacraments of the Church, and the assurance of grace under the Word as it was emphasised by the Reformers of the 16th century, there is a third side of religion, and again we refer to Troeltsch:

Individual personal seeking, personal experience of pain of conscience and pain of doubt, a grasping of the hand of God which is held out in the historic revelation, in order, having done so, to

^{viii} 'Troeltschs Analyse läßt sich als Dreischritt zusammenfassen: Traditionale christliche Religion - Religionskritik/ Auflösung der Tradition - Wiederbelebung unter Verlust der ethischen und religiösen Monopole. Vielleicht ist eine gewisse Skepsis gegenüber der sehr schematisch wirkenden Einteilung angebracht: Weder war die religionshistorische Vergangenheit ausschließlich kirchlich geprägt, noch sollte man die Wiederbelebung des Religiösen im Sinne eines Pendelrückschlags interpretieren, was Troeltsch mehr als anderen bewußt war. Die bleibende Gültigkeit seiner Beschreibung über einen Zeitraum von nunmehr 80 Jahren hinweg spricht vielmehr dafür, daß unter den Bedingungen der Moderne ein ständiges Nebeneinander der religionskritischen und re- spiritualisierenden Ströme zu finden sein wird, vielleicht mit graduelle Schwankungen beider in ihrem jeweiligen Verhältnis zueinander.'

proceed further along the pathway of personal responsibility and decision to the winning of ultimate conviction, with a calm acceptance of all the enigmas which lie unsolved along this path - such is the character of modern religious feeling.⁹³

This modern religiosity competes with the traditional churches, fostering the feeling of "leaving them behind", of being advanced in opposition to those large traditional religious institutions, who are, in their eyes, intellectually smart but spiritually poor, as Guy Chevreau, the Toronto Airport Vinyard preacher affirms, who reports about his 'pre- Toronto' time:

The hunger [for spirituality] was such that I went and completed a ThD. in Christian spirituality, thinking that a study of the "masters" would open up some of that "more". Again, I'm both grateful and indebted for the opportunity to work at that depth breadth. But ... I didn't discover what I was seeking. That more. My *words* about the Kingdom just got a little smarter. I had access to greater background, and developed a larger perspective on things, but nothing more of the Apostle's "Kingdom Power".⁹⁴

This is a point which is acknowledged self- consciously by an academic representative of the traditional churches, albeit a "border crosser", who had grown up in a Pentecostal background, Walter Hollenweger, who admits:

The reason why pastors fail in this area is that we cannot articulate our own religious experiences. It is not true that the clergy is unbelieving. But it is true that they are prisoners of a bourgeois - so- called scholarly - culture, where one can talk in public about everything, even the most intimate things, but not about one's own religious experience. This is why people think we are unbelievers. No wonder that religion seeks a place outside the churches, that it creates its own organizations everywhere.⁹⁵

This revitalisation effect which Charismatics provide for the Christian religion in our cultural hemisphere can partly serve as an example of Bainbridge and Stark's theory of religious decline and growth. They regard 'secularization as the primary dynamic of religious economies, a self- limiting process that engenders revival (sect formation) and innovation (cult formation).'⁹⁶ They argue that secularisation normally 'transforms religious groups to bring them in lower tension with their environments.'⁹⁷ That is to say, the sect- like type of religion develops more into the church- like type of religion. However, the broader church will then not be able to meet certain religious demands. Consequently, as Stark and Bainbridge put it,

[!]n response to an unmet demand for more efficacious compensators, movements will arise to restore the potency of conventional religious traditions. This pattern is typified by the vigor of evangelical Protestantism and the growth of the Catholic charismatic movement in contemporary

America.⁹⁸

If a traditional religion loses touch with the surrounding culture, they see another possibility of religious revival: the formation of new religious movements, which they call cults. They argue:

Such a faith will have no history of futile holding actions and past defeats by science. It will not have to admit to picking and choosing among its tenets, for it has none at risk. Put another way, new faiths can be fully in harmony with the culture without having to be in any way subservient to it.⁹⁹

Thus they see secularisation more as a circular process rather than the development into a future without religion:

The scholars in the heart of Christendom who proclaim the death of God have been fooled by a simple change of residence. Faith lives in the sects and sectlike denominations, and in the hearts of the overwhelming majority of individual persons. New hopes enter the marketplace of religion with every new cult movement, and a comprehensive census would probably reveal a birth rate of potential messiahs higher than one an hour. Far from marking a radical departure in history and an era of faithlessness, secularization is an age old process of transformation. In an endless cycle, faith is revived and new faiths born to take the places of those withered denominations that lost their sense of the superrational. Through secularization, churches reduce their tension with the surrounding sociocultural environment, opening fields for sects and cults to grow and, in turn, themselves to be transformed.¹⁰⁰

Can we say then that the Charismatic experience is a "Joachimite" experience? I think we can in a double sense. In its own self-understanding it can be described as a "Third Age" of Christianity, after the confused Christianity of the Catholic Church and the Age of the Scripture after the Reformation, they are now experiencing an age of the Spirit. We can, however, describe the Charismatic phenomenon in Joachimite terms for another reason: after an age of hierarchy and one of scripture and education,¹⁰¹ it is now the age of individual experience and personal knowledge. This can be said without any evaluation of this "age" in terms of evolutionary progress. To postulate an evolution of this sort would mean to postulate an objective essence of religion to which the actual religions would aspire. As Troeltsch put it eighty years ago, '[I]t subordinates history to the concept of a universal principle which represents to a uniform homogenous, law-structured, and self-actuating power that brings forth individual instances of itself.'¹⁰² This subordination, however, cannot be right, since 'the modern study of history gives no indication

whatever of any graded progression such as this theory might lead us to expect.¹⁰³ Thus neither Charismatic Christian experience, nor New Age, nor modern mysticism, ought to be described as an ascent, a "higher form" of religion. They are, however, modern historical forms of religion, which started to develop with Pietism and Enlightenment. What Troeltsch writes on Christianity can also be said of Christian Charismatic experience: 'Like all other ideas, it lives by virtue of its involvement in a historical context and thus always in completely individual, historical forms.'¹⁰⁴

5.6. Conclusion

As we have seen with other cultures, the Charismatic experience can be easily integrated and help to make Christianity an integral part of religious life in quite diverse circumstances. This is also the case for our own modern Western culture which is shaped by the thinking of the Enlightenment movement and the Romantic countermovement which came with it. Its features are increasing individualism and knowledge based on empirical research. It is also shaped by an expectation of evolutionary and teleological development and progress. Charismatic spirituality offers a religious "package" which meets several of these demands. The content of faith is being confirmed experientially by the individual. Thus the individual and her/his experience is the starting point of the religion. This experience is being backed up by a set of teaching, the content of which can again be verified by experience. In its teaching Charismatic spirituality appeals to the romantic side of our culture by referring to the Golden Age of very early Christianity. Charismatic spirituality is not evolutionary, but its millennialist expectation as described in the previous chapter, offers an alternative teleology. Thus Charismatic religion is, like the New Age movement, very much in tune with modernist culture. It offers many rewards and securities of what some sociologists of religion would call a sect, like a strict moral code and clear guidelines of good and evil, although it transcends the traditional church - sect scheme, since many people who have had Charismatic experiences are within the mainline churches and not at all sectlike in their behaviour. However, Charismatic, individualist and experience- based spirituality has always, albeit as a latent undercurrent at some time, been a part of Christian religion. This, though, does not make the Charismatic experience the more original Christian form of religion -

Christianity has had both wings, the more communitarian as well as the more individualistic one, and the struggle between the two is even detectable within the scriptures of the New Testament. There is a relationship between early pneumatic Christians at Corinth, Montanists, Anabaptists, the Wesleyans, and modern Charismatic experience, although it would be wrong to construct some historical continuity.

