

SOUTH GERMAN ANABAPTIST ECCLESIOLOGY AND ITS PRESENT-DAY PENTECOSTAL COUNTERPART

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Abstract

This article accepts that twentieth-century classical Pentecostalism originally shared a similar ethos to that exemplified among the South German Anabaptists, and investigates some resonances in ecclesiology between the two. Scrutiny of a selection of early sixteenth-century documents relating to Anabaptism identifies the following: a radically consistent application of *sola scriptura*, a rejection of the state-church synthesis, a revisioning of sacramental belief and practice that subverts the clergy-laity divide, commitment to the teachings of Jesus as the primary and central guide to discipleship, a sacrificial pilgrim mentality of “just passing through this world,” individual choice and responsibility to follow Jesus, confident personal witness to the goodness and salvation of the Lord, and some level of demonstration of the charismatic gifts. Early Pentecostalism resonated with all these themes, although it developed a more detailed and sophisticated biblical and theological understanding of the charismatic aspects. However, present-day popular Pentecostalism, especially but not exclusively in the West, appears to demonstrate in its implied ecclesiology a number of dissonances from all of these elements, which may indicate a significant divergence from the original ethos of the movement and present major future challenges to its authentic and consistent continuation and self-propagation.

Introduction

The Anabaptists were for centuries the forgotten people of the Reformation. Like the Celtic *peregrini* before them, they were a dangerous irritant in the cogs of those “official” religious processes of a Europe that sought a new religious settlement—a settlement based on a post-Constantinian model of the Christian church as the religious arm of the state. Established Christianity was emerging in Europe as Roman, English, Lutheran, or Calvinist, with no room for a transnational grassroots pilgrim people who were socially, politically, and theologically lightweight compared to the caste, influence, and erudition of this mainstream.

Yet in the present-day post-Christian and post-Christendom social order, these disparate nonconformists are now enjoying a more objective and favorable revisioning. John Howard Yoder’s 1965 endorsement of Pentecostalism as the ideological and theological heirs of Anabaptism was soon buttressed by Reformed theologian Jürgen Moltmann’s preference for an Anabaptist ethos in his own ecclesiology.¹ Pentecostal scholarship itself, initially uncritical of the adverse picture of Anabaptism gained from their own university mentors, is revisiting its Anabaptist heritage, recognizing its influence in developing the ethos of the movement’s later precursors.²

Phenomenological studies in social and historical research depict a group with arguably the earliest radically modernizing influence in post-Reformation Europe. Implicit in the Anabaptist ethos was an economic and political subversion of late feudalism in both state and church, a modern democratic vision of human governance as the realm of consenting equals³ and not of privileged patrons and subservient clients. They viewed the church as a family, as a circle of friends, as an egalitarian partnership of everyone, involved implicitly and explicitly in aggressive evangelism and mission. While many were not consciously political in their own aspiration or self-understanding, they implied in wider society a corresponding view of human relationships. This religious and social vision influenced the political development of the United States of America. Summarily rejected and stifled in sixteenth-century Europe, it bore its trans-Atlantic fruit in the development of a

consistent democracy that predated that of the Mother of Parliaments by some 150 years.

This paper focuses on one aspect of this new approach: the coherence between the Anabaptist view of Christian community and the present-day Pentecostal, a study in historical and contemporary ecclesiology. The Anabaptists in this overview are primarily the more quietist South German variety, rather than the more militant revolutionary or prophetic groups who adopted such strident roles in politics and civic structures.

Yoder's comment led me to Anabaptist studies from which emerged a depiction of a movement so close in form and ideology to my own South African classical Pentecostal background that not only do I personally uphold his assertion, but also assign primacy to the Anabaptists and Moravians in my own understanding of the theological and social roots of Pentecostalism. Today it seems especially true of the first two generations of Pentecostalism that emerged after the second World War in the Global South among Latin Americans, Africans, and Asians. Anabaptist ecclesiology resonates with my own received and lived ecclesiology.

I limit my representation of Anabaptism to the first generation in the Reformation, and primarily the South German/Swiss groups, known collectively as the Swiss Brethren. I have based my analysis of their ecclesiological ethos on two summarizing documents of the period: the well-known *Schleitheim Confession* and a lesser known tract *The Answer of Some Who Are Called (Ana) Baptists as to Why They Do not Attend the Churches*,⁴ dated between the Zopfingen (1532) and Berne (1538) disputations. That summary is largely confirmed by their opponents, as expressed in a third document issued by the Luneburg consensus of 1536 that articulates the church-state's rationale for prosecuting and executing Anabaptists.⁵

The Basis of Anabaptist Ecclesiology

The Anabaptists did not produce statesmen and scholars of the recognition and stature of Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, or Cranmer. They were motivated principally by principles and aspirations derived

from their reading of the Bible and from shared personal religious experience. From this emerged two major pragmatic thrusts: a striving for authentic discipleship of Jesus Christ and a commitment to effective personal witness in the world. To follow Jesus, their key text was the Sermon on the Mount; to witness effectively they invoked commissioning texts such as Matthew 28:19 and Acts 1:8. They were essentially primitivist, viewing the pre-Constantinian period as the time of the most authentic Christianity, with some particularly impressed by Tertullian's robust response to the charismatic and ethical decline of the late second-century church.

On such a basic philosophical and pragmatic framework they developed and maintained a coherent set of theological principles. Some were explicitly expressed, others implicitly demonstrated—in either case they were discernible and authoritative within their own self-understanding and mission.

Consistent Application of the Principle of *Sola Scriptura*

The Anabaptists' most commonly-expressed accusation of the "official" Reformers was that leaders such as Luther and Zwingli had balked at recognizing and implementing the full radical implications of *sola scriptura*. To posit, as Luther courageously did, that the argument from Scripture trumped the arguments of Roman churchmen was all very well. But to refuse to implement this to its radical conclusion was unforgiveable.⁶ They were unable to condone what they saw as the triumph of pragmatic political considerations over clear biblical principle. Erudite theologians such as Zwingli may even have secretly agreed with Anabaptist conclusions on baptism, sacraments, and church-state relations, but seemed convinced that any group implementing them would receive short shrift from the princes, bishops, nobility, and gentry. To the Anabaptists this was nothing less than craven capitulation to the threat and monopoly (or temptations!) of secular and religious power, contempt for the price that Jesus himself had paid when spurned by the powerful of his own day. There was no greater distinction than to suffer the same rejection as he; the alternative was human hubris—and cowardice—at its worst.

The Anabaptists were *radical*. They had no desire to implement a cosmetic modification to Christian faith and community. Their consistent application of Scripture led them to conclude that the authentic church consisted solely of those who allied themselves with Jesus Christ by personal choice, those who accepted the challenges this presented not only to their identity but also to their personal survival. One entered the pathway of discipleship through a door and by means of a way that could only be discovered by means of a personal response to the demands of Christ upon them. In such a “believers church” community there could be no other door, least of all a sacramental door, and still less a sacrament considered efficacious for infants who could not yet exercise their own choice to follow Jesus.