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- ¹ Comp. F.D. Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970), p. 26f.
- ² Knox, R., *Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), p. 1.
- ³ *Ibd.*
- ⁴ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 7.
- ⁵ R. Stronstad, 'The Prophecy of All Believers: A Study in Luke's Charismatic Theology', in W. Ma, R.P. Menzies, (eds.), *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honour of William W. Menzies*, ed. by W. Ma and R.P. Menzies (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), pp. 60- 77 (p. 60f).
- ⁶ *Ibd.*, p. 75.
- ⁷ *Ibd.*, p. 74.
- ⁸ *Ibd.*
- ⁹ *Ibd.*
- ¹⁰ *Ibd.*, p. 75.
- ¹¹ *Ibd.*, p. 76.
- ¹² *Ibd.*
- ¹³ *Ibd.*
- ¹⁴ M. Percy, *Words, Wonders and Power: Understanding Contemporary Christian Fundamentalism and Revivalism* (London: SPCK, 1996), p. 44.
- ¹⁵ *Ibd.*
- ¹⁶ Stronstad, p. 74.
- ¹⁷ R. Knox, p. 7.
- ¹⁸ *Ibd.*, p. 25.
- ¹⁹ C. Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 87.
- ²⁰ *Ibd.*, p. 78.
- ²¹ F.D. Bruner, p. 154.
- ²² *Ibd.*, p. 153.
- ²³ *Ibd.*
- ²⁴ *Ibd.*
- ²⁵ G. Lüdemann, *Early Christianity according to the Traditions in Acts: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1989), p. 39.
- ²⁶ *Ibd.*, p. 41.
- ²⁷ Lucian, 'Alexander The False Prophet', 53, 1-6, in *Lucian*, ed. by W. Heinemann, 8 vols. (London: LTD, 1961), IV, pp. 173- 253 (p. 243).
- ²⁸ C. Forbes, *Prophecy and Inspired Speech in Early Christianity and its Hellenistic Environment* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995), p. 316.
- ²⁹ *Ibd.*, p. 118.
- ³⁰ Alexander the Prophet cursed Christians in the same breath with Epicureans and Atheists, because these were the people who did not take part in the common public worship of that era. (Comp. Lucian, p. 225 [Lucian, Alexander 38, 6- 14])
- ³¹ Irenaeus, *A New Eusebius. Documents illustrating the history of the Church to AD 337*, ed. by J. Stephenson, sixth edn. (London: SPCK, London 1995), p. 113.
- ³² C. Trevett, p. 39
- ³³ Eusebius, HE, v. 16,7, in Stevenson, p. 102.
- ³⁴ C. Forbes, p. 162.
- ³⁵ *Ibd.*, p. 168.
- ³⁶ C. Trevett, p. 86.
- ³⁷ J. Stevenson, p. 107.
- ³⁸ C. Trevett, p. 184.
- ³⁹ Comp. *ibd.*, p. 185.
- ⁴⁰ E.C. Huber, *Women and the Authority of Inspiration: A Reexamination of Two Prophetic Movements From a Contemporary Feminist Perspective* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1985), p. 23.
- ⁴¹ *Ibd.*, p. 62.

- ⁴² R. Knox, p. 20.
- ⁴³ J.L. Ash, *The Decline of Ecstatic Prophecy in the Early Church*, *Theological Studies* 37, 1967, pp. 227- 252, p. 249, quoted at Huber, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
- ⁴⁴ Eusebius, 'Oration on the Tricennalia of Constantine', 5, 4, in Stevenson, p. 369.
- ⁴⁵ R. Knox, p. 40.
- ⁴⁶ Comp. Huber, p. 64.
- ⁴⁷ Comp. J. Massingberd Ford, 'Was Montanism a Jewish Christian Heresy?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 17 (1966), 145- 158.
- ⁴⁸ E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, 2 vols. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1931), I, p. 329.
- ⁴⁹ E. Troeltsch, p. 354f.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 357.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 377.
- ⁵² Comp. N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (London: Granada Publishing, 1970), p. 149.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 150.
- ⁵⁴ E. Troeltsch, II, p. 730.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 734.
- ⁵⁶ G.E. Lessing, 'Theologiekritische Schriften III: Axiomata X', in G.E. Lessing, *Werke*, 8 vols., ed. by H.G. Göpfert (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1979) viii, pp. 7- 414, p. 156.
- ⁵⁷ P.J. Spener, *Pia Desideria*, ed. and transl. by T.G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), p. 56.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- ⁵⁹ J.M. Goeze, 'Etwas Vorläufiges gegen des Herrn Hofrats Lessings mittelbare und unmittelbare feindseligen Angriffe auf unsere allerheiligste Religion, und auf den einigen Lehrgrund derselben, die heilige Schrift', as quoted in Lessing, *Theologiekritische*, p. 25, translation by the author of this thesis.
- ⁶⁰ Comp. *ibid.* p. 104f.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.
- ⁶² D. Martin, *The Religious and the Secular: Studies in Secularization*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 48.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55.
- ⁶⁵ M. Chaves, 'Secularization as Declining Religious Authority', *Social Forces*, 72 (1994), 749- 774 (p. 750).
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 756.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 753.
- ⁶⁸ B.R. Wilson, *Religion in Secular Society* (Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1966), p. 209.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 207.
- ⁷⁰ D.E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 154.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 155.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- ⁷³ B. Martin, 'From pre- to postmodernity in Latin America: the case of Pentecostalism', in *Religion, Modernity and Postmodernity*, ed. by P. Heelas (Oxford: Blackwell 1998), pp. 102- 146 (p. 106).
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁶ H. Cox, p. 316.
- ⁷⁷ K. Poewe, 'Rethinking the Relationship of Anthropology to Science and Religion', *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, ed. by K. Poewe (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 234- 258 (p. 240).
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 244.
- ⁷⁹ Comp. K. Poewe, 'Introduction', in *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, ed. by K. Poewe (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 1- 29 (p. 9).
- ⁸⁰ Comp. e.g. W. Hollenweger, 'From Azuza Street to the Toronto Phenomenon: Historical Roots of the Pentecostal Movement', in *Pentecostal Movements as an Ecumenical Challenge*, ed. by J.

Moltmann and K.- J. Kuschel, *Concilium* 3, 1996, pp. 3- 14, esp. 4-6.

⁸¹ M. Percy, 'The State of the Church We're In', *Affirming Catholicism*, 23 (Winter- Spring 1997), pp. 4- 17 (p. 5).

⁸² M. Percy, *The Toronto Blessing* (Oxford: Latimer House, 1996), p. 51.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁸⁴ W. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997), p. 51f.

⁸⁵ Comp. R.I.J. Hackett, 'New Age in Nigeria', in *Perspectives on the New Age*, ed. by J.R. Lewis and J.G. Melton (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992) pp. 215- 231 (p. 226).

⁸⁶ H. Cox, p. 115.

⁸⁷ D.E. Miller, p. 21.

⁸⁸ G.E. Lessing, 'The Education of the Human Race', as quoted in M. Reeves, W. Gould, *Joachim of Fiore and the Myth of the Eternal Evangel in the Nineteenth Century*, (London: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 60.

⁸⁹ M. Reeves, W. Gould, *Joachim of Fiore and the Myth of the Eternal Evangel in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 26.

⁹⁰ C. Bochinger, *New Age und Moderne Religion: Religionswissenschaftliche Analysen*, 2nd edn. (Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995), p. 93.

⁹¹ E. Troeltsch, II, p. 793.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 993.

⁹³ E. Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress: A Historical Study of the Relation of Protestantism to the Modern World* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1912), p. 198f.

⁹⁴ G. Chevreau, *Catch the Fire: The Toronto Blessing - An Experience of Renewal and Revival*, (London: Marshall Pickering, 1994), p. 4f.

⁹⁵ W.J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*. p. 135.

⁹⁶ R. Stark, W. Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival and Cult Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 429f.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 435.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 436.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 529.

¹⁰¹ Comp. E. Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress*, p. 146.

¹⁰² E. Troeltsch, *The Absoluteness of Christianity and the History of Religions*, SCM Press, London 1972, p. 66.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

6. Summary Conclusion

We now have examined the phenomenon of ecstatic religious experience of Charismatic Christians by looking at it from several angles. We have offered evidence for the clear distinction of ecstatic religious experience and pathological phenomena. We have given an extensive description of the experiences of Charismatic Christians. We have seen how easily Charismatic religiosity inculturates in different cultures and traditions. We have compared the Western Charismatic experience to the religious experience of another contemporary Western religious movement, the New Age movement. Finally we have looked at the Charismatic experience in the light of history which left us with a twofold result: although there have always been movements in our history of religion with similar phenomena to those of contemporary Charismatics, the latter movement has its roots in the individualistic worldview which began with the periods of Enlightenment and Romanticism of the 18th century.

We will now attempt to summarise and emphasise the most important results of our work, but also to go back to some methodological questions which could only partly be answered in our introduction. The essence and results of a work like this cannot be separated from the methodology by which they have been achieved. We therefore believe it to be appropriate to draw the methodological conclusion alongside the conclusion of our actual research. The latter could not really be appreciated without the former. This is why we will now go back to some questions of methodology, and from what we have to say here we will then proceed with the summary and conclusions of our research.