This commitment to applying an exegesis of Scripture “all the way,” with no consideration for implications or personal cost, implied an ecclesiology unlike any encountered in Europe since the eclipse of the Celtic groups. Perhaps implicit in the views of Wycliffe and in the message of Hus in Prague, it was the Anabaptists who brought it to full public expression in those tumultuous early decades of the Reformation, with awful consequences for themselves. As far as Europe was concerned, this was an ecclesiology to be excluded and marginalized, even exiled or eradicated. For much of North America it became a social ideal as well as a mainstream ecclesiology.

Rejection of the State-Church Synthesis

The secular state might be God-ordained, according to Scripture, for the sake of peace and stability, but it remained precisely that: secular. The church of Jesus Christ was part of a Kingdom “not of this world,” as attested by Jesus before Pilate. A state that trespassed upon the life of the church was meddling where it ought not, and a church in partnership with the state was a church that was seduced by “the things of the world.” In terms of community, the divide between the sacred and the profane—at least the politically profane—was absolute. This dualism of church and world was to them firmly established in the text: the church could exist for God or it could exist for Caesar, but not for both.

The Anabaptists developed their social hermeneutic at a time when the worst excesses of the church-state synthesis were evident. They shared the disgust and hostility of the initial Reformers for the toxic effects of the combination of spiritual, political, and economic authority so flagrantly demonstrated at the time.⁷ They yearned to put to the test “a more excellent way,” to demonstrate the benefits of an open, free, unconstrained Christian community, beneficial not only to the disciples of Jesus but also for wider society. As forcefully as they rejected the legitimacy of cozy cooperation between church and secular power did they reject the role of hierarchies and a powerful elite in the church itself. Their egalitarian impulse may have been developed primarily from their biblical theology, but its implications for the organization of wider society were also clear. It made perfect sense for the established church and state to turn on this new revolutionary upstart and jointly rend it, as its most basic beliefs denied their synthesis any legitimacy before either God or humanity. Indeed, even the radicals’ option for non-violent dissent subverted the state’s sense of self-importance.

At the heart of this aspect of Anabaptist ecclesiology was that the church was not so much an organization or institution in society, but an organism: individuals and groups of people organically linked in their common attempt to live within society reflecting an alternative set of values to normal secular “business as usual,” as an alternative society, not just one more complacent element of “normal” social order. Indeed, their appeal may have included the powerful human attraction to “disruptors” of any aggressively dominant and complacent social consensus.

Radical Reconsideration of the Nature and Role of Sacraments and of Sacramental Views of Grace and Salvation

Anabaptists could find but two ordinances of Christ in the Scriptures: the immersion of new converts in water (some Anabaptists practiced “pouring” rather than immersion, but Zwingli’s practice of execution of Anabaptists by drowning may indicate that immersion was most common), and a believers’ meal commemorating Christ’s crucifixion. For them *sola scriptura* dispensed with more than a thousand years of development in sacramental theology, and with it the necessity for a

separate class of clergy. Moreover, the notion that water, wine, or bread could under any circumstances produce a *real* effect,⁸ be it spiritual, metaphysical, or physical, was to them ludicrous. (If some believed in baptismal regeneration, perhaps this over-evaluation was the result of the high price they paid in dissenting from the mainstream view?) In this they demonstrated an astounding (and costly) commitment to a radically modern view of reality. In their age they were perhaps the most resolute in identifying and purging any trace of superstition not only from religion but also from daily profane processes.

This rejection of sacramental thinking implied a radical deconstruction of the most powerful arm of contemporary religion—the clergy. Their stance eradicated any requirement for a priestly or episcopalian class and by definition therefore for a *Pontifex Maximus*. Since this class formed the religious equivalent of feudal secular nobility and gentry, their simple theological decision radically subverted the cogency of the entire established social order of the day. Even Protestant rulers such as Zwingli realized the implications of this and reacted forcefully against it. Anabaptists were clearly treasonous, subverting the right of the state and church to manage in concert the civil affairs of society. The unbaptized could not be citizens; therefore parents refusing this rite for their children were clearly subverting the state and implicitly forming an alternative society.

The ecclesiological implications of this subversion of sacramentalism affected both liturgy and church governance. The gathering of the faithful was now viewed as “play” rather than “performance,” mutual participation rather than a single performer conducting a ritual into which the larger gathering might be sporadically co-opted.⁹ Their church governance was similarly egalitarian, its rejection of formal clergy permitting a pragmatic approach to who would take leadership, when, for what, and for how long.

Literal and Consistent Application of the Teaching of Jesus, Especially as Recorded in the Sermon on the Mount

The Anabaptists maintained a clear distinction between what Jesus taught, and what the other New Testament writers had taught or

derived from his teaching. While the words of the Apostles and their generation were revered, the values and behaviors that ideally marked the Christian disciple were pre-eminently those enunciated by the Master himself. How to follow Jesus Christ in the world today was explained in the words of Jesus himself.¹⁰

This commitment produced a community of individuals who were by and large pacifist, while subject to and indeed appreciative of secular authorities as agents of peace and stability.¹¹ They rejected not only hierarchies among themselves, but also the aspiration to hold or exercise power over one another. Their commitment to Jesus as their only Lord, to call none other Lord or Master or Father, implied a subversion of the prerogatives, rights, and powers of the secular and ecclesial lords. They did not need overtly to agitate against the powers of the day; their private and communal confession demonstrated their “disrespect” for the demands of the powers. Their pacifist submission to the authorities as agents of God for the good order of society did not mitigate this offense, since their belief system implied rejection of secular rulers who claimed allegiance to their *persons* and not just their role.¹²

While they did not reject the basic elements of the economy such as money and the marketplace, they did refuse to take an oath, oaths of obedience and fealty as well as oaths taken in commercial transactions. This was a radical economic choice, since a largely illiterate common market required verbal oaths to seal contracts. While Anabaptists placed themselves outside of common economic process, they actually implied a radical subversion of that process, a stance that “responsible” social powers could not ignore. With their rejection of infant baptism, this commitment placed the entire group outside the pale of accepted social conduct and political compliance, and condemned vast numbers to persecution and execution by the powers of Christendom. Even popular culture labelled them troublemakers, subversives who demonstrated no respect for the established order, using even derision to deny them any right to a rational hearing or response.

This view of themselves in the world undergirded their self-identification with Jesus, a band of disciples, siblings, friends, and partners following in the footsteps of a single Master. From such a

context would emerge an understanding of “One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism” that was radically different to that of the established Christian churches around them.

A Pilgrim Mentality—This World Is not Our Home, We Are Just Passing Through

The Anabaptists were marked by their eschatological hope, demonstrating an existential and cosmological apocalypticism. The radical transformation that took place when they encountered Jesus foreshadowed an apocalyptic end to the “heavens and the earth,” and a final judgement where each would be rewarded or punished by God.

While the Jesus they followed had called them in a very real world, they remained committed to storing “treasure in heaven” rather than on earth. Persecution was seen as entirely normal for this portion of the journey. So they remained true to Jesus as disciples even in the face of discrimination, imprisonment, torture, and death. Some derived their hermeneutical key to text and history from Tertullian, who heaped scorn on those who attempted to flee persecution by migrating from town to town, or to avoid it with compromise.¹³ The certainty of hearing their Lord say “Well done!” overcame attachment to secular and temporal trappings.

Yet within the world they were not unrealistically otherworldly. They displayed a definitive Protestant work ethic, perhaps the earliest of the Reformation. Where they were faced by the realities, challenges, and demands of physical, economic, and social reality, they did not adopt the Thessalonian approach of doing nothing “until the Lord returns,” but the more incarnational approach of “occupy until I come,” of “work now for the night comes when no one can work.” The material world was created by God, was pronounced “good.” So they demonstrated a responsible approach to agriculture and husbandry, to financial and social resources, and to compassionate care for one another and even friends and neighbors.¹⁴ Money and possessions were not intrinsically evil, but could become a distracting focus from their commitment to Jesus himself. What they put their hand to,

they did with all their energy simply to please the Master and earn his commendation. They approached the material plane as *stewards* rather than as *owners*.

Following Jesus was both an individual commitment and a communal one. They could follow even if they walked alone on the pathway, but they would also follow as a community of co-pilgrims marching together with one purpose. They would follow as families when they could, but alone if they had to. They did not walk in mystical otherworldly isolation, but witnessed fervently and convincingly to those they encountered along the way. And they exhorted and assisted one another as they went.¹⁵ Those who shared their pilgrimage were to them their friends, their siblings, their partners. It was this sense of mutual eternal destination and evangelical commitment that provided much of the glue that welded them together as a united church.¹⁶

Such a pilgrim mentality relativized the assumptions and demands of human powers and rulers. As demonstrated later in America, and as noted even earlier in some Anabaptists in the train of Cromwell in England,¹⁷ this became a powerfully democratizing principle where allegiance could be given to an *abstract* (such as democracy, the people, the Constitution, parliament, the monarchy, etc.) rather than to a specific person or personality. Rulers themselves came to be viewed as subject to this abstraction rather than autonomous as ruling lords who could demand unconditional allegiance and fealty. For them the role of rulers was to serve rather than to rule. This pilgrim mentality was one of the most significant underpinnings of the modernizing democratic principle.

Individual Responsibility to Choose to Follow Jesus, and to Maintain Authentic Witness and Lifestyle in the Face of Threats, Distractions, and Temptations

Anabaptists rejected any collectivistic basis for salvation or pilgrimage. Individuals were responsible for their own choice to follow Jesus, and for working out their own pathway with him. They had the responsibility to maintain and guard their own personal commitment and loyalty to the master. This was not lonely individualism, although history demonstrates that when driven into isolation from friends, family, and

other pilgrims they were still able to stand in prophetic solitude. On the basis of the biblical text, of which even the simplest of them seemed to demonstrate remarkable knowledge and insight,¹⁸ they were able to adopt Jesus, John the Baptist, the apostles, and the Old Testament prophets as their role models and examples. By preference they would live and walk the pilgrim pathway with like-minded others, as a community of believers, but in the absence of such a fellowship they acknowledged their individual responsibility to stand tall for the Master.

This was a rejection of the notion that personal salvation was the gift and provenance of the church as institution, granted to those who submitted themselves to the gracious ministry of the church that dispensed to them the grace and wisdom of God. They had no truck with *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. They rejected the need for a mediatory ecclesiastical priesthood, preferring what came to be known as “the priesthood of all believers.” They were demonstrably Protestant in this respect, and more radically so than many of their more cautious “official” Protestant fellows.

It also associated them with that stream of Renaissance thought that was humanist, the notion that each human being not only had intrinsic individual significance but that all claims of the powerful (individual or collective) over the body, mind, or efforts of another person were illegitimate. Unlike those secular humanists who considered each individual to be ontologically and morally autonomous, the Anabaptists affirmed the right and suzerainty of the one true God and Jesus his Son and their Lord over every human being. The Lord had the right to demand of all people that they repent and turn to him, and to reward or punish according to the individual’s response. It is this philosophical distinction that has become a central perspective in the present-day contrast between post-Enlightenment secular humanism and Judaeo-Christian evangelical theological anthropology. In what was still effectively a largely feudal social environment, this assertion of individual choice, right, and responsibility was political and social hubris of the worst order and inevitably evoked stern opposition from the powerful.

Confident and Intense Witness to Others of the Goodness and Salvation of the Lord

The Anabaptists were not only evangelical but also fervently evangelistic. Within their own culture they were essentially the earliest Protestant missionaries; they understood that they bore a powerful and challenging message that at an existential level confronted every one of their families, friends, neighbors, and fellow citizens—their fellow human beings. This ethos later found wider international and transcultural implementation in the first major coherent group of their ideological heirs—the Moravians. Their message was more than “turn or burn.” It was also saturated with the promise and hope of the goodness of God demonstrated in Jesus. It was not the fear of hell that inspired them to endure torture and the cruellest of executions; it was a conviction similar to that of Polycarp: We have served him and he has done us no harm, only good, so why should we deny him now?

As the maturing Reformation progressed into a struggle of competing confessions and church structures, the Anabaptists offered an existential alternative: a personal encounter with God that would transform and bless each life and the personal, domestic, and social context in which they lived. Their allegiance was not to content of confession or shape of church and ritual, but to Jesus himself, the Lord who had transformed them. They did not die as champions of the Reformation but as personal servants of the Lord. It was this intense personal conviction and expression that disturbed the other Reformers and came to be labelled *sectarian*. Ecclesiologically it was yet again revolutionary; by implication the true church now came to be seen as a *product* not an *agent*, an *effect* not a *cause*. The church could no longer be viewed as the custodian of God’s goodness, to be dispensed to the complacent faithful by word and by sacrament. For them the church was a repository, the collection of those who had had a personal transforming encounter with God and had now been immersed by his Spirit into the resulting community. The church was neither agent nor mediator. Indeed, they appear to have been evangelistic Christians who belonged to a community rather than an evangelistic community

comprised of individual members; it was the receiving community for each new believer who brought with them their own personal giftings, to the benefit of the others.

Appropriation and Expression of Charismatic Gifts and Power to Witness

The attractively simple division of the Anabaptists into quietist and pietistic communities (e.g., the southern groups) versus the activist and charismatic revolutionaries (mainly of the north) may also be a simplistic division. History clearly remembers the most visible and prominent charismatics as those who undertook or promoted either violent revolution (such as Moltmann's favorite, Thomas Munzer) or claimed ecclesial and civil authority on the basis of their prophetic commissioning (Zwickau and Munster.) The question to what extent wider Anabaptism was also intrinsically charismatic (Pentecostal?) is far more complex and nuanced. The enthusiasts who demonstrated extremist and catastrophic impulses were perhaps exceptions rather than the rule, since many others also testified to discernible charismatic gifting and effect. Prophecy according to the 1 Corinthians 14 pattern seemed to be fairly common in their gatherings. While dramatic healing, exorcism, and glossolalia are less widely reported, immediate divine guidance and miraculous protection were common testimony.¹⁹

Anabaptist affinity for the views of Tertullian also embraced his later Montanist convictions, when he was concerned with the diminishing of charismatic expression and experience, implying they had a similar concern for the restoration of personal charismatic experience and witness. Their recorded response to the irresponsible enthusiasm of the militants parallels that of the twentieth-century Pentecostal community, which has had to deal with similar enthusiastic tendencies in the first decades, such as the Latter Rain prophetic movement of the 1920s that declared "Bible or no Bible, this is what the *Spirit* says!" The question was not the authenticity of regular experience of charismatic gifts; it was inauthentic expression of such gifting within the community and in wider society. Their response was not a retreat (such as Calvin's) into cessationism, but a measured reflection on the nature of authentic expressions of charismatic

gifts and fervor. They urged caution with regard to the charismatic gifts but without disparaging, discouraging, or rejecting them.