‘The ultimate aim of the historian of religions is to understand, and to make understandable to others, religious man’s behaviour and mental universe,’¹ writes Mircea Eliade. I think it is permissible to read „phenomenologist“ instead of „historian“ here, since the phenomenologist is attempting a similar task. The difference is that the historian of religion examines religion of the past, a concluded piece of history, while the phenomenologist attempts to understand a form of living religion. The historian, having the advantage of a beginning and an end to the span of time he or she is looking at, faces specific difficulties when s/he tries to give a fair account of the thoughts, ideas, and deeds of people who cannot refute him personally, because they are no more. They are history. Of course everything described in this thesis is history by now, too, as every point of the presence transforms into history the moment it happens. One could say, the phenomenologist works with ongoing history, and thus

as a phenomenologist of religion we face the problem of having a much closer personal relationship to the phenomena we are dealing with. Thus it is harder to suspend judgement, since we ourselves are part of the history, society, and culture in which our subjects of research develop their faith and religious practice. This closeness in many respects can make it very difficult to gain the distance one needs to come to a fair account of their experiences. One is much more tempted to expect our contemporaries to have a similar perception of reality as oneself, whereas this assumption is not so quickly made of someone who lives in a different culture, age, and society.

Nevertheless it has been my intention in the course of this thesis to understand those who live in our own time rather than some phenomenon of the past. I have tried to learn to understand what people in our own culture experience, when they surrender their will and their reason to something which appears to the outsider, accustomed to the more traditional structures and rites of the Church, as the author of this thesis certainly is, at first sight neither aesthetically nor intellectually desirable, a mass frenzy, lacking the beauty of a traditional church service as well as the flair of exotic religion. However, the people who experience religion in this way are our closest contemporaries, they are people working in our businesses, our offices and our industries, studying at our universities, literally our neighbours. They meet to celebrate Christ, to fall in the Spirit, to speak in tongues, to roar in Holy Laughter, to be healed and to be delivered from evil spirits. When we attempted to approach these people we found how difficult and problematic an attempt of real understanding, which tries not simply to reduce their religious experience to categories of psychology, sociology, or indeed, theology, actually is.

The phenomenologist finds himself in a situation of attempting to combine two positions which seem difficult to reconcile. On the one hand under the restraints of the *epoche* he suspends his personal judgement of the phenomena he is describing. He tries to understand how the people he is concerned with themselves experience the phenomena under discussion. He accepts that *for them* it is the Holy Spirit who touches them, who makes them speak in tongues. He accepts that *to them* it is a demon who can be heard when hurling abuse at the minister in an exorcism. Thus he tries to understand what *they themselves really experience* in these situations. However, he has already failed in his task. He has failed, because for the people under consideration their experience is objective reality. *To them* he is already out of the picture if he says, this is real *to them*. One can only really understand what the experience of deliverance means to someone if one accepts fully the absolute reality of the truth that this

person has just been delivered from eternal damnation. If I, the phenomenologist, am affirming that it is *true to them*, I do not really grasp the gravity of the situation. Further I cannot go as a phenomenologist who is suspending judgement under the restraints of the *epoche*. I can and do go that far, but not further.

If we cannot really share the world of those who have the religious experiences, should we resolve the methodological difficulty by seeking rescue in crude reductionism? Is it not a sign of honesty to argue that, if we cannot fully understand religious phenomena, why not at least explain them by changing them into terms we do understand? Why should we not just suggest with the reductionist 'that religion is simply false and therefore needs explaining in terms of concepts that have a reality not present in religion/religious concepts'?² Because it is an easy opt out. First of all it is a biased approach, although it is not alone in its bias, since, as David J. Hufford remarked, 'the tendency to count disbelief as the "objective" stance is a serious systematic bias that runs through most academic studies of spiritual belief.'³ It also means replacing something which is unknown to myself with something which I have known before, and thus little new insight is achieved. It is like looking only at the formal structure of a poem and saying "Ah, it's just another hexameter", without reading the content of the poem at all. This does not mean that the observation of a hexameter is irrelevant. Similarly, this is not said to belittle the achievements of those scholars who have dared to approach religious phenomena from their fields of expertise, be it a sociology of religion, or a psychology of religion, or an anthropology of religion. However, there is a difference in reducing religion to sociological truth and in examining religion from a sociological point of view. Sociologist of religion Rodney Stark distinguishes between an atheist and a scientific approach to religion in his field. He warns:

As social scientists, our purpose should neither be to discredit religion nor to advance the religion of science. Rather, our fundamental quest is to apply social scientific tools to the relationship between human beings and what they experience as divine. Science may examine any aspect of that relationship except its authenticity.⁴

A reductionism which denies religion a priori this authenticity not only falls short of a true understanding of the phenomenon, but is even biased in an unscientific way. According to Peter Byrne, the reductionist model of natural science is not even useful for the study of religion,

for the natural sciences investigate phenomena which have meaning only to the extent that the scientist's theories give them meaning. But the objects of the human sciences, that is, human actions and institutions, have a layer of meaning prior to their investigation and characterization by the student of society, being informed by the concepts of those who participate in them.⁵

When we admire a painting of van Gogh, some aspects of its appearance might be explained by the chemical composition of the paint van Gogh was using. However, its artistic beauty can only be explained in terms of art.

Mircea Eliade's aim was to interpret religion in religious terms, and in defending his approach to religious studies, Thomas Idinopulos says that

the act of interpretation relies not on religious belief in itself (the inward and mysterious vision) but rather on the outward, symbolic practices and expressions of belief. These expressions are to be found in the rite, the symbol, and the myth. Eliade did not pretend to any „insider's“ view of these forms. He took them for what they were: formal expressions of religious sentiment, whose meaning required interpretation.⁶

However, this demonstrates that even the phenomenologist eventually cannot escape some sort of explanation, that is some sort of reduction, since those who actually do practice the expressions of belief cannot separate them from the belief itself. Thus Ivan Strenski accuses Eliade of reductionism by claiming: 'Eliade proposes nothing less than a total theory of religion, and thus one which replaces old meanings with (his) new ones.'⁷ Does this difficulty, that every explanation is ultimately a reduction to something else, justify the naturalist reductionism as favoured by Strenski?⁸ That, I think, would be a wrong conclusion. In a way the task of the phenomenologist is comparable to a poet who translates a poem from one language into another one: even as the poet tries to remain as closely as possible to the metrics, the sound, and the content of the original poem, with her translation she will always create a new poem. That does not mean one should not attempt to translate or read translated poems, it is just a fact which one has to acknowledge. It is then a matter for the other experts to decide if her translation was adequate or rather missed the point.

This means that a phenomenology which tries to understand religion in its own terms still seems to be the best way of approaching the task of understanding a religious phenomenon which one does not want or cannot experience oneself. So we have to accept the difficulties we find ourselves in and try to use them in a fruitful way. Thus we have tried to gain as much understanding of the experiences of Charismatic Christians without identifying ourselves with

them. We have to approach them empathically, and gain some eidetic vision of the religious world we are attempting to understand, when we try to bring order into the data we gathered.

Where do we find these „Charismatic Christians“? We find them all over the place, and this is so although sociologist Stephen Bruce found it hard to gain any statistically relevant data on religious growth when he described the situation of religion in the UK in his *Religion in Modern Britain*, and he thinks that it is so, because ‘Religion is simply so unpopular in Britain that even very large sample surveys do not permit rigorous analysis.’⁹ The author of this thesis is not a sociologist himself, but maybe it is also a question of how and where one looks for religion in Britain. When I was looking for people to share their story of Charismatic faith with me, I never had to search for them, they were just there. I found them in the offices at the university where I was doing my research, amongst personal acquaintances, and they were almost always keen to talk about their experiences. I found further descriptions of their experiences in abundance in the local Christian bookshop. This difference of perception of the sociologist and those who observe in other ways demonstrates in how many different ways the attempt to understand these “neighbours” could have been done. One could have described one specific Charismatic community, their history, sociological composition, ways of worship, by using the means of “observing participation” as an anthropologist would do it. One could have written a history of the neo- Pentecostal movement. One could have analysed the psychological processes of a Charismatic church service. All these approaches have their merits and disadvantages. This thesis has tried a different approach: It has tried to use the religious and ecstatic experiences of Charismatic Christians as they describe them in direct “testimony” or in their literature, and to look at them as if through different windows by setting them in different contexts, i.e. how they present themselves in our society, how they flourish in other cultures, by setting them against another contemporary movement, and by looking at them in the light of history. I have attempted in this thesis to read and understand their own texts, their own material, how they present themselves in their publications, but also in their personal “testimony”. My attempt was to listen to them and by listening to them to understand them. My interest was not the truth or untruth of their beliefs and dogmas, but to understand why they chose to live with them. According to P. Byrne, this agnosticism is possible, ‘since it is the content of believers’ belief and concepts, rather than the truth of those beliefs or the successful reference of those concepts, which gives form to the meaning in which they dwell.’¹⁰ This understanding we think is not possible if we try to explain the phenomena, beliefs, and dogmas away by reducing them to something else. We also used the knowledge of many of those who

have done other important inquiries, and thus we have attempted to gain as full a picture as possible.