The ecclesiological assumption of Anabaptists that every member of the church was a valid “player” indicates a community where overtly charismatic experiences and phenomena would not be exceptional or counterintuitive. Whether this indicates that in the early sixteenth century they saw themselves as a charismatic community may be more than the evidence demands. Certainly the Quakers later demonstrated a conscious effort to exist as such and to display a distinctive phenomenology of the Spirit’s presence among them.

Kraus²⁰ summed up this Anabaptist ethos as a radical, Jesus-centered, martyr (witnessing) movement. As I argued in my research on Pentecostal hermeneutics,²¹ this description resonates with the values and phenomena encountered in the Western classical Pentecostal movement in its first six or seven decades, and the movement in the Global South in its first two generations at least. In the next section I aim to reflect on whether or how the elements I have elucidated above, in the light of Kraus’s summary, are encountered in the history and present-day presentation of Pentecostalism.

Pentecostal Reflection on This Basis and Resonance in Its Own History and Ethos

I approached this research with two questions: first, was Yoder correct in his assumption that Pentecostalism was a more accurate reflection of the Anabaptist ethos than even his own Mennonite church? And second, is Kraus’s depiction of sixteenth-century Anabaptism as a radical, Jesus-centered, martyr movement a credible reflection of the historical witness?

In earlier research I extrapolated the following elements of Pentecostal self-understanding: In the light of these insights it is possible to distinguish some basic elements of an ethos that is typified in Pentecostalism. It could be adequately summarized as a *radical* (apocalyptic, obedient, discipleship), *Jesus-centered* (the Foursquare formula), *martyr* (sacrificial, urgent witnessing, missionary) *movement* (not sectarian, but also not nationally,

culturally, politically, nor liturgically coherent as a single denomination.)²²

It therefore seems safe to assert that Pentecostalism did (at least in its first decades) demonstrate an ethos, self-understanding, and view of church and society that resonated with similar aspects of Anabaptism.²³ However, in terms of church organization, Pentecostalism has not demonstrated consistent ecclesiological assumptions across the movement. The earliest Pentecostals had not intended to develop separately from their host groups, and it was primarily as a response to intense and consistent hostility from these mainly evangelical and Holiness groups that distinct Pentecostal denominations emerged.²⁴ They therefore organized themselves according to one of two major rationales: they simply retained the structure of the group they emerged from, or they attempted to develop a radically different organizing ethos often based on personalities and/or theories of prophetic or apostolic leadership. It was primarily in their liturgy, mission, ethos, and evangelizing models, rather than their formal organization, that the Pentecostal ethos emerged so distinctively. Comparisons between Pentecostalism and Anabaptism regarding church organization will also always be bedevilled by the massive difference in sociocultural contexts: late feudalism versus early modernity.

Significant Pentecostal departures or modifications of the wider free-church ethos of the early twentieth century, compared to similar Anabaptist characteristics noted by Kraus, can be identified in three main areas.

A More Detailed Exposition of Their Jesus-centered Emphasis

The classification of Pentecostal studies has changed in university libraries since the 1960s. Initially housed alongside the cults and sects, Pentecostalism shared shelves with Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons. With the wider visibility of the Charismatic Movement they migrated into revival history on the one hand and pneumatology on the other. From the 1980s they enjoyed recognition as discreet Pentecostal denominations, and have also featured quite distinctively on shelves devoted to mission and global

Christian studies. At the present time Pentecostal-focused studies can usually be found across the spectrum of humanities and theology.

Some of the earliest studies into Pentecostalism from outside the movement dubbed it a “Spirit movement.” Non-Pentecostals who welcomed the Pentecostal experience at the time of the neo-Pentecostal and Charismatic movements found space for their new experience in their own rather underpopulated discipline of pneumatology, reinforcing the “Spirit movement” notion. Even some Pentecostal researchers have rather uncritically adopted this view.²⁵ However, Donald Dayton’s exposition demonstrating the theological roots of Pentecostalism to be located firmly within the Foursquare formula has gained wider acceptance among Pentecostals, albeit with explicit dissent from some.²⁶ This formula states “Jesus saves, Jesus heals, Jesus baptizes in the Spirit, and Jesus is coming again as King” or “Jesus: Saviour, Healer, Baptizer in the Spirit, and Coming King.” The clearly publicized and demonstrated message of the movement was not centered in baptism with the Spirit and speaking in tongues. It was expressed as “Jesus saves, Jesus heals.” Spirit baptism and demonstration of spiritual gifts was *never* the primary content of the kerygma of the movement; it was rather the underlying spiritual dynamic that enabled more effective witness to a saving and healing Jesus.

A More Consciously Charismatic/Pneumatic Form of Primitivism

The utilization of literature studies and literary sources to determine the nature and ethos of Reformation Anabaptism may fall afoul of the fact that much more was written *about* the Anabaptists during the sixteenth century than *by* the Anabaptists themselves. This recorded history depicts the more overtly charismatic groups and individuals as enthusiasts and fanatics, and denounces them soundly for their sectarianism and lack of cogent or responsible theology and ethic. A parallel stream assesses some other groups as being just as sectarian but recognizes their political and social quietism as largely pacifist. Estep shows how hostile criticism at first lumped all Anabaptist-type leaders and groups into a single category of irresponsible and spiritualist

sectarians, but a gradual recognition emerges of complexity in the makeup of the movement.²⁷ In reality, the extent to which charismatic experience, practice, and understanding permeated Anabaptism remains largely unknown as it simply does not feature strongly in their own writings, limited as these are.

This apparent reticence was clearly not evident in early Pentecostalism. The movement understood itself as “apostolic,”²⁸ not primarily in the sense of having strong authoritarian leaders but as demonstrating the “signs and wonders” of the apostolic age. Along with a formalized understanding of the baptism with the Holy Spirit the movement also developed a detailed understanding of spiritual gifts based on Paul’s analytical references and a parallel typology of gifts derived from the entire canon, especially the New Testament narratives.²⁹ Influenced by their experiences they bore testimony to a phenomenology that remained remarkably robust during the first half century of the movement’s existence. From many “burnt fingers” episodes they managed to combine both enthusiasm and caution into their teachings and testimony—*caution* in particular with regard to selfish and aggrandizing appropriations of notions of apostleship, prophethood, and discernment; and *enthusiasm* for the baptism with the Spirit and “signs and wonders” of healing and deliverance in particular.

A survey therefore of extant historical sources for the two movements may cogently argue that while Anabaptism may have *implicitly* understood itself as charismatic, Pentecostalism has *overtly*, demonstrably, and aggressively asserted such a self-understanding. Its appropriation of a primitivist perspective on early church dynamics was based as strongly on its non-dispensational and non-cessationist hermeneutic as on any desire to challenge or reform the “cold formality and spiritual death” of the historical denominations. Their early literature and testimony is redolent with these themes, linking and interweaving their rediscovery of the dynamic charismatic aspects of Christianity with a rejection of “spiritual and ecclesiastical death.”

If Anabaptism is remembered primarily for its challenge to ecclesiology and the social status quo, Pentecostalism will always be recognized more for its challenge to “cold and dead” ecclesiastical and liturgical formalism and spiritual complacency. However, both

demonstrate a powerful egalitarian impulse, emphasising not only that in Christ is there “neither Jew nor Gentile, male nor female, bond nor free,” but also that he pours out his Spirit on “all flesh”—male, female, old, young, masters, and servants. Both are therefore socially and ecclesiological radical in their own context.

A More Developed Phenomenology of *Pneumatika*, *Charismata*, and *Phaneroiseis*

As argued above, Pentecostals identified with those accounts and records of the early church that emphasized spiritual manifestations and gifting more than ecclesiological or social principles. However, they also formalized their charismatic understanding in greater detail and extrapolated its implications for evangelization and missions more consistently. There were some very early Pentecostal groups who experienced the presence of the Holy Spirit primarily as a liturgical phenomenon (1 Cor 14) rather than a missional one (Acts 1:8.) In the United Kingdom this led to the later-arriving Elim movement (1915) demonstrating a more aggressive evangelistic thrust than had the significantly earlier Sunderland group (1906.)

Not only did Pentecostalism derive a Bible-based typology of spiritual charisms and demonstrate a clear phenomenology of these in life, worship, and witness, they also developed a sustained and consistent distinctive exposition of conversion-initiation that came to expression in a doctrine of “subsequence” and an understanding of initial evidence. Present-day Pentecostal self-understanding can be ambivalent on how central this theological development was in the early movement: did the movement gain its self-understanding and impetus from these motifs, or was their theological formulation *ex post facto*—a rationalization and explication of a new phenomenology? Western and particularly American Azusa-based theories of Pentecostal origins prefer the former, while the Pentecostalism of the Global South largely prefers the latter. This may explain why the issue of speaking in tongues is such a central debate in the West, while featuring hardly at all in the South.³⁰ A detailed biblical or theological analysis and rationale concerning the work of the Spirit was not primary or central to their self-understanding and portrayal.

Drawing too detailed a comparison between the movements therefore requires caution, hence my own inclination to speak of a common ethos rather than a common phenomenology. It is with this understanding that I address recent developments in Pentecostalism that may be stretching the consistency of that identification in ethos and at the same time challenging the consistency and cogency of present-day Pentecostal self-understanding and presentation.

Dissonances and Challenges in Mature Pentecostalism

Had the Anabaptist movement, which enjoyed exceptional growth at grassroots level, survived in a more congenial religious climate for a century or more, there is no knowing what it may have become and what pragmatic accommodations may have occurred in its ethos. The Pentecostal movement today *has* survived its first century, and still demonstrates some remarkable consistencies with its initial ethos and emphases. But in many ways and places it exhibits an ethos totally other to what impelled the original pioneers.³¹ There are contexts where the movement presents almost identically in core beliefs, values, and dynamics to the original classical Pentecostal paradigm (as in parts of rural Africa), and others where the founders would scarcely recognize the present-day phenomenon (as in many African cities).

From my own research, lived experience, and observation I would identify the following emerging dissonances and challenges.

“Jesus, Be the Center . . .”?

In the West the Charismatic Movement of the 1960s and 70s influenced many Pentecostals to envision themselves primarily as people of the Spirit. The depth of theological erudition, and the wealth of publications at the hand of many non-Pentecostal participants and observers of this new revival, dominated its public expression. It molded the thinking and self-understanding of many Pentecostal teachers, colleges, and leaders who could offer or access no competing deposit of scholarly work.

Central to the new self-understanding was pneumatology rather than Christology and the Foursquare formula in particular.

This was not reflected to the same extent in the Global South, where classical Pentecostalism was at first not as challenged by the new charismatic phenomenon, and for whom Jesus remained the person proclaimed and experienced, the one able to confront and overcome the inimical spirituality of local cultures. At the coal-face of evangelism the preaching of Jesus as redeemer and deliverer, as unchanging Lord over every other spirit, remained central to the practice of the people.

For others, though, the challenge to the centrality of Jesus was reinforced by the emigration of the later Charismatic Movement from the historical churches whence it emerged, and its co-option primarily into the large independent ministries. E. W. Kenyon's teaching that "Jesus Died Spiritually" (JDS)³² is mainstream in many of these. This has produced a soteriology and accompanying liturgy in which the centrality of the crucifixion is replaced by the celebration of the resurrection, where the role of Jesus is reduced to merely the first example of a new super-race of humans who by the exercise of their faith can live completely victorious lives, equivalent in power even to that of Jesus himself.³³ The songs, preaching, and rituals of the great narrative of redemption history were replaced by songs and sermons of personal victory³⁴ based on one's own expression of faith and positive confession. This new super-humanity is headed by "God's Generals," "Great Men of Faith" who exercise authority over those who flock to them by virtue of their open lines of personal communication with God. This leadership model has developed into the ubiquitous "Great Man of God" phenomenon in Pentecostal-Charismatic ministry and leadership. The future of a Christology where Christ is τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ("the unique Son") is unclear under this paradigm.

Non-sacramental?

The Anabaptists represented the most radical rejection of sacramental theology. Like many revival groups, they preferred the personal and individual encounter with God to any mediated or ritually incarnate efficacy linked to persons or material objects. The Pentecostal Movement

was no different. Some did teach baptismal regeneration, usually where the locus of debate with non-Pentecostals was paedobaptism versus believers' immersion, but this was never mainstream. The practice of laying-on of hands was ubiquitous, but was also usually egalitarian and not limited to a priestly class.

Present-day Pentecostal groups have been permeated with a new sacramentalism, or at least superstition, where both material objects and formal rituals are deemed to have power and efficacy. The Word Faith movement introduced formulaic rituals of positive confession and sowing-and-reaping (giving to receive). The psalmody movement (the precursor of the contemporary worship school) introduced belief in the spiritual efficacy of song, music, and body movement as maintained by the Latter Rain groups of the 1920s. Music and praise-and-worship songs are considered effective in making God present in the gathering; indeed, certain instruments, musical chords, formations, and notes, even the position of musical instruments in relation to the audience, may have relevance for the potency of effect. The spiritual warfare school, developed initially from the teachings of Derek Prince, invokes any number of rituals considered effective or deleterious in dealing with demonic powers and territories. They also identify entire classes of physical objects as useful either for transmission of demonic influence (native religious art, animist *muti*, "new age" creatures such as frogs and dolphins, etc.) or its negation (salt, grape juice, olive oil, etc.). Rituals and objects for healing, deliverance, or success have proliferated, from little green cloths for healing (\$5 each) to "anointed" pens that ensure you pass your exam!