The experience of this exploration had been a development in the attitude of the author towards the subject of his research of initial distance which changed into a radical „approachment“, which then again was followed by gradual gain of more distance. The initial distance was that of a Lutheran graduate in theology who was puzzled by the expansion of Charismatic Christianity within and without the traditional churches and who thus gained a personal and academic interest in the phenomenon, as I mentioned in the Introduction. However, when I had convinced myself that the understanding of a religious phenomenon is best possible if one tries to understand it in its own terms, I approached the Christians who have Charismatic experiences as empathically as possible, and thus got that close to my field of research that I had to ask myself, if I wanted to join the experience itself. However, this would have endangered the neutral point of view which is considered as a vital methodological component of this research, so I stopped short of that. This phase of empathy is expressed in the results of chapter two. Chapter two presents, so to speak, the raw data of our research, the experiences which this thesis is concerned about. With chapter three begins the contextualisation, and thus the increasingly distanced view of the experiences under research. Chapters three, four, and five set the charismatic experiences against different contexts, in order to gain insight into their relationship to their surrounding culture, which requires a more detached point of view.

Thus the methodological point of view of this thesis is that of the classic phenomenology of religion as it is represented by the triangle Gerardus van der Leeuw, Jacques Waardenburg, and Ninian Smart. Van der Leeuw has lead us in our approach to the phenomena by supplying us with the tools of the epoche and the eideic vision. With him we accepted that ‘Phenomenology is concerned only with “phenomena”, that is “appearance”: for it, there is nothing whatsoever “behind” the phenomenon.’¹¹ This is bracketing out the question of authenticity and truth concerning the phenomena. This approach allows the phenomenologist to gain a close relationship to the subject of his or her concern, but it also prevents him/ her to losing independence towards them. It does not conceal the fact, that the researcher is and has to remain an outsider in regard to the phenomena. However, it does not try to make the outsider position the position of superior knowledge, as an atheist reductionist position does, but puts the researcher in the position of someone who is trying to learn from

those (s)he is researching. It allows the movement of increasing closeness of the researcher to the subjects (s)he is concerned with.

For the following process of regaining distance in order to put the data into context and thus to explore the relationship between the experience, the person who has the experience, and the culture in which the experience is experienced, Waardenburg offers a description of that what we called contextualisation, i.e. his idea of "intentionality". He assumes, 'behind every religious deed and/ or word an intention referring to a particular intended object which in turn gives a meaning in a fundamental sense to that action or saying.'¹² This seems to go beyond van der Leeuw's dictum that there is nothing whatsoever behind the phenomena, but in fact it does not. It just accepts that for the participants in religious actions these actions are not empty, but loaded with meaning. This meaning cannot be neglected by the researcher, but due to the epoche it cannot be embraced as authentic, either. The way it is connected with the experiences of the faithful, the relationship it has to their experience of the world and their life therein, that is the contextualisation we attempted.

This contextualisation can result in explanation, and we have discussed the difficulties of explanation in regard to a non- reductionist approach to religious studies. The difficulty, that we as an outsider cannot understand the religious experiences under discussion in the same way as the insider, remains. However, we can at least move in the realm of neutrality and attempt what Ninian Smart calls a religious explanation, when he refers 'to features both of religion, itself and/ or of something contained within another aspect of human existence.'¹³ This thesis agrees with Smart when he states, that those 'who believe in religion as a discipline are, perhaps, inclined that there is a religious logic as it were, just as students of politics look to a logic of politics.'¹⁴ That does not mean, one does not look at non- religious factors of religious life, since 'intra- religious explanations become entangled, through historical particularities, with non- religious factors.'¹⁵

Another researcher who insisted on a religious explanation of religious phenomena was Mircea Eliade. He certainly is a forerunner of a non- reductionist approach to religion, and we are on his side when he declares, that 'a religious datum reveals its deeper meaning when it is considered on its plane of reference, and not when it is reduced to one of its secondary aspects or its contexts.'¹⁶ However, it is Eliade's own religious agenda which goes beyond the neutrality we have been aiming to achieve, which we have to reject. He hopes, that

by attempting to understand the existential situations expressed by the documents he is studying, the historian of religion will inevitably attain to a deeper knowledge of man. It is on the basis of such a knowledge

that a new humanism, on a world- wide scale, could develop.¹⁷

It seems that Eliade does not hope for anything short of a new religious consciousness emerging from religious study. Ultimately this means the student of religions rises above the subject of his research. Although he wants religion to be studied „on its plane of reference“, he eventually works from his superior knowledge of the „sacred“. This leads to the result that, in the end, the researcher eventually knows what the rites of his subjects of research are really about. Thus Eliade can write about the „space- connection“ he detects in the rites of sorcerers:

The sorceress can only believe what she does to have any effect in so far as this „space- connection“ exists. Whether she knows what it is or not, whether or not she understands the „sympathy“ that connects the lock of hair with the person concerned does not matter at all.¹⁸

However, this fallacy to replace the religious experience under examination with something else, we attempted to avoid when we rejected reductionism in religious studies. Of course, when we drew comparisons, or conclusions, they were also guided by academic, not religious, interest. Thus it is absolutely possible that we came to conclusions the religious person would not necessarily draw herself, e.g. when we found parallel structures in the New Age and western Charismatic movements, or when we discovered a relationship between ancient Korean shamanism and the Charismatic healing services in this country. However, by demonstrating relationships we avoided the conclusion of a common principle which lies behind those movements and guides both of them without the knowledge of those involved.

Let us recall our path of research: In the first chapter, we demonstrated the difficulties of reductionism by the exemplary exploration of the treatment of religious phenomena in terms of mental illness. This chapter can thus serve as an exemplar of our methodology. Religious ecstasy in our society can still be described as an abnormal phenomenon. However, if we find it to be pathological, our description will be different to a non pathological phenomenon; the religious phenomenon then would be generated by a disease and would have to be treated as such. Sometimes an afflicted person can discover some value in a state of pathology, as any suffering can have some positive effect for a person, for example as an experience of personal growth, but it is never a desired condition, it is always something to be overcome eventually. Thus any description of a pathological state will be different to that of a desirable condition in its perspective. If ecstatic religious experience was a pathology, one has to deal with it in a different way. The task then would be to find ways of healing or counselling. However, we

have found that ecstatic religious experience will fall victim to reductionism, not only if treated as a state of pathology, but also if the existence of mental pathology is denied and elevated to religious experience. The materialism of the former way of thinking is then replaced by a “psychologisation” of the experience. In both cases the religious explanation by those who have religious concepts of the world, is either explicitly or implicitly rejected. In short, both deny *a priori* the possibility of truth in the religious explanation. We have tried to avoid this judgement, either this way or the other way, because, according to Strenski, real understanding of a religious phenomenon ‘comes only, when we forget about the issue of truth, and instead if we focus on religion as some special category of thought and culture, as some sort of thing - in effect on its autonomy.’¹⁹ Thus we have offered evidence which allows us to value religious experience as a wholesome and eventually healthy experience, which on an intercultural basis is not abnormal at all. This recognition allows us to suspend any judgement on its origin. Human experience has always known the phenomenon of pathology and the phenomenon of religious ecstasy. Human cultures of all ages have been able to discern between the two. Only if we shift our paradigms and decide *a priori* that religious experience is not a possibility within the range of sane human experience will we lose this ability. However, this *a priori* assumption would have meant giving up a position of neutrality, which, according to Peter Donovan, ‘would seem to involve leaving open the possibility of supra-empirical or transcendent realities entering into the explanation of religious phenomena.’²⁰ Chapter One tried to demonstrate that such a position of neutrality can at least be aimed for, and that reductionist assumptions do not help to understand religious experiences but rather make any understanding impossible in a preclusive way. By demonstrating that medical or psychological reductionism is not rationally necessary in order to understand religious phenomena, we enable ourselves to exercise restraint; the *epoche* in regard to the phenomena under consideration.