Where the earliest interface between Pentecostal ministry and animist and pagan spiritualities entailed the desacralization of local rituals, objects, totems, taboos, and superstitions, today in many parts of the world the new "incarnational" approach has simply appropriated them for its own purposes. Where a person claiming to have been cursed by a witch or shaman would earlier have been informed that such rituals and curses are empty and foolish superstitions, the new ministries implicitly endorse the old worldview, with the rider that "but our leader can break the curse," effectively establishing themselves as the new, more powerful shaman.³⁵ The old worldview remains unchallenged, the efficacy of objects and rituals is affirmed, and the modernizing effect of Christian conversion negated.

Egalitarian? The Clergy-Laity Divide Eliminated?

In 1974 Peter Hocken could state, “A Pentecostal minister does not determine what happens in church— he discerns what the Holy Spirit is doing.”³⁶ Four decades later such an ethos is a distant memory.

A number of trends have coalesced in Pentecostal consciousness to challenge the earliest egalitarian impulses. These include:

- the discipleship authority-and-submission influences from the Fort Lauderdale Five;
- the “new apostolic paradigm,” which implicitly divided the church into “anointed vision-bearers” and the common people (the Great Man of God syndrome), based on the so-called fivefold ministries of Ephesians 4:11;
- the church leadership paradigm of John Maxwell, Bill Hybells, and others that effectively divides the church into leaders and followers;
- a formulaic approach to music and song, the “building the throne” school, which elevates singers and musicians to a priestly role (more recently claiming also to be elders, teachers, and prophets) by which they assume responsibility for mediating the encounter between God and the people during the gathering;
- “Great Men of God” who operate as new shamans on the interface between Christianity and animism or paganism.

All of these represent, encourage, or establish what is effectively a new clergy-laity divide. Indeed some “anointed” leaders even refer disparagingly to the “*common laos*,” while the anointed few unapologetically recognize and affirm one another as the new elite. The church leadership school very clearly elevates leaders over followers, despite all assertions that such leadership actually aims to facilitate the development of ministry among the followers. The harsh on-the-ground reality is that leadership is too often

about authority, and penalties are exacted on the recalcitrant. Formulaic and “incarnational” approaches to encountering God and prosecuting spiritual warfare imply the need for an enabled class of ministers and heroes to manage the complex interface between normal life and the spiritual world—in effect, a new clergy. The priesthood of all believers exists purely in the rhetoric of a new self-serving class of leaders.

Pilgrims Just Passing through an Alien and Hostile World?

Early Pentecostals reflected a similar apocalypticism to the Anabaptists, a re-evaluation of the importance of the secular and temporal, a sense of pilgrimage through an inimical context, of being strangers in a strange land. They strongly maintained the dualism of secular and profane, of this world and the next, of being “in the world but not of the world.” However, this was not aimed at achieving comfort and success in the world, but of living lives of love, joy, peace, fulfilment, and powerful testimony despite the hostility of the world. It was a *sacrificial* paradigm for Christian discipleship and mission: “the world well-lost for Jesus,” let us evangelize intensively as the time is short! These values were reflected in their sermons, testimonies, missionary urgency, liturgies, songs, and writings. Following Jesus centered on identifying with his crucifixion, denying oneself, forsaking the world, taking up the cross, and following him. Discipleship reflected the great redemptive truths of Calvary.

It was probably inevitable that by the third generation this calling had lost its appeal for the grandchildren of the pioneers. Coinciding with the emergence of consumerism, upward social mobility, an economically-enabled youth culture, the explosion of visceral forms of music, pop-psychology, and the emergence of motivational and self-fulfilment thinking, Pentecostalism was increasingly tempted to abandon its message of “die in order to live” based on the cross. It accepted in exchange the promise of benefits situated higher up Maslow’s hierarchy: self-fulfilment, health, wealth, victory, being the head not the tail, living your dream, receiving all that God has promised you—based on celebration of the resurrection and bypassing the self-sacrifice of the cross. Indeed it is very rare in Pentecostal ministry and gatherings in the

West now to find the theme of cross and self-sacrifice in any sense other than coincidental or peripheral. It does not sell, it does not work, and it is no longer “what the Spirit is doing.” In their editors’ comments two UK scholars point out how the new Pentecostal churches that are the fastest growing in Europe are those that proclaim a more human-centered motivational message than the traditional redemption-history content of the earlier movement.³⁷

This change in culture implies a curtailment of Pentecostalism’s subversion of contemporary secular values and society, and its absorption into mainstream secular culture— prophetic dissent has been abandoned, the prophets have been seduced into conformity rather than subversion.³⁸ The world’s consensus is now affirmed, not condemned, resisted, and undermined. Gone are the songs of the cross, the expectation of the Master’s return, the longing for the final destination in Heaven— dominant are songs and oratory of victory, of fulfilment, of human dreams, of a place in this world that is no longer a hostile environment for pilgrims, but an affirming context for selfish dreams. Postmodern narcissism prevails over sacrificial commitment; the dominant paradigm is now *acquisitive*.

Evangelical Choice of Jesus as Savior from Sin?

The Anabaptist contention was that the church consisted of those who had made a personal and individual response to the invitation and redemption of Jesus. They envisioned a believers’ church. This church was seen as an object rather than a subject, an effect rather than a cause, a depository of the redeemed not an agent of spiritual effect.

Pentecostals embraced this notion from the beginning. They did not understand the day of Pentecost as the occasion when the Spirit was given to the *church*, but proclaimed an individual Pentecostal experience for each person according to the template of Peter’s application of Joel’s prophecy: sons, daughters, old, young, males, and females—to you, and all those that are far off, as many as God calls to himself. This complemented their basic evangelical ethos, and effectively proclaimed the individual’s own Pentecost as one more personal experience of identification with Jesus (died with him, raised with him, commissioned

with him, empowered with him) and of reception of the benefits provided by Jesus (he saves, heals, baptizes in the Spirit, and is coming again to reward us.) Their proclamation and liturgies were replete with the cross-pollinating themes of Christ, cross, resurrection life, holiness, and the presence of the Spirit among his people with power.

These themes are no longer encountered in any significant sense in Western Pentecostalism and also in much of the urbanized world of the Global South. The themes of self-fulfilment and life enhancement provide the material for liturgies, sermons, and community action. Historically and socially this may parallel the development of the Methodist revival and the Salvation Army. At their inception these groups were intensively and sincerely engaged in betterment of human communities, but it was clear this was the product of their personal experience of divine redemptive action. This is no longer a realistic representation of their ideals or activities. Is the Pentecostal community fated to follow the same ballistic historical trajectory?

Confident and Extrovert Witness?