This allows us to ‘discuss whatever has “appeared” to us’²¹, the phenomenon. Here the thesis has followed the steps of phenomenology offered by van der Leeuw. ‘What has become manifest, in the first place, receives a *name*.’²² Thus it has named what we observed by observing Baptisms in the Spirit, Glossolalia, Resting in the Spirit, Deliverance, and so on. These phenomena were under observation in our own culture and in forms of Christianity of other cultures. They were compared with other religions of other cultures and with other forms of religion within our own culture. So the thesis named, and by doing that, it tried to clarify:

all that belongs to the same order must be united, while that which is different in type must be separated. These distinctions, however, should certainly not be decided by appealing to causal connections in

the sense that A arises from B, while C has its own origin in D - but solely and simply by employing structural relations somewhat as the landscape painter combines his groups of objects, or separates them from another.²³

Thus it tried to paint the „landscape“ of an experience in Europe and USA, but also, in chapter three, in India, South America, Korea, and Africa. *It juxtaposed the experience to similar and different experiences, and so we found parallels and contrasts, which, for example, helped us to discover the surprising similarities of New Age and Charismatic experience (comp. Chapter Four), but also the discrepancy of postmodern and modernist Charismatic thought (comp. Chapter Five).*

In chapter two the thesis attempted to explore the depth of religious experiences of Charismatic Christians. In doing so it followed the personal testimonies which three women made to the author, but also by recognising some of the literature of Charismatics which describes and promotes the experiences under consideration. The path of a Charismatic Christian into his/ her new religious community, but also his/ her new religious state of being was followed and described. Then one of the main features of Charismatic Christianity, glossolalia, was described and discussed in depths. It was described as utterance with linguistic features, which to be attained demands a certain degree of religious submissiveness on the one hand, but results in a new form of religious creativity of expression on the other hand. The submissiveness is also visible in the “resting in the Spirit” phenomenon. The person who experiences the Holy Spirit in this way can achieve new degrees of trust in which one can truly find rest. This rest can help to attain physical healing which far exceeds the mere physical treatment of disease and goes beyond our normal Cartesian division of man into body and soul.

Although the Cartesian dichotomy has lost its meaning for Charismatic Christians, there is another dualism which dominates their world view: the dualism between God and the Devil, Good and Evil. This demands a constant struggle with the evil forces and leads to the exorcism of evil spirits and the Devil. This practice has been found to be a self- affirming tool to deal with the world and its complexities.

Charismatic religious experience was found to offer religion which is accessible to the individual in a direct and persuading way. It offers a world- view which for its adherents seems to be based on experience and not on inaccessible theoretical principles or dogmas. This world- view can easily be applied to daily life and thus help to deal with its complexities and frustrations.

The rejection of the Cartesian dichotomy, the dualistic world view, the view of man of a tripartite being of soul, mind, and body, and the healing and exorcism resulting from these

presuppositions, seem to be the link in understanding to the immense success Charismatic Christianity enjoys in cultures outside our own European/ American hemisphere. In cultures which consider the Western idea of medicine as foreign, the experience of healing often is the gateway into Christian faith as it is promoted by Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches. The experiential character of this form of Christianity has got the cultural flexibility which allows it to attain a degree of inculturation which is difficult to achieve for non- Charismatic churches. The comparison of Korean shamanism with Korean Pentecostalism shows how much the age old culture of Korea has influenced Korean Christianity and made it a truly Korean religion. The theology and theoretical description of faith of the traditional Christian denominations is often based on concepts deeply rooted in European culture and concepts. Faith mainly based on Charismatic religious experience is more easily able to dispense of those and thus to blend with local culture. The application of this realisation would be that the success of Charismatic Christians in our own culture and the decrease of membership of traditional churches could indicate the greater ability of Charismatic churches to identify with modern culture.

This is underlined when Charismatic religious experience in our own culture is compared to another contemporary religious movement, the New Age movement. It is noticeable in how many ways both movements resemble each other in the way they experience religion (directly and personally), criticise the Western idea of humanity and medicine, foster certain millennialist outlooks, and in their informal structure. Although, of course, both movements differ considerably in their contents of belief and, therefore, are rather antagonistic towards each other, they could be described as cousins in terms of their spirituality. Most important to emphasise is that in both instances the religious focus has shifted from institutional, communal, dogmatic or creedal faith to individualised, personal religious experience.

This leads to our last chapter where we traced the conflict of individually experienced ecstatic religion and religion which is centred more on a communally centred dogma and hierarchy reaching back to the earliest days of Christianity. However, the thesis has also attempted to show that Charismatic experience is neither the rediscovery of true, early Christianity, nor the result of some postmodern spirituality, but Christianity at its most adapted to modern culture. The ecstatic religious experience of Charismatic Christians is in a way the climax of secularisation; whereas traditionally Christian faith has been experienced as a sharing of a creed, of liturgy, sacraments, preaching, and „Common Prayer“, and thus has centred around a shared institution, the Church, for Charismatic Christians this institution has become

dispensable. This can be regarded as the ultimate consequence of the Reformation, the ultimate form of the priesthood of all believers. God, the Holy Spirit, are to be experienced directly now by each one who receives the „Baptism of the Holy Spirit“. The traditional sacrament of baptism thus loses much of its former central relevance.

Charismatic Christians still share their experiences in the sense that they resemble each other, but each individual has the experience him-/ herself. The result is Christianity without Church.

Charismatic Christianity is vibrant, living religion. It is happening now, in our society and culture. It is adaptable and flexible, with the ability to inculturate in many different cultural settings. It „proves“ its relevance to the individual by direct experience and is a strong challenge to the traditional churches.

In our introduction we reformulated a definition of religious experience by William James in the following way:

Religious experience is the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men and women, which can occur in solitude or in collective worship, and which always stand in a relationship to their culture, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine.

In our thesis we hope to have achieved some understanding of the ecstatic religious experiences of Charismatic Christians by listening to how they themselves describe their religious feelings, acts, and experiences so far as they themselves apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine. We described what sort of experiences they have in solitude or in collective worship, and we have attempted to analyse how these experiences stand in relationship to the culture they are a part of. We thus have tried to explore what is holy in the life of a Charismatic Christian, since ‘the study of religion is first and foremost a matter of learning and respect, for what is (or has been) holy in the lives of individuals and communities.’

¹ M. Eliade, *The Sacred & The Profane - The Nature of Religion. The significance of religious myth, symbolism, and ritual within life and culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1959), p. 162.

² D. Wiebe, ‘Beyond the Sceptic and the Devotee: Reductionism in the Scientific Study of Religion’, in *Religion and Reductionism: Essays on Eliade, Segal, & the Challenge of the Social Sciences for the Study of Religion*, ed. by T.A. Idinopulos and E.A. Yonan (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 108-126 (p. 113).

³ D.J. Hufford, ‘The Scholarly Voice and the Personal Voice: Reflexivity in Belief Studies’, in *The Insider/ Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion*, ed. by R.T. McCutcheon (London: Cassell, 1999), pp. 294- 310 (p. 297).

⁴ R. Stark, ‘Atheism, Faith, and the Social Scientific Study of Religion’, *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 14 (1999), pp.41- 62 (p. 59).