Pentecostals in the early years had a reputation for robust personal witness to Jesus. To encounter a Pentecostal, to work, play, or study with them, placed one in peril of salvation. While their churches and gatherings were not necessarily attractive in themselves, their lives and earnest witness won over many who initially were intensely hostile to both the Christian gospel and the Pentecostal ethos.³⁹ Gospel services were unapologetically “in your face” and often attended with powerful demonstrations of charismatic giftings, including prophecy and gifts of healing. Passionate atmosphere and passionate expression in singing, worship, and preaching were the rule rather than the exception.

The evangelistic paradigm in Western Pentecostalism has changed dramatically. In some ministries it may still be passionate, confrontational, and even controversial, but there is a wider trend that wishes to disassociate with anything “cringe-worthy” and to present a more reasonable and less contentious gospel package. In this it has drawn largely from the strategies and apologetics of the evangelical movement,

adopting formal church growth strategies such as attractional (seeker-sensitive) methods. Their proclamation is often a combination of “These are the rules of our very reasonable and well-intentioned club” and “How can we help you help yourself?” The Foursquare formula is remarkable only for its absence in such methodologies. The demonstration of spiritual gifting is almost frowned upon, perhaps because it introduces an element of uncontrollability to what is otherwise a very professional and managed package.

Egalitarian Participation in Charismatic Phenomena?

The challenge to an egalitarian ethos can also be detected in the demise of that open congregational participation in liturgies that encouraged the individual expression of charismatic gifts. The earlier years were marked by intensive individual participation, to the extent that an entire service could become saturated in such expressions with sermons, singing, and even communion being displaced or included only as a brief afterthought. It is widely acknowledged today that in the West this is rarely the case.

The reasons for this are not difficult to determine. Attractional models of doing church find the gifts unpredictable, “Great Man of God” models assure the congregation that the leader’s power and anointing is the only crucial charismatic contribution required, electronically-amplified liturgies make spontaneous intervention and contribution from the pew impractical, and songs and music are formally rehearsed performances and not amenable to calls from the pews (or even a visiting preacher) for alternative songs that were not rehearsed on Thursday night. Effectively, in most Pentecostal gatherings the polyphony of the earlier period has been replaced by a duophony, with only two voices being heard: those of the leader and the “worship” leader.

What was one of the most significant and distinctive characteristics of the Pentecostal movement has now become embodied solely in the new clergy, the authoritative “anointed ones.” The role of the laity is merely to affirm and submit to these cutting-edge, infallible, and ever-victorious champions and heroes of the faith.

A similar trend is evident in local church (and sometimes denominational) governance, where democratic participation has been replaced by leader-centered practices. Whether the leader's chosen paradigm is secular corporate practice, or "anointed vision-bearing authority," prevalent governance models consist essentially of autonomous leaders establishing their own model for the community and advocating the compliance of the congregation or denomination to their vision and mission. The leaders will decide what the "DNA" of the church should be, choose their own preferred leadership team to implement it, and advise the people that they can either fit in or do the other thing. "My way or the highway" is the overt or implicit message conveyed by this paradigm. Members are not consulted, but commanded.

Church and State Separation?

As the Pentecostal churches have become more visible, sophisticated, and socially representative, they have drawn the attention not only of other Christian groups, but also of politicians and marketers. This is less so in the West than in the wider world where Pentecostals may reflect a significant proportion of the population. In some Latin American settings they might even be the majority group. Certainly in many African countries governments and rulers will ignore Pentecostals at their peril. The prevalence of "Great Man of God" models confers significant public influence on Pentecostal leaders, and the temptations and sins of celebrity—of money, sex, and power—are now clearly discerned in large parts of the movement. Pentecostals are no longer cautious about occupying the public space, nor reticent in making their views known.

Just how this trend will work out in the future remains unclear. However, as long as the movement continues to function uncritically among the trends and powers of the world (such as consumerism and political expediency) the more likely it is to become a partner of the secular state rather than a critic, to be co-opted into secular agendas rather than to subvert them. Watch this space. Had Anabaptism developed coherently for one hundred years, might it too have faced this challenge?

Conclusion

There are marked similarities in the notions of church expressed in Anabaptism and in Pentecostalism. Their historical contexts differ considerably and therefore a simplistic equation should be avoided. While Anabaptism coherently survived the almost universal hostility of its era only in small isolated groups, Pentecostalism has now flourished for more than a century. What it has become can be fairly confidently asserted, while what Anabaptism may have become had it not been so ruthlessly opposed and eradicated can only be speculated. However, the comparison between the distinctive ethos discernible among the Anabaptists and the original and now developed ethos of the Pentecostal Movement provides useful categories for Pentecostal self-understanding and self-critique, with some salutary warnings. However, what history teaches us is . . . ?



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Notes

1 John Howard Yoder, "Marginalia," *Concern for Christian Renewal* 15 (1967), 78. Jürgen Moltmann, *The Church in the Power of the Spirit: A Contribution to Messianic Ecclesiology* (London: SCM, 1977). Moltmann's presence at the Pentecostal Theological Stream at the Brighton 1991 ICCOWE conference is indicative of his later association with Pentecostal scholarship. Collected papers from this stream's workshops appear in Harold D. Hunter and Peter D. Hocken, eds., *All Together in One Place: Theological Papers from the Brighton Conference on World Evangelisation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993).

2 E.g., Charles Byrd II, "Pentecostalism's Anabaptist Heritage: The Zopfingen Disputation of 1532," *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 28:1 (2008), 49–61; Kenneth J. Archer and Andrew S. Hamilton, "Anabaptism-Pietism and Pentecostalism: Scandalous Partners in Protest," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 63:2 (2010), 185–202.

3 Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell: Our Chief of Men* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973; reprint London: Phoenix, 2008), depicts Cromwell as an Anabaptist-influenced modernizer in a wide range of aspects.

4 Presented in translation by Shem and Paul Peachey in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 45:1 (1971), 5–32.

5 *Justification for the Prosecution of Anabaptists*, 1536, June 5. Published in translation by Walter Klaassen, Werner O. Packull, and Frank Freisen, trans., *Sources of South German/Austrian Anabaptism*, Classics of the Radical Reformation (Kitchener, Ontario: Pandora Press, 2001), 215–27.

6 Grebel's disappointment with Zwingli and Luther is expressed in his letters, e.g., Manuscript (MS) No. 14, of J. C. Wenger's translated collection: *Conrad Grebel's Programmatic Letters of 1524* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1970), 119–21.

7 As articulated by Luther at Worms: "I have composed . . . certain works against popery, wherein I have attacked such as by false doctrines, irregular lives, and scandalous examples, afflict the Christian world, and ruin the bodies and souls of men. And is not this confirmed by the grief of all who fear God? Is it not manifest that the laws and human doctrines of the popes entangle, vex, and distress the consciences of the faithful . . . ?"

8 Grebel identified with Zwingli's memorialist and symbolist theology, as stated clearly in his first letter to Munzer in his enumerated points 14–17 against Munzer's translated Mass that included "chanting," in Leland Harder, ed., *The Sources of Swiss Anabaptism: The Grebel Letters and Related Documents*, vol. 4, Classics of the Radical Reformation (Scottsdale, PA; Kitchener, Ontario: Herald Press, 1985), 284–92: bread is just bread as sausage is just sausage.