- ⁵ P. Byrne, 'The Study of Religion: Neutral, Scientific, or Neither?', in *The Insider/ Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion*, ed. by R.T. McCutcheon (London: Cassell, 1999), pp. 235- 259 (p. 253).
- ⁶ T.A. Idinopulos, 'Must Professors of Religion Be Religious? Comments on Eliade's Method of Inquiry and Segal's Defence of Reductionism, in *Religion and Reductionism: Essays on Eliade, Segal, & the Challenge of the Social Sciences for the Study of Religion*, ed. by T.A. Idinopulos and E.A. Yonan (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 65-81 (p. 76).
- ⁷ I. Strenski, 'Reduction without tears', in *Religion and Reductionism: Essays on Eliade, Segal, & the Challenge of the Social Sciences for the Study of Religion*, ed. by T.A. Idinopulos and E.A. Yonan (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 95- 107 (p.103).
- ⁸ *Comp.ibd.*, p. 104f.
- ⁹ S. Bruce, 'The Charismatic Movement and the Secularization Thesis', *Religion* 28 (1998), 223- 232 (p. 229).
- ¹⁰ Byrne, p. 253f.
- ¹¹ G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, 2 vols (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967), II, p. 675.
- ¹² J. Waardenburg, 'Towards a New Style Phenomenological Research on Religion', in *Reflections on the Study of Religion: Including an Essay on the Work of Gerardus van der Leeuw* (The Hague: Mouton, 1978), pp. 113-140 (p. 135).
- ¹³ N. Smart, 'Within and Without Religion', in *The Insider/ Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion*, ed. by R.T. McCutcheon (London: Cassell, 1999), pp. 221- 234 (p. 221).
- ¹⁴ *Ibd.*, p. 222.
- ¹⁵ *Ibd.*, p. 232.
- ¹⁶ M. Eliade, *The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 6.
- ¹⁷ *Ibd.*, p. 3.
- ¹⁸ M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1958), p. 10.
- ¹⁹ Strenski, p. 106.
- ²⁰ P. Donovan, 'Neutrality in Religious Studies', in *The Insider/ Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion*, ed. by R.T. McCutcheon (London: Cassell, 1999), pp.235- 247 (p. 245).
- ²¹ *Ibd.*, p. 674.
- ²² *Ibd.*
- ²³ *Ibd.*, p. 676.

Appendix I

Val's Account

I was brought up as an Anglican. I was always sure that there was a God, but I could not find my way to God. Our church was not very much alive, and I experienced in my family the whole conflict of the reformation in the reverse - my brother had converted to Roman Catholicism (he later became a Roman Catholic Priest) and there was a lot of argument about that going on in the family.

When I got married, we moved to New Zealand. Since my husband was an Atheist, I did not attend any church for a while. But because I really wanted to find God, I converted to Roman Catholicism, and I really was a good Catholic, I went to mass and did everything they do. But I still could not get to God, something was not getting through. After three years I came out of Mass with the children, and I asked the children, how they liked it, because children always tell you the truth. The children said, it was terribly boring and dull in church and there was no love in there. So we prayed all together: "God, do something."

On the next day my husband got a promotion and we had to move to Auckland. We had to live in a Motel for about five weeks, and next door to the Hotel was a Pentecostal Church of the Assemblies of God. When I went to Mass on Sunday mornings I heard them singing, and when I came back, they were still singing, because a Pentecostal service takes up to three hours. After five weeks I knew some of their tunes, and I slipped in there.

When we moved into our new house I thought while I was unpacking things, one question went around in my head: What was the difference to Peter between his denial of Christ and his preaching? And I was really thinking about this question in my heart all the time. At some point my next door neighbour popped in to say "hallo". When she discovered that I was a Christian, she asked me, if I was baptised in the Holy Spirit. There was the answer: "Pentecost!" I shouted, and the poor lady could not quite understand, why I became so excited. She took me to a little Pentecostal church. There they told me, that I need a water baptism with full submersion to be able to have the baptism of the Holy Spirit. I wanted to do that, so I arranged my baptism for the following Sunday. I was full of an incredible sense of expectation and could not think about anything else. Every time when I came across some water, I had the urgent desire, not to wait till Sunday, but to baptise myself. I even woke up in the night and wanted to fill the bathtub with water and baptise myself, but although my heart wanted to do it, my mind stopped me, and I thought, it must be done by some pastor or some official person. And all that excitement I had to keep secret from my husband, because he was an Atheist and would not have understood it.

On Sunday - my baptism was arranged for the evening, so I had another full tormenting day to wait -, when I was sitting in the baptismal bath, they immediately encouraged me to speak in tongues, but I felt nothing but silence within me. It was the same disappointing feeling which I had when I was 13 after my confirmation - I was expecting something great to happen, and experienced nothing but disappointment. When I went home, I tried to enter the house through the backdoor, so I could dry my hair before I met my husband and so avoid awkward questions. I paused at the dustbins and looked up to the stars. The stars in New Zealand are always especially beautiful, but this night they were somewhat different. I wanted to say: "Thank God, the stars are really beautiful!", and when I opened my mouth, I didn't say it in English, but I

sung it in tongues. And there I was, standing in the dark, between the dustbins, singing in tongues, and I was having the most ecstatic experience. Every word was going straight into the universe, like an express train, it was like I could see it. Although I felt my words going to him, it was as if he was inside me, and instead of feeling as if he was at a distance, he was suddenly incredibly intimate. It was an incredible feeling of closeness to God. It was a very intimate moment, like a private time between God and me. It was a deeper way of knowing, a power one could never doubt. The memory of it is like a scar on the body - in moments of doubt I only need to look at it.

During the following week as soon as I opened my mouth for prayer, I could not help it and started to sing in tongues. I had to bring it down, because this little Charismatic church was very dogmatic, and they didn't encourage singing in tongues, only speaking in tongues. I met my neighbour every morning and we prayed together in tongues for several hours. We became very intimate, and strange things happened in this time. People, who we had never seen before, would knock at our door and ask for help. Even years later, when we were not neighbours any more, she would instantly know when I was in trouble, and vice versa. But after a while our church would declare our prayer sessions to be "unofficial meetings", which they didn't agree with, so I left that church after 18 months. I was in several other churches in New Zealand and experienced the most wonderful worship. In the church where my daughter is now one can see the most impressive inculturation: white Anglo-Saxon people are praising the Lord with their traditional choruses and hymns while Maori people do it at the same time in their traditional way, with their music and their spears in their hands. The whole thing in the Spirit is just totally mingled.

I also experienced amazing physical healings, on other people and of my own. The pastor's child had been cured from cancer. I myself was healed from epilepsy. In this little church they made it up like a court case: It was a trial against the devil that struck me with the sickness although Jesus has taken all punishment for me. So I cannot really have this sickness, I am free. It took me several years till I learned Jesus could heal me. But in this little dogmatic Pentecostal church I learned that I don't need to bear that sickness. The next time I had an epileptic fit, I thought, let's try Jesus. When the fit came over me, I felt a tremendous anger, and I shouted: „In the name of Jesus - clear off!“ - and it disappeared. I had to shout off a few more fits, now I haven't had an epileptic fit for many years.

But every coin has got its flip side. When I was healed, my son became epileptic, with the whole range of different epileptic fits. I told him what I did, and he did the same, and eventually, the epilepsy went off.

When I had the baptism, my son had had arthritis for five years. All his knees and fingers would swell up and he could not walk very far. He also had 25 warts on his fingers, and the doctors tried everything to get them off, but without any success. One night I stood on his bed when he was asleep laid my hand on him and prayed to God to heal him from the warts. I was too embarrassed to pray with him when he was awake, and my faith was not big enough to pray for the healing of arthritis. But five days later his hands were clean and his arthritis was gone. 18 months later he had a last attack, which went away after praying. He now could play football as ever other boy.

I always felt a little conscious about not being socially active enough. I didn't a lot to do with people outside the church, and I always felt a little guilty when I compared myself with my brother who was very active in the Roman Catholic Liberation Theology. When some ladies approached me to stand for the National Council of

Women, at first I was a little bit suspicious. I did not know what I had to contribute there.

One day I could physically hear God telling me to go to a specific beach. It was winter, and I went there with a sandwich for lunch. When I came to the furthest point of the beach I arrived at a rock which was warmed by the sun. I wanted to lay down on the rock, but I heard God saying, „Don't sit on this rock, but on that one“. The other one was smaller, I just found about a place to sit on it rather uncomfortably. Sitting on that rock, God said to me: I want you to join the NCW, I want you to say „YES“. I wanted to say „YES“, but when I opened my mouth, the answer was stuck in my throat. Suddenly I heard a noise, and when I turned around, I realised that the cliff was coming down. I sprung from the rock, struck by terror, and shouted „YES“, and the whole cliff came down. When I dared to go back, I realised that the big rock, where I wanted to sit down first, was covered with stones and rocks, but the little one had, exactly where I was sitting, a little area free from dust and rocks. If I had stayed there, nothing would have happened to me. This is the sort of Moses stuff, really.

In the NCW I joined the health committee. For a while I didn't really know what I was supposed to do there, but then there was a debate about what to do with the aborted foetuses. When I realised that the majority tended to allow using them for all sorts of purposes, I felt this tremendous anger again. And yet I was able to speak out in a perfectly calm way, and I argued: "How can we abuse these children who have suffered so much even before they were born even more?" This switched the mood, and all the Christian women were suddenly on my side. Now I knew why I had to join the NCW, I knew I had fulfilled my task, and after a view more months I could resign from the NCW.

Once my daughter told me at her bedside at 8 o'clock in the evening, that she needed something to bring to school for nature class. I proposed a pot plant to her, but she thought that was boring and declared, she wanted to have a butterfly. I laughed and asked, where I should get the butterfly from? We prayed about it. I prayed to God, may she be happy with a pot plant, and I didn't know, what she prayed for.

In the morning I had forgotten all about it, but when I made breakfast I found a cabbage white butterfly in the cupboard on the favourite cereal of my daughter. I thought: "Oh Lord, you could have sent one with a more fanciful colour!" I shouted up to my daughter: "There is a butterfly for you!" She replied: "What does he look like? I asked for a cabbage white one!" "He is just there," I replied and felt ashamed.

On several occasions in my life I would try to shut God off, but he persistently keeps coming through my door. That's what he is doing even now.

Val is a secretary, about 50 years old and married a second time after a divorce. She told me her story while I was taking notes in spring 1996. This is how I have reconstructed her story, trying to be as literally faithful to her oral account as possible.

Appendix II

Mary's Account

I failed to do a degree in the arts, and since I was what one would call a very godly teenager I decided to become a church worker. So I studied at the Sally Oak College of the Ascension Social Sciences and Theology and became a full time church worker at the Diocese of Sheffield. I enjoyed my work there very much, but after four years I decided I didn't like it any more to be paid for being a Christian - I did a lot of work, which I thought should be done by members of the congregation, really. There were some family complications as well, and I started to do residential social work, but I also started writing, and since that needed a lot of time and energy I became a civil servant for 16 years. That was a dead easy job and I had the time to write 14 historical novels for children.

And so I moved to London in the late sixties. I went to a local Anglican church. Very soon I had problems with my elbow. The doctors couldn't help, but it was very disturbing, because I couldn't write, which was the most important thing for me at that time, but I couldn't really do anything.

So I remembered that the Church had the gift of healing and I went to my local curate and asked him for the laying on of hands. Nobody had ever approached him with such a request and he absolutely freaked out. In the end he said: "I will see if I can find an office in the church, which can deal with that," and that was the last thing I heard from him about it.

Some time later I had a dinner with a friend of mine, and she said she would know something for me and invited me for a meeting. But before I went to that meeting she gave me some books to read, so I could prepare myself for the event, books that had changed her life, she said. These books by an American journalist who wrote on the early charismatic renewal in the USA were intelligent and exciting, and I asked myself, why we have had lost this power of the Spirit.

So I was well disposed when I went to that meeting which was organised by the Fountain Trust, a blanket organisation which was mainly responsible for the early charismatic impact in the sixties and seventies, and which played the role of a midwife for getting charismatic worship into the established churches in England.

About 500 people were meeting in a church hall in Elephant and Castle, and later meetings moved over into the main church, because there were so many. It was a wonderful atmosphere, greeting, welcoming, kind, something we would call nowadays "happy clappy". So much affection was palpable between people. Everybody was so kind towards the preacher, an honourable American elderly gentleman, and you could really tell, the spirit was coming through him. I only had to look at these people and think I could trust them.

At the end of the meeting, we were invited to come forward to the ministry team, those who wanted the Baptism of the Spirit on the right, those who wanted to be prayed for healing on the left. I looked a little bit helplessly to my friend: I wanted the Baptism, but I had come for the healing. She said: "Go for the whole thing!" and I queued up for the Baptism.

We first received some more explanation. "You don't need us to lay hands on you, the spirit will take over", they said, and started to pray. People around me started to show symptoms, but I didn't feel anything. It was nothing as wild as the modern Toronto Blessing stuff, no rolling around or screaming, this was Britain of the late sixties, mind

you, but it was impressive enough. "I can't do this!" I said, and someone prayed for me, and also Michael Harper, a leader of the movement, came and prayed for me. And then something happened. What I felt was like the central heating when it is turned on, a vibration, everything was flowing. It was like something rushing through me, the kind of vibration you feel when you touch a water pipe. Others could feel it when they touched me, and I knew I'd been hit by something, which had a real physical impact. I could still feel it on my way home in the tube, and I had that silly smile on my face like people who have just fallen in love.

My friend invited me for a meal on the next day, because she had to give me some more explanations immediately, as she said. And she told me then that I was in a very vulnerable state. "Two things might well happen", she said, "the devil will either make you to feel a fool of yourself, or some physical impediment will come up." I took these counsels very seriously, and although none of it happened to me, I give the advice to any other person who has similar experiences.

It was very difficult to find any charismatic groups for fellowship those days. The Fountain Trust met only once a month, and a local prayer group I tried was more or less a failure. There were some very rigid old-fashioned Pentecostals, and there was a lot of apocalyptic stuff around, neither of it was very helpful to me those days. So I just went to these Fountain Trust meetings and some conferences.

After about five months after the initial thing I thought it really was time to speak in tongues. I was sitting in prayer, looking into the garden with the flowering cherry tree and opened my mouth, and something came, I was speaking in tongues. I don't remember exactly my initial vocabulary, but I am normally using familiar words. It doesn't feel extraordinary and usually sounds ok. It is like a private love language. It enables you to pray in the spirit more purely, as it were, it is like the spirit is going through you. I now use it privately when I am preparing myself for visits in my ministry work. It makes me less tense, and I can evoke the blood of Christ with it to clean myself or some bad situation, so it really empowers you for ministry.

Once I had to attend a lady with her semi-dying husband. She really had had a bad time with her husband, he really was a naughty chap, and so she told me that she couldn't possibly face seeing him on her own. A mate of her husband drove us to Margate hospital and talked along, so I couldn't talk to her. But I prayed silently and took her hand, thinking about that song which was then popular "Put your hand in the hand of the man who stilled the water". When we arrived, she spoke to me as soon as we were on our own and asked: "What did you do? Jesus was there!" And off she stormed into her husband's room and did a perfect visit at his bedside.

All the experiences cannot be compared with sexual excitement from Mary's point of view. She has never felt any sexual stimulation connected with her Charismatic experiences.

Canterbury, 17. 4. 1997

Mary is a 65 years old retired civil servant and an author of children novels. She is a lay reader at an Anglican church, which is moderately catholic in its tradition. She has always been unmarried and has done degrees in social science and theology. Mary reported to me orally while I was taking notes. I have tried to reproduce her account as literally and faithfully as possible.

30/5/97

Dear Alex

I hope you don't mind me calling you Alex - maybe you prefer not to shorten your name? Please 'call' me Nikki, Mrs _____ sounds very formal. I hope I can be of help in your research and will try to stick to the points in question (I do tend to 'waffle'). I apologise for being late in replying but I have no room for my own computer at present and have to wait for my son to be out before I go in his room (with his permission of course!).

Before I answer your questions I would just like to fill in some background about me and my family - which may be totally irrelevant to your research but may help you to get a more rounded picture of me and if we meet again (which I hope we shall do) you will feel you know me. I am 43 years old and am not yet a graduate - I still have a year to do. I have 3 children and **one grandchild** - and I'm very proud to be a granny!! My daughter is 21 this year (her son Samuel is 14 months old), Steven is her (6ft 2ins) younger brother - he has just turned 19 and my youngest son is Ryan who will be 14 this year. I have been married for 23 years to Bill who is an ex sailor (Royal Navy) and currently a maintenance engineer. My working life has been mostly nursing (so I was curious about your seminar as I had the same thoughts) with some secretarial periods. I am not English - being a 'mixed bag' - I am classified as Eurasian and was born in Singapore. I was adopted at 15 months and brought to England - having an English father and Greek mother. Sadly my Greek mother died when I was four and I had a succession of 'caretakers' until my father married a German lady when I was 9. So you can see I have a strange 'pedigree'. My 'religious' life has also been chequered - I was born a Roman Catholic, changed to CofE on adoption, I was confirmed into the CofE at 11 yrs (because it was the 'done thing') then confirmed again into the Methodist church at 20 yrs old because the ~~de~~ of CofE would not marry us because Bill was previously divorced! Bill and I were both baptised in a Pentecostal church on 6th January 1991 - we had both at that time made previous separate commitments to Christ. I have worshipped at St Mark's CofE church in Gillingham since 1985 and Bill since 1987. OK that's my background now for your questions!