9 This is the very first reason offered in the Anabaptist tract *Why They Do not Attend the Churches*: That in the Protestant churches the contribution of the many (as per 1 Cor 14:26) was ignored or forbidden in preference for the single voice of the clergyman.

10 Moltmann's dialogue with the pacifist North American Mennonites is therefore appropriately titled *Following Jesus Christ in the World Today: Responsibility for the World and Christian Discipleship*, Occasional Papers No. 4 (Elkhart, IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1983). Kraus insisted, "Anabaptism as a whole was Jesus-centred rather than Bible centred." C. Norman Kraus, "Anabaptism and Evangelicalism," in *Evangelicalism and Anabaptism*, ed. C. Norman Kraus (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1979), 173–74.

11 Article 6 of the Schleithem Confession spells this out explicitly.

12 Tertullian, *Apology* 29–33, attacks the attitude of the Caesars who refused prayer for themselves, demanding prayer *to* themselves.

13 Tertullian, *About Fleeing Persecution* 14, and *De Corona* 1.

14 As evidenced in "Questions and Answers of Ambrosius Spitelmaier (1527)," in *Sources of South German/Austrian Anabaptism*, 63.

15 John Bunyan's evangelical Puritanism redounds with Anabaptist themes, e.g., in *The Heavenly Footman* (Pensacola: Chapel Library, 2001), 20.

16 Jacob Hutter even established small separatist communes that later became a model for Moravians. However, this intensive form of community was not a usual model of Anabaptist community.

17 See note 3 above.

18 J. C. Wenger, "The Biblicism of the Anabaptists," in *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision*, ed. Guy F. Hershberger (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1957), 167.

19 John Boruff, "Extracts on Anabaptists and Charismatic Gifts," WesleyGospel.com, 2 March 2015, n.p., 23 June 2017, <https://wesleygospel.com/2015/03/02/extracts-on-anabaptists-and-charismatic-gifts-john-boruff/> (23 June 2017), notes, "Within the inspirationist wing of the Anabaptist movement, it was not unusual for charismatic manifestations to appear, such as dancing, falling under the power of the Holy Spirit, 'prophetic processions' (at Zurich in 1525, at Munster in 1534 and at Amsterdam in 1535) and speaking in tongues. In Germany some Anabaptists, 'excited by mass hysteria, experienced healings, glossolalia, contortions and other manifestations of a camp-meeting revival.'" See also Walter Klaassen, *Anabaptism: Neither Catholic Nor Protestant* (Waterloo, Ontario: Conrad Press, 1973), 63; Franklin H. Little, *The Origins of Sectarian Protestantism* (New York: Beacons, 1964), 19; George Hunston Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 3rd ed. (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2000), 443.

20 Kraus, "Anabaptism and Evangelicalism," 173.

21 Mathew S. Clark, "An Investigation into the Nature of a Viable Pentecostal Hermeneutic" (D.Th. thesis, University of South Africa, 1998), 18–19.

22 Clark, "An Investigation into the Nature of a Viable Pentecostal Hermeneutic," 29–30.

23 While many trace the identifiable historical roots of Pentecostalism to Wesley and no further, the organic roots can be traced further through the Moravians (who strongly influenced Wesley) to the Anabaptists (Clark, "An Investigation into the Nature of a Viable Pentecostal Hermeneutic," 15–16.)

24 Grant Wacker describes early North American hostility in "Travail of a Broken Family: Evangelical Responses to Pentecostalism in America, 1906–1916," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47:3 (July 1996), 505–28.

25 E.g., Frederick D. Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 35.

26 Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987). Dissent was made explicit by William Menzies, "The Reformed Roots of Pentecostalism," *PentecoStudies* 6:2 (2007), 78–99.

27 William R. Estep, Jr., *The Anabaptist Story: Introduction to Sixteenth-Century Anabaptism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996).

28 "Apostolic Faith Mission" was the name linked to the Azusa revival of 1906–1909, seen as a major "birthplace" of Western Pentecostalism.

29 Harold Horton, *The Gifts of the Spirit* (London: F. J. Lamb, 1934). Horton exemplifies this reliance on Bible narrative.

- 30 Mathew S. Clark, "Initial Evidence: A Southern African Perspective," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 1:2 (1998), 203–17.
- 31 I listed the many additions to Pentecostal self-presentation and practice in a blog entry in 2012, "Pentecostalism Plus—What's New over the Last 50 Years?" 8 October 2012, n.p., <https://clarkmsdr.wordpress.com/2012/10/08/pentecostalism-plus-whats-new-over-the-last-50-years/>.
- 32 E. W. Kenyon, *What Happened from the Cross to the Throne* (Tulsa: Kenyon's Gospel Publishing, 1945; reprint 1989).
- 33 As in the notorious claim of Kenneth Copeland, *Walking in the Realm of the Miraculous* (Tulsa: Harrison House, 1979; reprint 2013), 77.
- 34 To the almost complete exclusion in many "worship" lyrics of any mention of Jesus, his cross, or his blood.
- 35 A challenge to adequate contextualization addressed by, e.g., the leader of the Church of Pentecost in Ghana, Opoku Onyinah, in Onyinah, Opoku, "Akan Witchcraft and the Concept of Exorcism in the Church of Pentecost" (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 2002).
- 36 Per Peter Hocken in Simon Tugwell, Peter Hocken, George Every, and John Orme Mills, "The Significance and Potential of Pentecostalism," in *New Heaven? New Earth? An Encounter with Pentecostalism* (London: Darton, Longman, & Todd, 1976), 33.
- 37 William K. Kay and Anne E. Dyer, eds., *European Pentecostalism* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), x.
- 38 The absorption of the earlier prophetic movement of Israel into complacent allocated roles in the liturgy of the "King's sanctuary" (Amos) is argued by both Walter Eichrodt (*Theology of the Old Testament Vol. 1* [London: SCM, 1961]) and Walter Brueggemann (*The Prophetic Imagination* [Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press, 2001]) in their theologies of the Old Testament, and its recall offers a challenging message to a less dynamic (if more socially acceptable) contemporary Pentecostal movement.
- 39 I. A. Kreider, "Beyond Bosch: The Early Church and the Christendom Shift," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 29:2 (2005), 59–67, demonstrates the radical watershed between the ethos of the pre- and post-Constantinian church in the fourth century.



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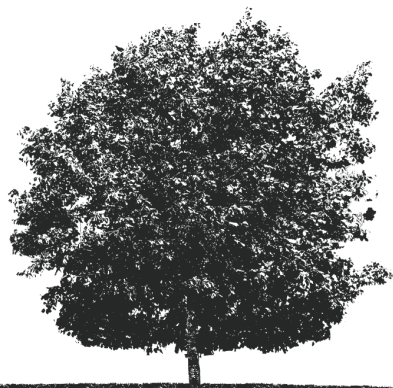
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