No I was not brought up in a Christian family - my Dad lost all his faith when his lovely wife died - they had also had the tragedy of having a still-born son before they adopted me. I would not have been adopted by them if this had not happened. My Dad, however, did turn to the Spiritualist church in search of answers and did not change his mind - even though I in my new Christian zeal tried to turn him away. He died in presence in December 1995. He did try to get me involved in spiritualism in my childhood and on several occasions I was the one who ouija board messages were intended for. I never felt comfortable with the whole thing - even though I was not a Christian at the time.

and I wanted to stay up and read my Bible. I opened a Bible I had been given on my Methodist confirmation and started to read John's Gospel. I was devastated to read the crucifixion account but it was the Emmaus Road story that did it for me. Even though I read about the open tomb and Mary's encounter with the risen Lord - the Emmaus Road was **my** personal encounter. I made my commitment there and then by praying the prayer in the Journey Into Life booklet. Having said the prayer I then read on to Acts and the giving of the Spirit at Pentecost - I had my own Pentecost experience in my living room and immediately began speaking in tongues. Yes like the lady you described who "couldn't switch off" when she was walking down the street - neither could I. I was 'in heaven' - hot, aglow and 'gibbering'!!! Luckily Bill didn't wake up or I'm sure I would have ended up being sectioned!! Anyway I did make it to bed eventually but desperately wanted to wake him and tell him - but didn't. We lived in a large old house at the time and our room was right at the top and the bathroom at the bottom - at the back of the house. Well no sooner had I got into bed than I needed to go to the loo!! Without a thought I travelled the journey to and fro and it wasn't until I got back into bed that I realised I hadn't put on **any** lights - up until that night I was **terrified** of the dark and used to walk around with my eyes shut or put on every light. My experience was incredible - beautiful and awesome - I felt so different inside.

I will answer the health question at the end. My charismatic experiences since 1985 have been varied - I am always aware of the Spirit when praying - usually my forearms feel hot and heavy. I have been slain in the spirit - although not as dramatically as my husband (would you like to have his story at some time too?) who has literally bounced off a hard wooden floor and gone crashing through several rows of chairs!! On his first experience he thought he was having a heart attack!! I have experienced shaking - again starting in my arms - when receiving prayer and in giving it. I am part of a prayer ministry team and we recently had a healing service at which all the ministry teams ministered prayer to those who came forward. Well I had never experienced such shaking - which started at the beginning of the service and affected those whom I prayed over. I have also had occasions where I have given words of prophecy - once - to my horror - in a church as I was just visiting - the prophecy has since come to pass. Another sad prophecy I had (although it may be classed as a word of knowledge) was about a friend who had stomach pains. It was thought by doctors that she had a blocked bile duct - when we as a church were praying for her coming appointment I 'heard' a voice inside me saying it was cancer of the pancreas - a rare and incurable cancer. I didn't tell anyone at the time (although I did write to our curate at a later date) and my blood ran cold when I heard it being announced in church the following week. I don't know the reason why I 'knew' maybe God wanted me to heal her - I never did get to lay hands on her as her family believed that God **would** heal her miraculously and didn't let anyone near her. On hindsight maybe God would have healed her - maybe I **was** the instrument of her healing - but I didn't do anything about it. I have made my peace with God about the situation but am not ready to speak to her family - it would do no good now - she was only 54 and didn't even live to see her daughter get married - it was very sad. I have learnt a lesson from it (I think) that when God nudges - you move - even if I was wrong I would at least have done no harm and I would have been obedient.

*I'm not sure what you mean by 'active' Christian at the time of my first 'charismatic' experience. I was attending St Mark's as an 'interested observer' at the time but I can testify to having a 'spiritual experience' prior to my 'conversion'. I was 15 years old (yes an adolescent!) and had been to see the film *The Robe* at Chatham cinema. I was very moved by the film and woke in the night to find my room filled with a bright light and experienced a sense of peace (I was at the time very unhappy and had probably been so since my Dad's marriage - my step mother did not like me). I was sceptical as to where this light was coming from and looked out of the window to see if it was the moon - it wasn't. I also remember another not-so-nice experience after this (not sure how long after) - this time I felt a very oppressive presence literally sitting on my chest and an audible heavy breathing - this was not an actual physical presence but felt like it. At the time of both these instances I was actually living opposite St Mark's church and used to enjoy watching the weddings but never set foot inside the building or felt the need to.*

*I had no real opinion of religion before attending church - but I did feel close to God in many ways. I think I had a fear of God after my mum died - thinking that He might take my dad away too. I also used to pray over my children every night because I was frightened that they might become cot death victims - even now I believe that God **did** hear me and answer my prayers - even though I did not 'know' Him - He knew me. I was a particularly paranoid mother - because there was only me much of the time when Bill was away at sea. I know that it is only by God's grace that my children are blessed with good health as current research indicates that I did all the **wrong** things when they were infants - lying them on their stomachs and overheating them!*

*I found my way into a St Mark's (which was more charismatic than it is now) **through** my children. Our neighbour's worshipped there and invited Kimberley and Steven along to a summer holiday 'club' where they were rehearsing a production of *Joseph and the Technicolour Dreamcoat*. This was performed in the church on the Sunday and I went along to 'support' my children. That was the first time I had entered a church since my marriage. I instantly felt like I had 'come home' - it felt like a place I wanted to be in. I started going every Sunday after that and found myself very moved by the 'songs' I was singing. I was a bit nervous about telling Bill that I wanted to go to Church as he was an atheist - but he said it was fine as long as he didn't expect him to go too!!! **BIG MISTAKE!!***

The church was having a mission outreach in Gillingham in October 1985 and they were praying for people to invite and hopefully 'convert'. Well sorry to say I disappointed them because I made my commitment before the mission - one group had to start praying for someone else!!

*My first charismatic experience came at the time of my conversion - I prefer to call it my commitment - which was actually a **recognition** of who Jesus was and what He had done for me and also a confirmation of what I had already 'known' inside. I had believed in God for many years but had never given Jesus a *thought* - Christmas and Easter were just days to receive presents - although we did attend Church in Germany at Christmas. My conversion came one night at home - I can't even remember the date or day - it may have been a Sunday night. Bill had gone to bed*

and I wanted to stay up and read my Bible. I opened a Bible I had been given on my Methodist confirmation and started to read John's Gospel. I was devastated to read the crucifixion account but it was the Emmaus Road story that did it for me. Even though I read about the open tomb and Mary's encounter with the risen Lord - the Emmaus Road was **my** personal encounter. I made my commitment there and then by praying the prayer in the Journey Into Life booklet. Having said the prayer I then read on to Acts and the giving of the Spirit at Pentecost - I had my own Pentecost experience in my living room and immediately began speaking in tongues. Yes like the lady you described who "couldn't switch off" when she was walking down the street - neither could I. I was 'in heaven' - hot, aglow and 'gibbering'!!! Luckily Bill didn't wake up or I'm sure I would have ended up being sectioned!! Anyway I did make it to bed eventually but desperately wanted to wake him and tell him - but didn't. We lived in a large old house at the time and our room was right at the top and the bathroom at the bottom - at the back of the house. Well no sooner had I got into bed than I needed to go to the loo!! Without a thought I travelled the journey to and fro and it wasn't until I got back into bed that I realised I hadn't put on **any** lights - up until that night I was **terrified** of the dark and used to walk around with my eyes shut or put on every light. My experience was incredible - beautiful and awesome - I felt so different inside.

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I think I would like to stop here and send you this as it is. I will send a 'second instalment' covering your other questions in more detail. I hope this will be helpful and in the mean time if you have any more questions I will be happy to answer them. I will be back in Canterbury in October and hope to come to some more seminars as I have elected and individual study on Mysticism - I'm having trouble pinning down which aspect to research! I enjoyed your seminar very much but have to admit to feeling inadequate when asking questions - the others seemed to be on a plane above me!! I would love to read over your seminar notes if you feel able to let me have a copy. I was not a psychiatric nurse but have worked on psychiatric wards and also visited people under section. I remember watching a TV documentary about religion and was very saddened when a lady clearly described a charismatic experience but was labelled schizophrenic. My next letter will tell you of some mental health problems that I have experienced since becoming a Christian - something which my non Christian friend cannot understand - she thinks that being a Christian solves all problems - God is the answer to everything!!

*Till the next letter then -
cheerio and best wishes*

Nikki

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